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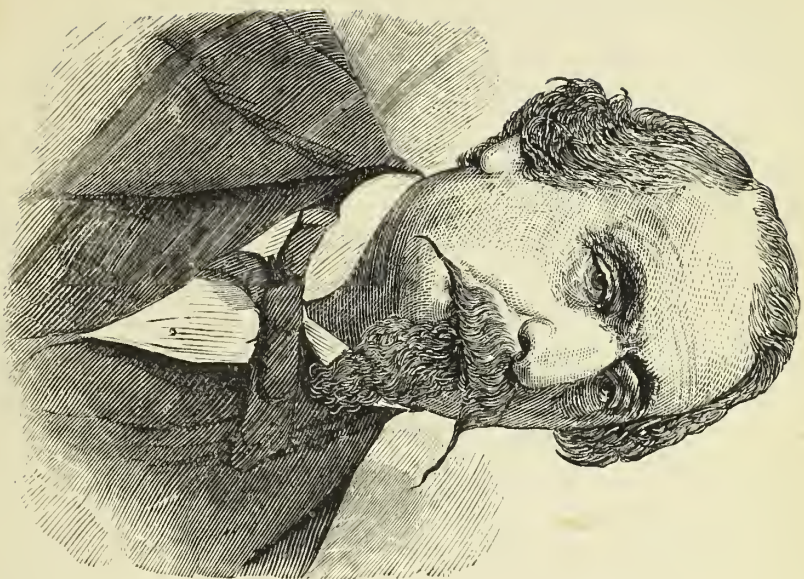




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William I., Emperor of Germany.
Wilhelm I., Kaiser von Deutschland.



Emperor Napoleon.
Sauter Napoleon.



Empress Eugénie.
Sauter Eugénie.

HISTORY
II
OF
THE WAR
BETWEEN
GERMANY AND FRANCE.

WITH
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES
OF THE
PRINCIPAL PERSONAGES ENGAGED IN THE CONTEST.

BY
Dabney
JAMES D. McCABE, JR.,
AUTHOR OF "PARIS BY SUNLIGHT AND GASLIGHT," "LIFE OF NAPOLEON III.,"
"LIFE AND CAMPAIGNS OF GENERAL R. E. LEE," "GREAT FORTUNES,"
"PLANTING THE WILDERNESS," ETC., ETC., ETC.

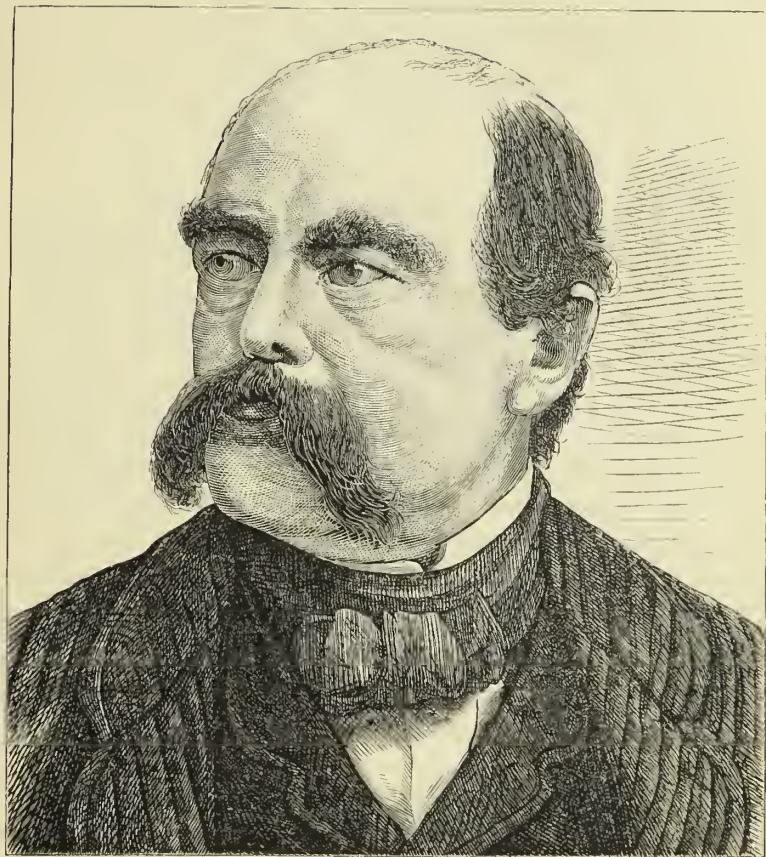
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Count Von Bismarck.
Graf von Bismarck.

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P R E F A C E.

NONE of the great struggles that have convulsed the world at various epochs of its history, have been more fraught with momentous consequences than the war between Germany and France which has just come to an end. It is but natural that the nations of the world, although holding aloof from it, should not only have watched its course with the greatest interest, but that they should still await, with an anxiety not less grave, the consequences which must spring from it, and which must affect, in a greater or less degree, every nation upon the globe. In no country was the war more eagerly watched than in our own. Bound as we are to France by gratitude for the aid she gave us in our struggle for independence, and united with Germany by the thousands of her people who have made our country their home, we witnessed the contest with a sincere sympathy for the sufferings, and a warm admiration for the heroism of each combatant.

The great interest manifested by the American people in the war, and the eagerness with which its events were discussed by them at the time, warrant the belief that a concise and consecutive history of those events will prove acceptable to them, since it will enable them to review with calmness the judgments they formed in the heat of the conflict, and will place them in possession of a more connected narrative than has yet been

accessible to them. Such a narrative is offered to them in these pages, in which the chief effort of the Author has been to present a simple and unvarnished story of the war. He has sought to make the events recorded point their own moral, and has ventured to offer his own opinions only where it seemed that comment would be of service to the reader. No effort has been made to plead the cause of either combatant, but a very earnest attempt has been made to present facts free from the coloring given to them at the time by the enthusiasm and prejudices of the partisans of Germany and France.

The story told in these pages is the most wonderful of the century, equalling in attractiveness the most brilliant passages in the world's history. It is a record of battles which have shaken Europe to its centre, the consequences of which must extend even to our western world; of patriotism, heroism, military skill and statesmanship never surpassed; and of the fall and rise of the mightiest Empires of modern times. It is not interesting in this respect alone, however, but is still more instructive as the description of one of the greatest epochs of human civilization.

A free use has been made of contemporary narratives; and the Author would here acknowledge his great obligations to those brilliant writers and gallant gentlemen who followed the contending armies throughout the struggle, and, braving all the dangers of the troops engaged, collected the materials for their narratives under fire. The obligations of the reading public to these modest but heroic chroniclers can hardly be estimated. They alone have rescued the history of the war from the dryness of official bulletins.



MAP OF THE
SEAT OF THE
WAR IN FRANCE
PUBLISHED EXPRESSLY TO ILLUSTRATE
MCABE'S HISTORY.

GERMANY
SWITZERLAND

ENGLISH MILES

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70

As the reader will naturally desire to know something more of the history of the men who were most conspicuous in the war than could be given in the course of the narrative, a series of biographical sketches of the leaders on both sides is given at the close of the volume. These sketches are confined to those who held high commands in the field, or prominent positions in the civil service. It was impossible to include all who achieved distinction, and it seemed best under the circumstances to mention only those filling high positions.

For the assistance of the reader, a series of carefully prepared maps is attached to this volume. It is believed that these will be amply sufficient to enable him to trace the course of the war with clearness and precision.

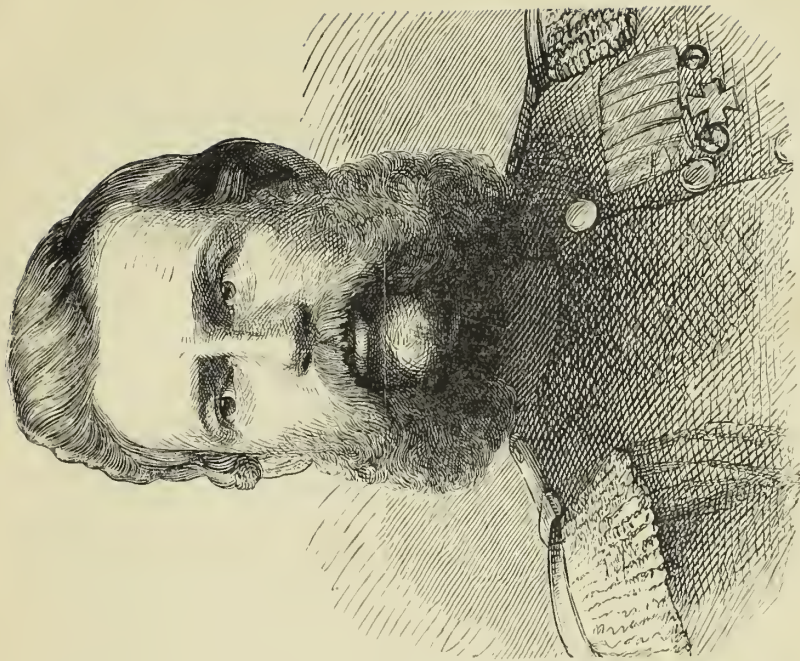
Many of the engravings are devoted to the city of Paris and its objects of interest. The facts that the capture of that city was the main object of the German campaign, and that the chief interest of the war centred there for so long a time, will account for the importance which has been attached by the Publishers to these illustrations; and it is confidently believed that the value of the work is increased by their embodiment in it.

NEW YORK,

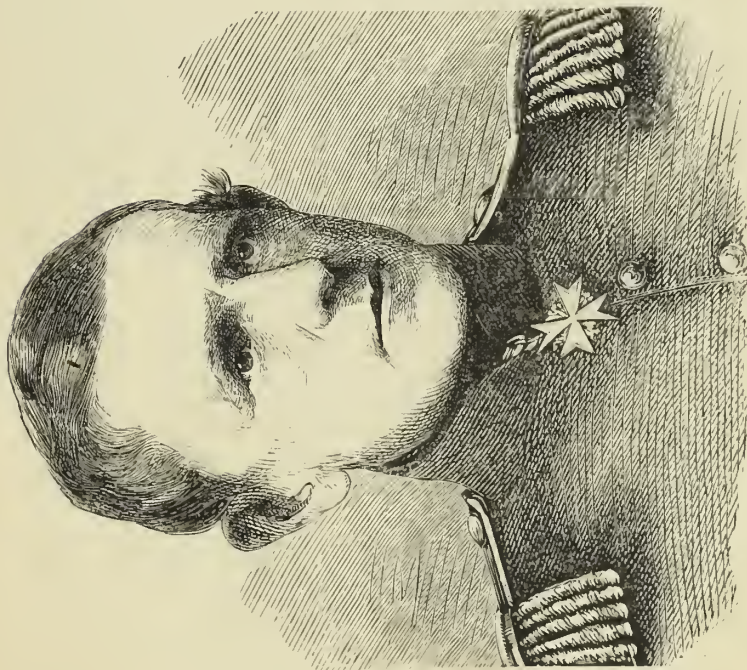
20th April, 1871.

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Crown Prince Frederick William : "Our Fritz."
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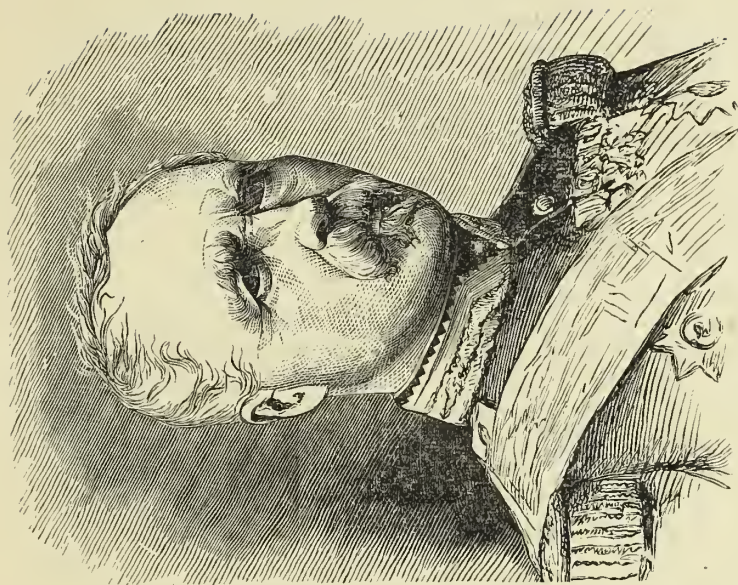


Count Von Moltke.
Graf von Moltke.

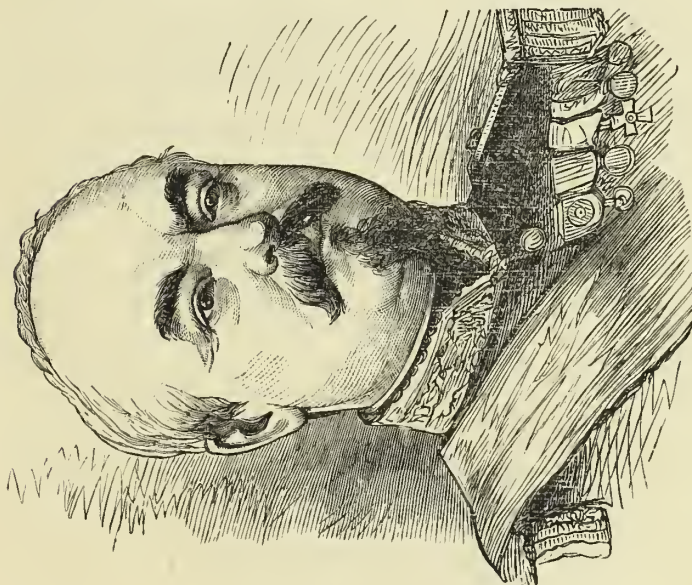


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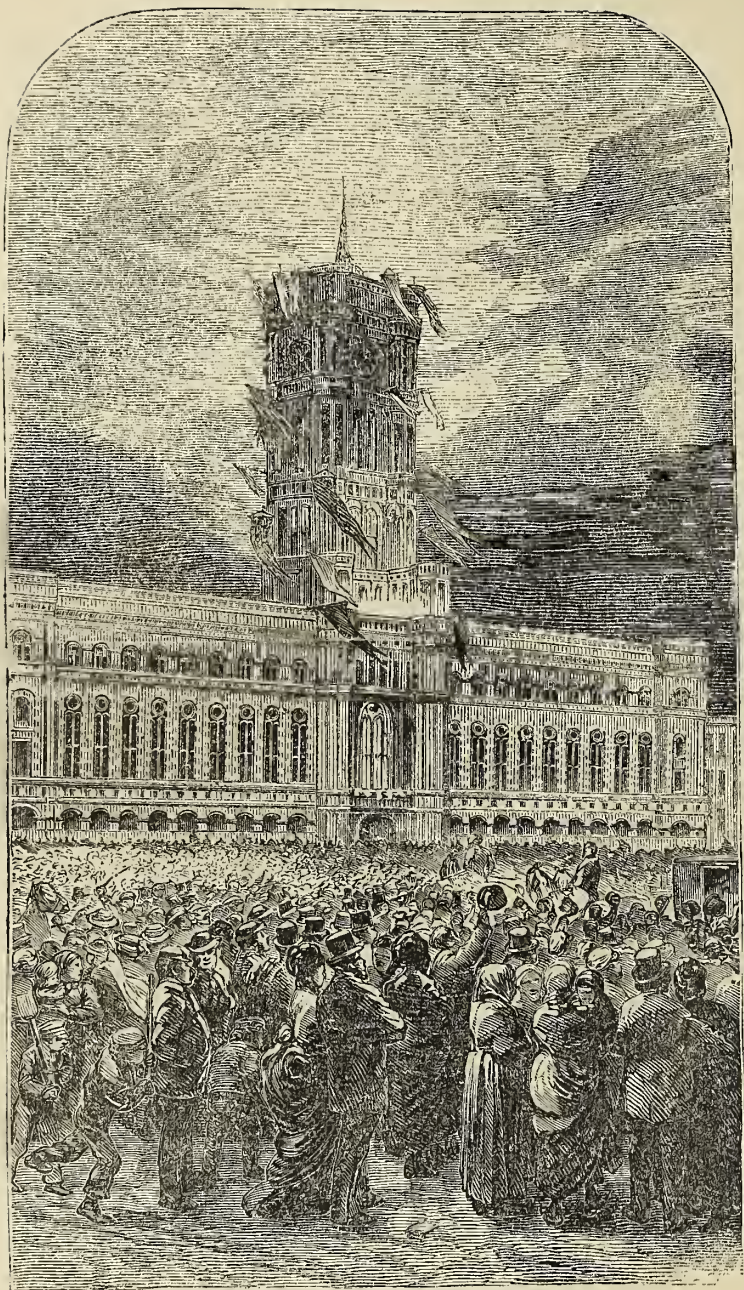


Marshal MacMahon.
Marshall MacMahon.



Marshal Bazaine.
Marshall Bazaine.

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HISTORY OF THE WAR

BETWEEN

GERMANY AND FRANCE.

CHAPTER I.

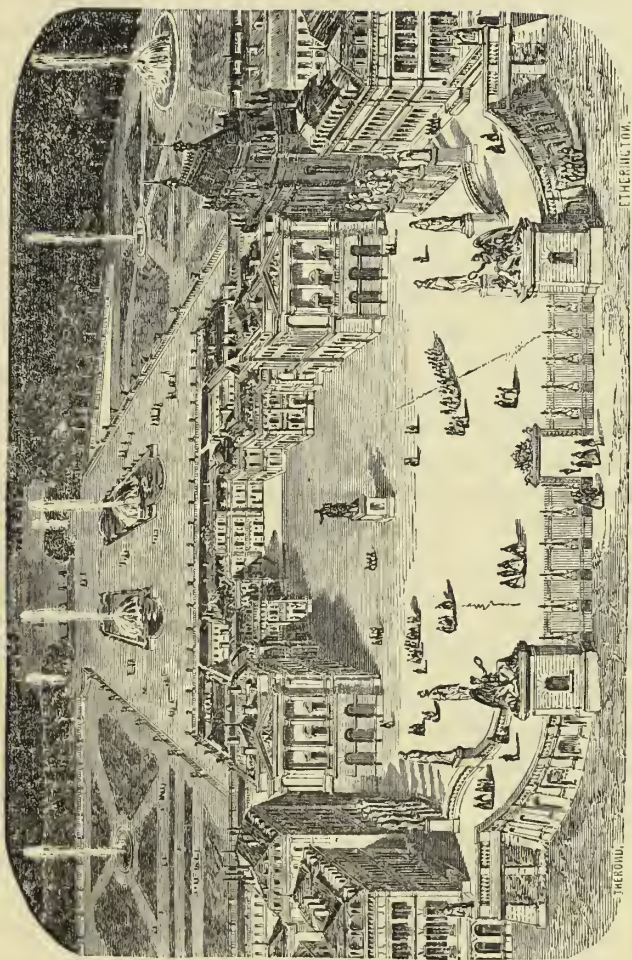
REVIEW OF THE CAUSES OF THE WAR—RAPID GROWTH OF PRUSSIA—THE WARS OF NAPOLEON I. AGAINST THE GERMAN STATES—PRUSSIA'S PLACE IN THE GERMANIC CONFEDERATION—DISRUPTION OF THE BUND IN 1866—THE WAR WITH AUSTRIA—FORMATION OF THE NORTH GERMAN CONFEDERATION—RELATIONS WITH THE SOUTH GERMAN STATES—POSITION OF PRUSSIA IN GERMANY—GROWTH OF THE IDEA OF GERMAN UNITY—HOSTILITY TO FRANCE—THE REAL CONFLICT BETWEEN GERMANY AND FRANCE—APPROACH OF THE WAR—POSITION OF FRANCE—EFFORTS TO INCREASE THE FRENCH TERRITORY—HISTORY OF THE ANNEXATION OF ALSACE AND LORRAINE—FRANCE UNDER THE FIRST EMPIRE—LOSSES IN 1815—DETERMINATION OF THE FRENCH TO REGAIN THE RHINE FRONTIER—DISTRUST AND DISLIKE OF PRUSSIA—FRENCH VIEW OF THE QUESTION OF GERMAN UNITY—DANGEROUS CONDITION OF PUBLIC SENTIMENT IN GERMANY AND FRANCE—STATEMENT OF THE REAL CAUSE OF THE WAR.

IT has become so common to denounce the war which began in the summer of 1870, between France and Germany, as an unprovoked, wanton aggression of the one dynasty upon the other, that very few persons have ever given themselves the trouble to inquire into the true causes of the great struggle. Nor have all classes been agreed as to whom the responsibility for the war belongs. The French and their sympathizers are unanimous in alleging that the selfish policy of Prussia and her King alone produced the conflict; while on the other hand, the Germans and those who uphold their cause, are agreed in believing the Emperor

Napoleon III. the author of the sufferings which the struggle, despite its brilliant triumphs, has brought upon the Fatherland. But the student of history must approach the question in a calmer mood than is possible to the partizans of either France or Germany, and must look deeper than the events of to-day for the causes of the war. In the impartial exercise of his duties, he will discover a long chain of causes, which, extending over a period of more than two centuries, and growing stronger and more irresistible year by year, have at length resulted in the conflict, of which we are about to narrate the history.

Since the days of the Great Elector, it has been the persistent policy of the Prussian Government to raise that country to the front rank of the European Powers. Step by step, year by year, Prussia has risen higher in the European scale, her territory and population expanding at a rate which seems almost marvellous, until the little Margraviate of Brandenburg has grown into the powerful Kingdom of to-day. Napoleon I. did indeed place a momentary check upon this expansion; but the disasters from which Prussia suffered at this time, proved in the end the means of leading her on to still greater success. The compulsory reduction of her army by her conqueror, drove her to a policy of short enlistments and frequent drafts. Men were drawn into the service for six months only, and then discharged: and thus the knowledge of arms and the most important details of army life were spread among the whole people; so that when Germany rose to throw off the Napoleonic yoke, Prussia was enabled at once to put into the field the army which did such good service under Blücher and Gneisenau.

In the Germanic Confederation, which was created by the Treaties of 1815, Prussia held the second place, the precedence being given to Austria. This did not suit Prussia, however. She aspired to the leadership of Germany, and was not willing to follow the guidance of any Power, still less one which was not as purely German as herself. Thereupon ensued that long series of contentions between these two great States, which



Palace and Park of Versailles. King William's Headquarters during the Siege of Paris.
 Palais und Park von Versailles. König Wilhelm's Hauptquartier während der Belagerung von Paris.

marked the history of the Confederation, and which, in 1866, resulted in open war between them, the total disruption of the old *Bund*, and the formation of the North German Confederation, at the head of which stood Prussia. This Confederation, consisting of the States north of the Main, was comprised of Prussia, Saxony, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Oldenburg, Saxe-Weimar, Brunswick, Anhalt, Saxe-Meiningen, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Saxe-Altenburg, Lippe Detmold, Waldeck, Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, Schwarzburg-Sonderhausen, Reuss Younger Line, Schaumburg-Lippe, Reuss Elder Line, Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen, Upper Hesse, and Hesse-Darmstadt. These countries cover an area of 159,940 square miles, and have a population of 29,220,862 souls, of which 23,590,543 belong to Prussia. The remaining German States—those which lie south of the Main—Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Lichtenstein—were permitted by the terms of the treaty of Nicholsburg between Austria and Prussia, to unite in a South German Confederation, or unite with the States north of the Main, according to their own option. By this same treaty Austria was excluded from all participation in German affairs.

Thus the designs of Prussia were triumphant. Her own territory was increased to an enormous extent; she was supreme in North Germany, which would unhesitatingly support her in all her foreign policy; and it was very certain that South Germany would not dare to oppose her will when vigorously exerted, unless aided by some ally more powerful than Austria. Only one such ally was possible, and that was France; but in the existing state of German sentiment it was extremely improbable that the South German States would ever unite with their traditional foe against any portion of the Fatherland. Baden, indeed, was strongly Prussian in its sympathies, and the most sanguine friends of the Northern Confederation hoped that if the objections of Bavaria could be overcome—and of this they did not despair—all Germany would in a few years be united.

It is not our intention to discuss here the question whether

the union of the German States under the supremacy of Prussia, must not eventually result in the political extinction of the weaker, by their gradual absorption into the Prussian monarchy. With this we have nothing to do. Time will show whether Prussia has been actuated by true German patriotism or by mere ambition, and will demonstrate, to the confusion of all theorists, whether a purely selfish policy can be carried out in the Germany of to-day. Neither do we propose to censure Prussia for the manner in which she has increased her area and her strength. It is undoubtedly true that she has done so by conquest. She is not alone in this respect, however, for the whole history of Europe is a record of conquest—of the supremacy of the strongest Power. Nor can we join in the wholesale abuse which has been directed at the sovereigns and statesmen who have led Prussia to her present high position. Their policy has had but one object—the exaltation of their country not only to the supremacy in Germany, but in Europe. They have had sincerely at heart the interests and the glory of their country, and they have labored for them without sparing themselves. If personal ambition has influenced them, it has been tempered and guided by that love which every German feels for his Fatherland, and it has been from the reflection of her glory that they have sought to illumine their own records. This is what men call patriotism, and patriotism has been held in all ages to be the noblest feeling of man. True patriotism, however, has a strong element of selfishness in it. As the world is now organized, a nation can only advance in power and importance at the expense of some neighbor. The man who seeks to place his country at the head of the march of nations, must, therefore, be ready to do so at the expense of the claims of some neighboring Power, whose pretensions may be as just as his own. This is simply what the Prussian statesmen have done. They have labored to advance their own country, and they have been as scrupulous in their forbearance toward those who opposed them, as their opponents would have been to them had the conditions been reversed. It is a very selfish



Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen.

world that we live in, and we cannot expect more from nations than we find in the individual units of nationalities. It ill becomes any nation in Europe to denounce Prussia as "the Robber nation." There is not a Power in the Old World whose skirts are clear from the stain. Even virtuous England has had her share—and a very fair one when she was strong enough to accomplish it—of robbery. Were simple justice done—were the territory gotten by force given up by all the robbers—what changes there would be in the map of Europe!

Perhaps the chief cause of the marvellous success of Prussia has been the strictly German policy, which has marked every stage of her career for the last half century. In all things she has been the champion of Germany—of Germany as distinct from the States. Half a century ago there arose the idea that the day would come when the Fatherland would be one and indivisible—a nation comprising the whole German-speaking race, advancing under one guidance to the fulfilment of a glorious destiny. Truly, it was a grand conception—all the more so, that it arose out of the darkness into which French domination had cast the German spirit; and we cannot wonder that it had a fascination for the German mind, beyond the power of words to express. Not that the sovereigns and statesmen of Germany had given utterance to it. They had not yet overcome their mutual jealousies, sufficiently to entertain it. It was an idea born of the people, nursed by them, and cherished so fondly that it has now become the ruling passion of Germany. It was this which united them in a solid front in the war of liberation, and which has twice carried their victorious advance to Paris.

Prussia was the first of the German Powers to thoroughly appreciate this feeling, and by carefully directing, it has been able to profit by it. Her statesmen having become convinced that German unity was sure of accomplishment, resolved to place themselves at the head of the movement. They have succeeded so well, that at length the voice of Prussia has become the voice of Germany in all international questions.

Undoubtedly Prussia has gained, and will gain still more, by her course; but shall we refuse her the merit of *German* patriotism? If she has attained the first place in the new Empire, it is because she has deserved it. Being the first of the German States, strong and prosperous at home, and feared abroad, the crown of right belongs to her.

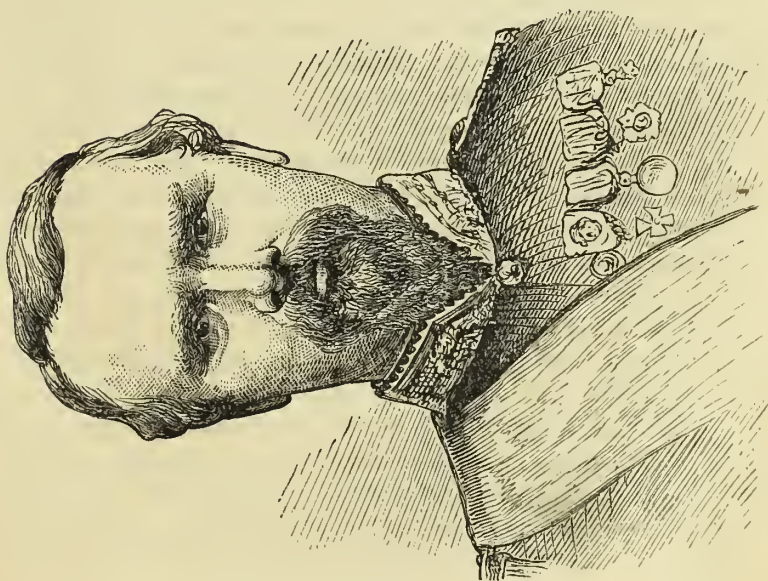
United with this desire for German unity, was the feeling which lies at the bottom of the whole trouble as far as Germany is concerned—distrust and hatred of France. Every man of thought understood that, unity once accomplished, Germany must, in justice to herself, seek to obtain the first place in Europe, which, indeed, it would be difficult to deny her. That place was held by France, who had maintained it for years, and it was not in reason to suppose she would surrender it without a struggle. Furthermore, it was clear that France in view of the logical consequences of the unity of Germany, would seek to prevent it. Thus the two nations were forced by their very efforts for advancement into the position of antagonists. One of them must stand aside and allow the other to pass it, or a conflict must ensue at some future time. The German had not only the remembrance of past grievances to keep alive his hostility, but he had the conviction also that France would at some future time attempt to prevent the realization of the wish dearest to every German heart. He learned to distrust her, to watch her, to regard a conflict with her as more and more certain every day. Year by year this feeling grew stronger, and it became the settled policy of Prussia as the leader of German sentiment, as the power around which the minor States must rally for union, to be ready for the shock when it did come, and to see that her allies were ready for it too. Her chief care, after feeling herself strong enough, was to expel Austria from the German League, so that there might be no inharmonious element in it. This done, she exerted herself with fresh vigor to hasten the realization of the German wish. Meanwhile military preparations went on all over Germany. The distrust of France, the dislike for her grew greater, as German

unity drew nearer. It was well understood that the straining for perfection in the military system had but one object—to be ready for war with France when it came. In such a state of feeling—with such convictions—with such hopes and interests at stake—we can readily understand how easy it was to force the Germans into a war, which they were resolved not to bring on, but which they were persuaded could not be avoided. A people ready for war, confident that it must come, and profoundly convinced that a certain Power seeks to prevent the accomplishment of what they regard as their destiny, will not need much provocation to bring them to blows.

France on her part was drifting into war as rapidly as her rival. Ever since the formation of the kingdom, it had been the aim of the French sovereigns to place their country first among the nations of Europe. Upon the consolidation of the royal authority, this task became easier. France rose higher in European importance with the increase of civilization, until at length she attained a position which induced Frederick the Great to declare, that “if he were king of France, he would not allow a cannon shot to be fired in Europe without his leave.” With her rising importance came the thirst for power, the desire for more territory, which has distinguished not only France, but every strong power of Europe. To extend the French territory to the left bank of the Rhine, and to embrace within her limits the whole area of ancient Gaul, became at an early period the settled policy of France. Louis XI. made a decided step in this direction, when he annexed Burgundy to France; but there still remained a large territory on the northeastern border of the kingdom, and between France and the Rhine, which the French sovereigns greatly coveted. This was the territory known as Franche-Comté, Lorraine and Alsace, which now comprise nine of the eighty-six departments into which France is divided, or about one-tenth of its entire area. These three provinces brought Germany to the very border of Champagne, and imposed upon France a boundary which was both inconvenient* and



Prime Minister Ollivier.



Gen. Achille de Faily.

unnatural. Henry II. began the work of securing this desired territory, under the pretext of aiding Albert of Brandenburg, and the German Protestants. He succeeded in breaking the union between Lorraine and the Empire of Charles V., and his successors were prompt to carry on his work. Alsace, which had formerly belonged to France, but which had become incorporated into the German Empire in the tenth century, was wrested from Germany in the reign of Louis XIII., and the new acquisitions of France, a portion of which had been in her possession for ninety-six years, were solemnly confirmed to her by the Empire, in the treaty of Westphalia (1648). Strasbourg, the capital of Alsace, was taken by Louis XIV. in 1681, and confirmed to France by the Peace of Ryswick in 1697. Louis XIV. also completed Henry II.'s work with regard to Lorraine, and by his skilful diplomacy, concluded an arrangement by which the duchy was lost to Germany, and annexed to France peaceably in 1766. Meanwhile, his troops had overrun Franche-Comté, which was surrendered to France by Spain in 1678. Thus, after a lapse of two centuries, the coveted territory had passed into the possession of France, whose dominions from the ocean to the Rhine were unbroken. Germany had ratified all these accessions on the part of France by treaties and conventions, and had solemnly relinquished her claim to them, and no one dreamed that she would ever seek to set up a title to them again. France promptly applied herself to the task of attaching her new subjects to her rule; in which she has succeeded so well, that of all her people none are more devotedly French than those of Alsace and Lorraine.

Under the First Empire the French territorial dream was realized—Holland and Belgium were annexed to France. The left bank of the Rhine, to its mouth, was in the possession of the Empire. The peace of 1815 broke up Napoleon's arrangements for his own country as well as for Europe, and France was deprived of Belgium and Holland, and restricted to the domains of Louis XIV. on the Rhine. Since then it has been the ardent wish of the French nation not only to

recover Belgium, but to extend the Rhine frontier to the borders of Holland, and thus regain the provinces now known as Rhenish Prussia and Rhenish Bavaria. Whatever the differences of parties respecting the internal affairs of France, all have been united on the recovery of the Rhine frontier. It has been, since 1815, the settled determination of the French people to acquire the left bank of the Rhine at some future day, and this determination has grown stronger with the lapse of time. Whether they are right or wrong in this determination, does not concern us at present. We are simply stating the feeling of the French people with regard to this question. They have been taught by their writers, orators, and public instructors, as well as encouraged by each successive government since the Restoration, to regard Rhenish Prussia as a rightful possession of France, wrongfully taken from her in 1815; and they have naturally regarded Prussia as their enemy in withholding it from them. So strong has been this feeling, that it has been for years well understood in France, and in Europe generally, that no government could maintain its hold upon the French people, which should resist the popular demand for an advance to the Rhine, in case affairs were favorable to such a movement.

[In addition to this, the French people were quick to mark the rapid progress of Prussia, and to note the efforts made by that Power to secure the unity of Germany under her own leadership. France, under the Second Empire, had reached her highest position in European affairs. She was the leading nation of the Old World, and her supremacy was so universally acknowledged, that she began to look upon her proud position as belonging to her by an inalienable right. She therefore watched the progress of Prussia with a jealous eye. It was well understood in France that the object of Prussia was to attain for herself the place held by France, and that to the accomplishment of this, the unity of Germany was essential.] It therefore became the policy of France to prevent the union of the German States, even at the cost of war, and to maintain her own position by every means within her power.

The triumph of Prussia over Austria warned France that the success of her rival was close at hand, and revealed to her the strength of Germany in its true light. Later on, there were indications that German unity was so nearly an accomplished fact that the only means of preventing it was war, and every nerve was strained by France to prepare for the conflict. The Government, if anything, lagged behind the nation. The whole land rang with complaints that the prestige of France was passing away, and that the supremacy in Europe was being surrendered to Prussia.

To understand the feelings of this gallant but excitable nation, one must imagine himself a Frenchman. Having tried to do justice to the German by stating his view of the matter, let us look at it from a French stand-point. France beheld not only the moral but the physical supremacy passing into the hands of her rival. She beheld a strong military power being erected on her borders, between which and herself there had existed for years nothing but distrusts and suppressed hostility. To the French mind there was nothing but danger to France in the formation of this new Power, and it became the duty of every patriotic Frenchman to avert that danger from his country. However unjust to his neighbor might be his effort to prevent the realization of the German wish, it was pure devotion to France which prompted him to it. His first duty was to France, even at the expense of Germany. He was sincerely convinced that the establishment of Germany as one great nation, would not only prevent the realization of the French desires with regard to the Rhine, but would result in the actual loss of power to France. Apart from this, it is not reasonable to suppose that any great nation would passively suffer a rival to assume the place in the world which it had held for twenty years with vigor and with glory.

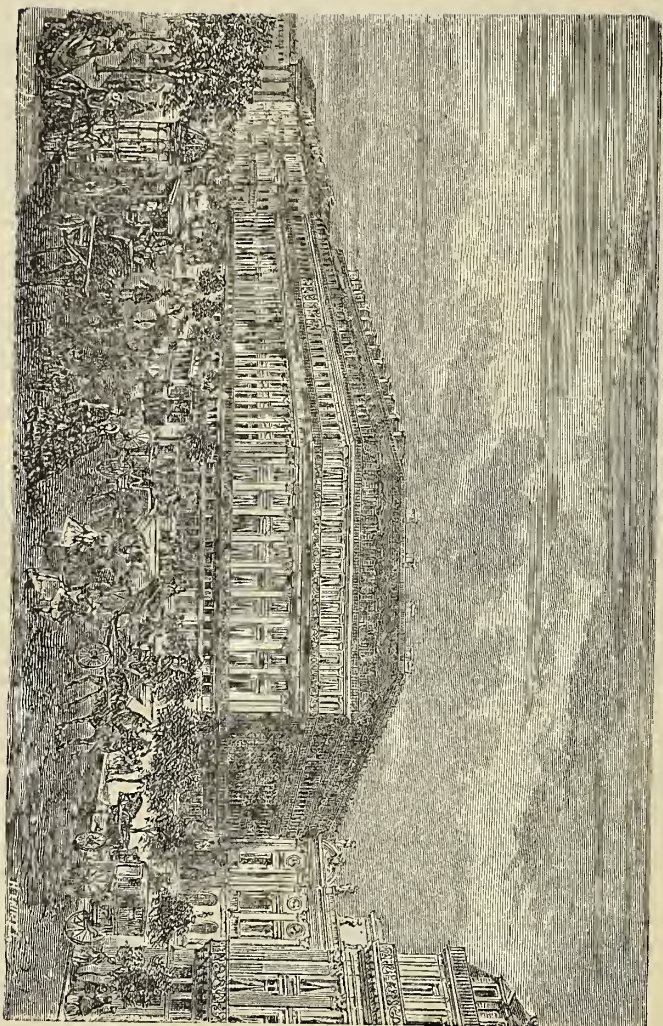
Thus we see that these two great nations, each seeking after the same object, and each profoundly disliking and distrusting the other, had reached a point in their rivalry at which one or the other must give way. The German could

justly declare that he sought only the highest good for his country; and the Frenchman, equally justified in his own eyes, could maintain that he sought only the salvation of his. The German regarded the effort of the Frenchman to prevent the consolidation of his country as unjustifiable, and the Frenchman regarded his opposition to that consolidation as justified by its danger to France. Each regarded his cause as just, and in the mutual distrust which existed between them, there was little chance of an adjustment of the differences.

Here then was the real *cause* of the war. The *occasion* was not long wanting. When two great Powers, armed to the teeth, and distrustful of and hating each other, find themselves in a position from which neither can in its own eyes retreat with honor, there is no alternative left to them but an appeal to the sword. That two such nations, each so great and noble in itself as Germany and France, should ever be brought to such a pass is, without doubt, distressing; but it seems clear from what we have been considering, that such a state of affairs was simply unavoidable to each. National prejudices, which will influence men as long as human nature remains what it is—old quarrels, whose wounds were still painful, and a struggle for the highest power in Europe—these were the *causes* of the war. Peace and good will might have reigned in France and Germany but for these; but in the face of these causes—causes for which no one generation in either country can fairly be held responsible—he would have been a wise statesman indeed who could have kept the peace of Europe unbroken. The war was the result of causes which it was not in the power of man to control, and it is chiefly in this fact that the combatants must seek their justification. William of Prussia, Napoleon, Bismarck, Benedetti—these were but the instruments of a destiny which they could not resist. It is idle then to censure either as having causelessly brought on the war. The Almighty King of kings, who will surely bring some good out of all this trouble, has made it an unchangeable law of the moral world, that a given cause must

produce a given effect. The cause in this case was the state of feeling which for the last half century has existed between France and Prussia ; the effect was the war.

It does not follow, however, that men are justified always in bringing events to a crisis. The result of a train of causes may be well known ; yet if that result be injurious to the world, it is the solemn duty of those in power to delay it to the last moment. Here is where the responsibility for this war begins—in the hastening of events to a crisis of which war was the only probable solution. The narrative upon which we now enter will show upon whom this responsibility must rest.



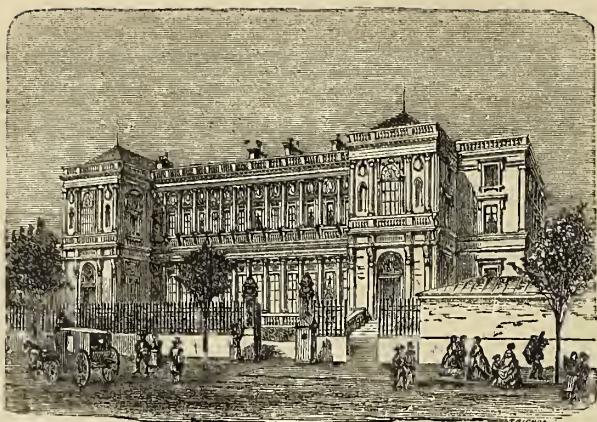
The Grand Hotel Hospital : Paris.
Grand Hotel Hospital : Paris.

CHAPTER II.

THE SPANISH CROWN OFFERED TO THE PRINCE OF HOHENZOLLERN—IT IS ACCEPTED—EFFECT OF THE ACCEPTANCE UPON FRANCE—THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT URGED TO RESENT THE INTERFERENCE OF GERMANY IN SPANISH AFFAIRS—ACTION OF THE IMPERIAL CABINET—INSTRUCTIONS TO COUNT BENEDETTI—THE DEMAND UPON PRUSSIA—COUNT BENEDETTI'S INTERVIEWS WITH KING WILLIAM AT EMS—EFFORTS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO AVERT A RUPTURE—STATEMENTS OF THE DUC DE GRAMMONT TO LORD LYONS—INCREASED DEMANDS BY THE FRENCH—INDIGNATION OF THE GERMANS—BENEDETTI'S LAST INTERVIEW WITH THE KING—HIS DEMANDS REFUSED—THE "INSULT" TO THE FRENCH MINISTER—BISMARCK RESENTS THE FRENCH DEMANDS—THE FRENCH ARMY ORDERED TO THE FRONTIER—FRANCE DECLARES WAR AGAINST PRUSSIA—EXCITEMENT IN PARIS—THE WAR POPULAR—KING WILLIAM'S ARRIVAL AT BERLIN—THE FIRST GERMAN COUNCIL OF WAR—THE MOBILIZATION OF THE ARMY ORDERED—SCENES IN BERLIN—ENTHUSIASM THROUGHOUT GERMANY—THE SOUTH MAKES COMMON CAUSE WITH THE NORTH—MEETING OF THE GERMAN PARLIAMENT—THE KING'S SPEECH—OPPOSITION TO THE WAR IN THE FRENCH CHAMBERS—M. THIERS—M. JULES FAVRE—THE FRENCH CIRCULAR—THE EMPEROR'S PROCLAMATION—THE EMPRESS REVIEWS THE FLEET—DEPARTURE OF THE EMPEROR FOR THE ARMY—HIS ADDRESS TO THE TROOPS—THE PRUSSIAN DAY OF SOLEMN PRAYER—DEPARTURE OF KING WILLIAM FOR THE ARMY—HIS ADDRESS TO HIS TROOPS—THE POPE OFFERS HIS MEDIATION—LETTER TO THE KING OF PRUSSIA—REPLY OF THE LATTER—"THE SECRET TREATY"—A SHREWD MOVE ON THE PART OF BISMARCK—STATEMENT OF M. OLLIVIER—BENEDETTI'S EXPLANATION—BISMARCK'S REJOINER—REMARKS OF THE SATURDAY REVIEW—THE NEUTRAL POWERS—REVIEW OF THE COURSE OF THE FRENCH LIBERALS—THEIR RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WAR—NAPOLEON'S VINDICATION OF HIS COURSE—THE HISTORY OF TWENTY YEARS.

HAVING examined the state of feeling prevailing between France and Germany, we shall now be better prepared to understand why it was that a circumstance apparently so insignificant in itself was able to bring them to open hostilities.

Since the Revolution of 1868, the kingdom of Spain had been without a sovereign. Efforts had been made in various



Ministry of Foreign Affairs : Paris.

quarters to procure a king acceptable to the Spanish people, but without success. At length, General Prim, into whose hands the destinies of Spain had fallen for the time, determined to offer the Crown of his country to a member of the House of Hohenzollern. In June 1870, he proposed to the Spanish Cortes, as a candidate for the throne, the name of Prince Leopold, second son of Prince Carl Anton, the head of the House of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, and the proposal was accepted by a large majority of the Cortes. A correspondence was at once opened with the Prince, who promptly signified his willingness to accept the proffered dignity.

Prince Leopold was a member of an independent branch of the Hohenzollern House. His family had no claims to the succession to the Prussian throne, to which they were bound merely by the ties which held the other princes of Germany to it. Leopold was about thirty-five years of age, of great wealth, highly educated, and a Catholic in his religious faith. The Prince consulted the King of Prussia, as the head of his family, with reference to the Spanish proposition, and the King promptly expressed his disapprobation of it, believing that it would prove another Maximilian affair, and that the Prince would lose his head.

Notwithstanding this disapproval, the Prince accepted the Spanish offer. On the 4th of July 1870, General Prim officially informed Señor Olozaga, the Spanish Minister at Paris, of his selection of Prince Leopold, and the sanction of it by the Cortes.

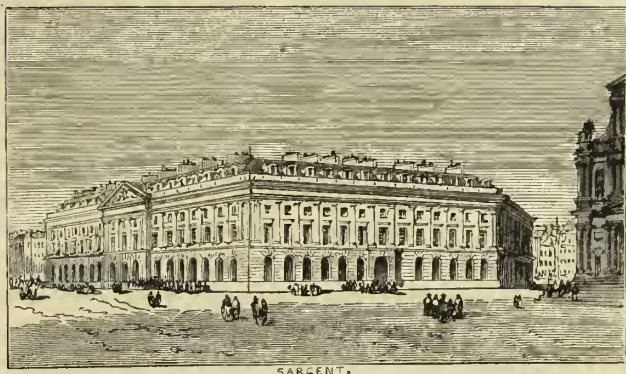
General Prim's selection was most unfortunate. In itself it was an insignificant circumstance; but, as we have shown, the mine was dug and the train laid long before that was to produce the explosion; and the state of feeling between France and Germany was such that it needed but a spark, and that was afforded by Prim's fatal selection.

The news of the choice of Prince Leopold affected the French nation profoundly. It was regarded by the people as another attempt on the part of Prussia to humiliate France. "It touched the sensitive nature of France to the quick," says a recent writer, "that the detested House of Hohenzollern should be found suddenly meddling in Spain, among the uttermost of those Latin nations, a supremacy over whom she had always fondly assumed to herself. Not content with planting a prince of his House firmly in Roumania, the King of Prussia was now giving his sanction to another dynastic intrusion, and that, too, in a country where he had no right to interfere." The Paris press urged the Government to behave with firmness in the crisis, and to insist upon the withdrawal of Germany from Spanish affairs even at the risk of war. The people all over the country echoed the demand, and the empire rang with denunciation and defiance of Prussia. Matters looked so threatening that on the 5th of July, Baron Werther, the Prussian Minister at Paris, left that city for Ems, to consult with the King relative to the affair. On the 6th of July, the French Government, urged on by the popular excitement, addressed a note to Count Benedetti, the Emperor's Minister at Berlin, instructing him to demand the disavowal of Prince Leopold's candidacy by Prussia, and the withdrawal of his name from the list of candidates for the Spanish Crown, on the ground that France would consider his elevation to that position as a check and menace to her,

which she would not under any pretext permit. The Duc de Grammont also declared in the Chambers that the Spanish scheme "imperilled the interests and honor of France."

The King of Prussia was not in Berlin at the time, but was spending the summer at Ems, and to that place Count Benedetti at once repaired. Having requested an audience, he was received by the King on the 9th of July. He at once laid before King William the demand of his Government—that the King should require Prince Leopold to withdraw his acceptance of the Spanish Crown. The King informed him that throughout the whole affair he had been addressed simply as the head of the family, and never as the King of Prussia, and that as he had given no command for the acceptance of the Crown, he could not command its relinquishment. This was the substance of the first interview. On the 11th, M. Benedetti requested a second audience, which was granted. He urged the King to prevail upon Prince Leopold to renounce the Spanish Crown. The King replied that the Prince was perfectly free to decide for himself, and that, moreover, he did not even know where he was at that moment, as he was about to undertake a journey to the Alps.

Meanwhile the danger to the peace of Europe had been anxiously watched by the other Powers, and Great Britain had exerted herself to avert an open rupture. The British Government frankly informed the Duc de Grammont that the candidacy of Prince Leopold would not be regarded by Europe as a sufficient cause for war, and at the same time urged the Prussian and Spanish Governments to withdraw the Prince, in deference to French susceptibility. On the 8th of July, the Duc de Grammont told Lord Lyons, the British Minister at Paris, that the question would be solved if the Prince of Hohenzollern of his own accord abandoned his pretensions to the Spanish Crown. A voluntary renunciation on the part of the Prince would, M. De Grammont thought, be a most fortunate solution of difficult and intricate questions; and he begged Her Majesty's Government to use all their influence to bring it about. The Duc de Grammont's declaration to



Napoleon Barracks: Paris.

Lord Lyons was not guarded by any conditional demand that the King of Prussia should even approve of the abandonment of the candidature. On the 10th of July, the Duc de Grammont again authorized Lord Lyons to inform Her Majesty's Government that "if the Prince of Hohenzollern should now, on the advice of the King of Prussia, withdraw his acceptance of the Crown, the whole affair would be at an end."

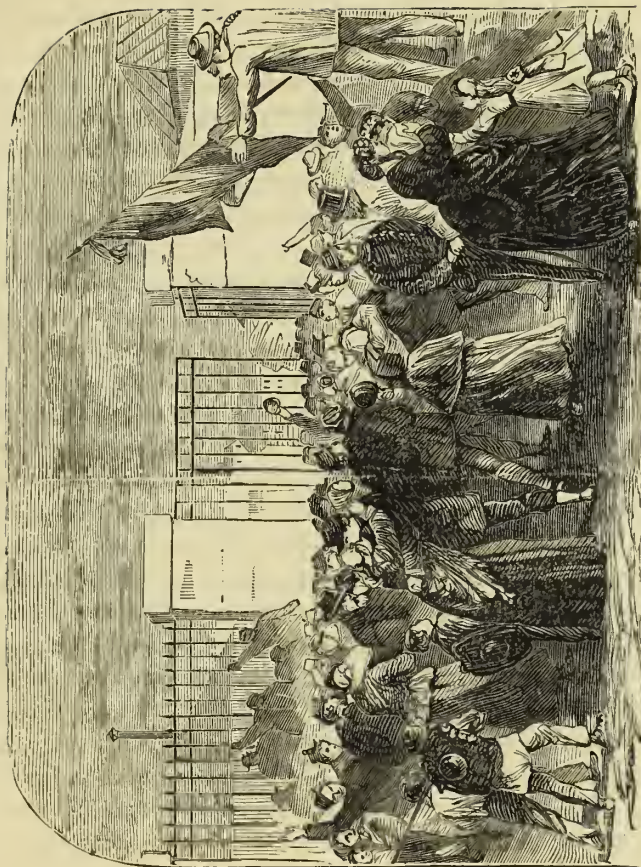
On the 12th of July, Prince Leopold notified the French Government of his renunciation of the Crown, in the interests of peace, and Lord Lyons thereupon pointed out to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs that all cause for war was now removed. It afterward appeared that his renunciation was made either by the advice or with the approval of King William. The renunciation did not satisfy the French Cabinet, however. The Duc de Grammont told Lord Lyons that France was very much excited, and that the Government could not go down to the Chamber without announcing that it had received "some satisfaction" from the King of Prussia. The Prussian Minister at Paris was informed that the King might immediately put an end to the crisis if he would write a letter of apology to the Emperor. Lord Lyons was told that if the King would lay his royal command upon Prince

Leopold * not to resume his candidature at any future time, peace might be restored.

The incident had created quite as much excitement in Germany as in France. The French demands were regarded, not only in Prussia, but throughout the Fatherland, as intolerable and insulting. Count Bismarck informed the British Minister at Berlin that France owed reparation to the wounded feelings of Germany, and that its Government must give some guarantee against the repetition of these attacks on her tranquillity, if confidence was to be restored. Prince Leopold had renounced his candidature, and this was the time for the French Government to do justice to Germany, by publicly acknowledging the moderate and peaceful bearing of the King and Government of Prussia throughout these transactions.

In the presence of such conflicting claims, peace hung by a slender thread. Meanwhile M. Benedetti was, intentionally or unintentionally, doing his best to prepare the occasion of a rupture. On the morning of the 13th of July, the King of Prussia, walking on the Fountain Promenade at Ems, saw the French Ambassador, and gave him an extra number of the *Cologne Gazette*, which he had just received, containing the announcement of the withdrawal of Prince Leopold from the Spanish candidacy. M. Benedetti remarked that he was already apprised of that fact, having been informed of it by his Government on the previous evening; and on the King proceeding to speak of the matter as at length settled, the French Minister made the unexpected request that His Majesty should give a distinct assurance that he would never again give his consent to that candidature, should it be revived. This the King firmly refused to do, although M. Benedetti again and again urged his proposal. A few hours later, the French Minister sought a further audience, stating that he wished to recur to the subject spoken of in the morning. The King refused a fresh audience on the ground that

* The Duc de Grammont's communication to Lord Lyons was as follows: "Nous demandons au Roi de Prusse de défendre au Prince de Hohenzollern de revenir sa résolution. S'il le fait tout l'incident est terminé."

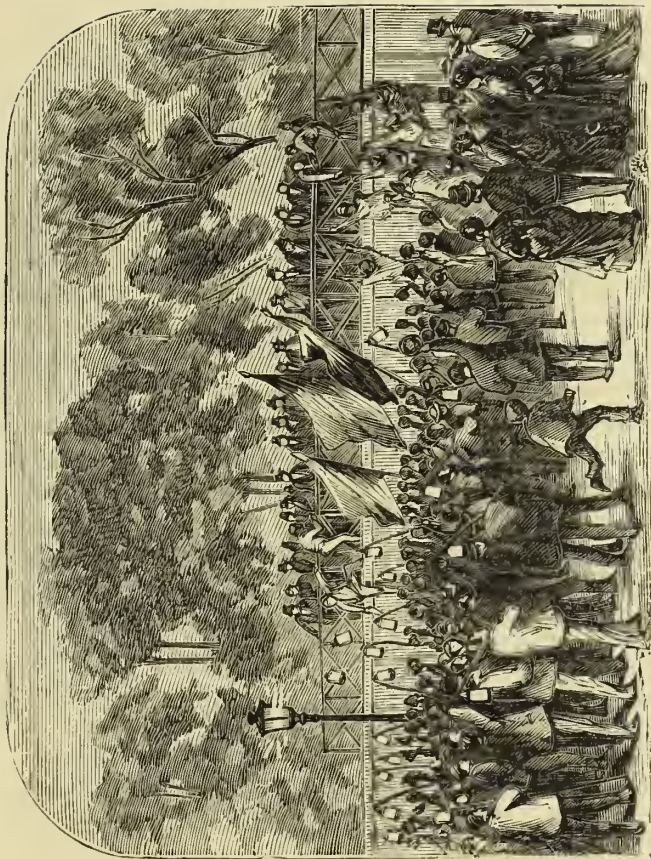


Departure for the Front of the National Guard—the Soldiers Parting from their
Friends at the Depot of Aubervilliers.

he could return no other answer than the one already given, and intimated that all further negotiations must proceed regularly through the Ministers. On the 14th, after an informal but friendly leave-taking of the King, M. Benedetti left Ems. On the same evening the Berlin journals published a short, communicated paragraph, announcing that after the resignation of Prince Leopold had been officially communicated to the French Government, the French Ambassador, at Ems, had further demanded certain engagements of the King, and that "His Majesty thereupon declined to receive the French Ambassador again, and had told him, by the adjutant in attendance, that His Majesty had nothing further to communicate to the Ambassador."

This communication greatly aggravated the French Government and nation. Amongst the French people it was, for a while at least, believed that King William had deliberately insulted their Ambassador; while the German people and press regarded M. Benedetti's course as a studied insult to the King. The sentiment of the Germans was expressed by Count Bismarck in his remarks to Lord Loftus, the British Ambassador at Berlin. On the 13th of July, he told Lord Loftus that the King's courteous reception of M. Benedetti had produced general indignation throughout Prussia. He also intimated that his Government would insist on a retraction of the Duke of Grammont's menaces, and on explanations of the military measures which had been adopted by France. "I could not," said the Count, "hold communication with the French Ambassador after the language held to Prussia by the French Minister for Foreign Affairs in the face of Europe."

On the 15th of July, the Duke of Grammont, with reference to the communication to the Berlin journals, quoted above, told Lord Lyons that "the Prussian Government had deliberately insulted France, by declaring to the public that the King had affronted the French Ambassador. It was evidently the intention of the King of Prussia to take credit with the people of Germany for having acted with haughtiness and discourtesy—in fact to humiliate France."



The Populace in Paris Rejoicing at the Declaration of War.

As early as the 8th of July, the Emperor Napoleon had ordered two *corps d'armée* to be ready for immediate movement, one under the command of Bazaine, the other under Lebœuf. On the 12th the army of Paris commenced moving to the Moselle. On the 14th, at a council of the French Ministers, held at the Tuileries, it was resolved to declare war against Prussia,* and to call out the reserves. On the 15th, war was declared by the French Government to exist between France and Prussia. The grounds upon which the declaration was based were: "1st. The insult offered to Count Benedetti, the French Ambassador, by the King of Prussia, at Ems, and its approval by the Prussian Government; 2nd. The refusal of the King of Prussia to compel the withdrawal of Prince Leopold's name as a candidate for the Spanish Crown; 3rd. The fact that the King persisted in giving the Prince liberty to accept the Crown." The announcement was received by the Chambers with enthusiastic cheers. M. Thiers and Jules Favre endeavored to oppose the course of the Government, but were silenced by the majority. The Chambers, by an overwhelming vote, granted the credit of 50,000,000 francs for the army, and 16,000,000 for the navy, asked for by the Ministers; and motions to call out the Garde Mobile, and for making the term of enlistment cover the period of the war, were carried almost by acclamation.†

* On the morning of the 15th of July, the Government party met in the Committee room of the French Chambers, at ten o'clock. The following conversation occurred in regard to the declaration of war:

M. De Kérâtry. Marshal, are we ready?

Marshal Lebœuf. Entirely ready.

M. De Kérâtry. You give us your word of honor? Consider what a crime it would be to engage France in a war without having provided for every possible contingency.

Marshal Lebœuf. I give you my word of honor we are completely prepared.

M. De Cassagnac. One word more. What do you understand by these words, "being ready?"

M. Lebœuf (with authority). I understand by that to say that if the war should last a year, we would not have even so much as a button to buy.

† The statement of the Ministry in communicating the declaration of war to the Chambers, was as follows:

All Paris was in an uproar. The people were wild with excitement. Shouts of "Vive l'Empereur!" were heard from the bitterest opponents of the Napoleon dynasty, and cries of "Hurrah for the war!" "Down with the Prussians!" "To

"We believe we can count upon your support. We commenced on the 6th negotiations with foreign powers to invoke their good offices with Prussia. We asked nothing of Spain. We took no steps with the Prince of Hohenzollern, considering him shielded by the King of Prussia.

"The majority of the powers admitted, with more or less warmth, the justice of our demands. The Prussian Minister of Foreign Affairs refused to accede to our demands, pretending that he knew nothing of the affair, and that the Cabinet of Berlin remained completely foreign to it. We then addressed ourselves to the King himself, and the King, whilst avowing that he had authorized the Prince of Hohenzollern to accept the candidature to the Spanish Crown, maintained that he had also been foreign to the negotiations, and that he had intervened between the Prince of Hohenzollern and Spain, as head of the family, and not as sovereign. He acknowledged, however, that he had communicated the affair to Count Bismarck. We could not admit this subtle distinction between the chief of the family and the sovereign. In the meanwhile we received an intimation from the Spanish Ambassador that the Prince of Hohenzollern had renounced the Crown. We asked the King to associate himself with this renunciation, and we asked him to engage that should the Crown be again offered to the Prince of Hohenzollern, he would refuse his authorization. Our moderate demand, couched in equally moderate language, written to M. Benedetti, made it clear that we had no *arrière pensée*, and that we were not seeking a pretext in the Hohenzollern affair. The engagement demanded the King refused to give, and terminated the conversation with M. Benedetti by saying that he would in this, as in all other things, reserve to himself the right of considering the circumstances. Notwithstanding that, in consequence of our desire for peace, we did not break off the negotiations. Our surprise was great when we learned that the King had refused to receive M. Benedetti, and had communicated the fact officially to the Cabinet. Baron Werther had received orders to take his leave, and Prussia was arming. Under these circumstances we should have forgotten our dignity and also our prudence had we not made preparations. We have prepared to maintain the war which is offered to us, leaving to each that portion of the responsibility which devolves upon him. (Enthusiastic and prolonged applause.) Since yesterday we have called out the reserve, and we shall take the necessary measures to guard the interests, and the security, and the honor of France."

DECLARATION OF WAR BY THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.

To His Majesty the King of Prussia:

The Government of His Majesty the Emperor of the French being unable to view the project of placing a Prussian Prince on the Spanish throne other-

Berlin!" were heard on all sides. If external evidences are to be trusted, there can be no question that the war was thoroughly popular with the Parisians; and confirmations came in every hour of its popularity in the provinces. The press throughout the empire, as a general rule, endorsed the action of the Government. Its tone may be judged by the following language of the *Constitutionnel*: "Prussia insults us, let us cross the Rhine. The soldiers of Jena are ready."

On the 15th of July Count Bismarck issued a circular warning all German vessels to seek shelter in port; Holland ordered the mobilization of her army; Austria professed neu-

wise than as an action directed against the security of the territories of France, found itself obliged to demand of His Majesty the King of Prussia the assurance that such a combination could not be realized with his consent. His Majesty having refused to give any such guarantee, and having, on the contrary, declared to the Ambassador of His Majesty the Emperor of the French that he intends to reserve to himself for that eventuality, as for any other, the right to be guided by circumstances, the Imperial Government has been forced to see in this declaration of the King an *arrière pensée*, menacing in like manner to France and the European equilibrium. This declaration has been rendered worse by the communication made to the different Cabinets of the King's refusal to receive the Ambassador of the Emperor, and to enter into any further explanations with him. In consequence hereof, the French Government has thought it its duty to take immediate steps for the defence of its honor and its injured interests, and has resolved to adopt, for this object, all measures which the situation in which it has been placed renders necessary. It considers itself from this moment in a state of war against Prussia.

The undersigned has the honor to be, your Excellency's, etc., etc.

(Signed by the Council of Ministers.)

The opposition in the Corps Legislatif demanded that the Ministers should produce the note of the Prussian Government referred to in the above statement, but M. Ollivier declined to do so. The Prussian Government immediately caused it to be declared that "the note which Ollivier declined to read, did not exist as a note, being merely a transcript of a telegram that appeared in the newspapers, and which was communicated to the German Governments and to the North-German Ministers at some non-German Courts for their information, exactly in the very same words in which it was published by the newspapers, and merely as a statement of the nature of the French demands, and of the firm resolution of the King not to yield to them." Therefore it added that it was not in M. Ollivier's power to produce such a diplomatic note.

trality, unless a third Power should intervene; and the German army was ordered to advance to the frontier.

Early on the morning of the 15th, King William left Ems for Berlin. A large crowd of citizens had collected at the station to witness his departure. He said to them, "God is my witness that I have not desired war; but if I am forced into it, I will maintain the honor of Germany to the last man." Upon his arrival at Berlin he was met at the station by Count Bismarck, the Crown Prince, Generals Von Moltke, Von Roon, Von Wrangel, and the Ministers. A telegram announcing the declaration of war by France, was brought to the station by the Under Secretary of State, and read aloud to the King by Count Bismarck. The King listened calmly, and then an informal council took place, the result of which was an order for the immediate mobilization of the army. The Crown Prince announced the news to his suite, and it spread to the crowd collected around the depot. As the King appeared, the multitude broke into the wildest enthusiasm, accompanying the royal carriage to the Palace, and making the welkin ring with their hurrahs and patriotic songs. Says a correspondent of the London press: "Upwards of 100,000 persons were assembled between the railway station at the Brandenburg gate and the Palace, where the King arrived at 9.15 P.M., and was received with indescribable enthusiasm. He came forward repeatedly to the windows of the Palace, saluting and thanking the crowd. The promenade Unter den Linden was illuminated and decorated with North German and Prussian flags. Though this street is fully 200 feet broad, and extends over the length of a mile, it was filled to the brim on both pavements, and on the central promenade. All the houses showed flags, but the attempt to illuminate was promptly stopped, the occasion not being one of rejoicing. This scene of intense excitement lasted until daybreak. Men, women, and children equally took part in it."

The enthusiasm was as great in all parts of Germany as in Berlin. The South German States were as enthusiastic as their Northern sisters. It has been alleged that the Emperor

of the French expected to detach them from their alliance with North Germany, as he believed that they were secretly anxious to rid themselves of their overshadowing neighbor. This is hardly possible. He has authorized the statement that he believed these States would promptly unite their forces with those of Prussia, unless France could promptly throw her army between them and the North, and prevent this junction. However this may be, the South Germans were, if anything, more ardent than their Northern brethren, and throughout the whole of Germany, there was but one cry, "With God and King for Fatherland."

The Bavarian Government, on the 16th of July, ordered the mobilization of its army, and on the same day the Crown Prince of Saxony gave orders for the mobilization of the Saxon Army Corps. On the 20th, Count Bismarck was officially notified that Bavaria would make common cause with Prussia against France. On the same day the Saxon Minister was recalled from Paris. The Bavarian Chamber of Deputies voted the extraordinary credit of 18,200,000 florins demanded by the Government for the expenses of the war. Hesse Darmstadt on the same day officially declared its hearty alliance with Prussia, and its Diet voted the sums demanded for war expenses with enthusiastic cheers. The other German States were as prompt and as cordial. A letter from Frankfort thus expresses the German feeling:

FRANKFORT-ON-THE-MAIN, *July 21.*

The feeling in South Germany, and in the newly annexed Prussian provinces, is entirely on the side of Prussia. France has deceived herself if she expected to find sympathy among the anti-Prussians of two weeks ago. Never was there known such a change of public sentiment as has been seen here before and since the declaration of war on the part of France. Two weeks ago, and this once free city was strongly anti-Prussian; but to-day there cannot be counted a hundred men who do not go heart and soul for the German cause. As regiment after regiment has passed through the city, thousands of citizens have met and cheered them; and on the evening after the news of the declaration of war arrived, many hundreds of the city youth paraded the streets, full of enthusiasm, singing "*Die Wacht am Rhein*," and similar Rhine songs. And the change of sentiment in the annexed provinces is

equally marked. France calculated very much on Hesse Cassel, where the feeling against Prussia was indeed bitter ; but the reception of King William in Cassel on his return to Berlin shows plainly that the hearts of the people are true. The South German States have not hesitated a moment in declaring their intention to keep their treaty of defence and offence made with Prussia in 1866.

The North German Parliament met in Berlin on the 19th of July, in obedience to the royal summons. The declaration of war by France was announced to the Parliament by Count von Bismarck, in his capacity of Chancellor of the Confederation, and was received with cheers. The King opened the session with the following speech from the throne :

Honored Gentlemen of the Parliament of the North German Confederation :

When at your last meeting I bade you welcome from this place in the name of the Allied Governments, it was with joy and gratitude that I was able to bear witness to the fact that, by the help of God, success had rewarded my sincere efforts to meet the wishes of the people, and the requirements of civilization, by avoiding any disturbance of the peace of Europe.

If, notwithstanding this assurance, the menace and imminence of war have now laid upon the Confederate Governments the duty of calling you together for an extraordinary session, you as well as ourselves will be animated with the conviction that the North German Confederation has labored to improve the national forces, not to imperil, but to afford a greater protection to universal peace, and that when we call upon this national army to defend our independence, we only obey the mandates of honor and duty. The candidacy of a German prince for the Spanish throne, both in the bringing forward and withdrawal of which the Confederate Governments were equally unconcerned, and which only interested the North German Confederation in so far as the Government of a friendly country appeared to base upon its success the hopes of acquiring for a sorely tried people a pledge for regular and peaceful government, afforded the Emperor of the French a pretext for a *casus belli*, put forward in a manner long since unknown in the annals of diplomatic intercourse, and adhered to after the removal of the very pretext itself, with that disregard for the people's right to the blessings of peace, of which the history of a former ruler of France affords so many analogous examples. If Germany in former centuries bore in silence such violations of her rights and of her honor, it was only because in her then divided state she knew not her own strength. To-day, when the links of intellectual and rightful community, which began to be knit together at

the time of the wars of liberation, join the more slowly, the more surely, the different German races; to-day, that Germany's armament leaves no longer an opening to the enemy. The German nation contains within itself the will and the power to repel the renewed aggression of France. It is not arrogance that puts these words in my mouth. The Confederate Governments and I myself are acting in the full consciousness that victory and defeat are in the hands of Him who decides the fate of battles. With a clear gaze we have measured the responsibility which, before the judgment seat of God and of mankind, must fall upon him who drags two great and peace-loving peoples of the head of Europe into a devastating war. The more the Confederate Governments are conscious of having done all our honor and dignity permitted to preserve to Europe the blessings of peace, and the more indubitable it shall appear to all minds that the sword has been thrust into our hands, so much the more confidently shall we rely upon the united will of the German Governments, *both of the North and South*, and upon your love of country; and so much the more confidently we shall fight for our right against the violence of foreign invaders. Inasmuch as we pursue no other object than the endurable establishment of peace in Europe, God will be with us, as he was with our forefathers.

The King read the speech in a firm voice, but displayed at several passages much emotion, and was often interrupted with vociferous cheering, especially when he spoke of the no longer divided Germany—a remark which was understood to allude to the co-operation of Bavaria.

At the close of the speech Baron Von Friesen, the Saxon Minister, called for cheers for King William, which were repeated over and over again.

The Ministers asked a loan of 120,000,000 thalers for the expenses of the war, and the measure was carried without opposition. The military authority set to work with vigor to put the armed force of the Confederation in the field, and the whole land resounded with the marching of troops. Says the correspondent of the London *Daily News*, "I was in St. Petersburg when war was declared, and as I travelled westward could see but one great mustering of soldiers and Landwehr men from Königsberg to the Rhine. In Berlin and in Saxony, in Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden, the country was all alive with armed men. The railway officials worked like galley slaves, the telegraph was never idle, and in a fort-

night all was safe. More and more troops were ready with each succeeding day. Bavarians were as ready as Prussians, South Germany as ready as the Northern Confederation."

In France the war fever rose higher, "the Prussians," as the whole German army was called, were regarded with contempt, and all classes were very sure that it would be an easy matter for the French army to march from the Rhine to Berlin. In Paris crowds still paraded the Boulevards bearing flags, and singing the national airs. The Marseillaise was chanted at the opera and the theatres amidst the wildest enthusiasm, and the Emperor, as he drove in from St. Cloud, to receive the Chambers at the Tuileries, was cheered at every step of the way. This reception was held on the 22d of July at 2 o'clock P. M. M. Schneider, the President of the Corps Legislatif, addressed the Emperor as follows :

SIRE : — The Legislative Body has terminated its labors, after voting all its subsidies and laws necessary for the defence of the country. Thus the Chamber has joined in an effective proof of patriotism. The real author of the war is not he by whom it was declared, but he who rendered it necessary. There will be but one voice among the people of both hemispheres, namely, throwing the responsibility of the war upon Prussia, which, intoxicated by unexpected success, and encouraged by our patience and our desire to preserve to Europe the blessings of peace, has imagined that she could conspire against our security and wound with impunity our honor. Under these circumstances France will know how to do her duty. The most ardent wishes will follow you to the army, the command of which you assume, accompanied by your son, who, anticipating the duties of maturer age, will learn by your side how to serve his country. Behind you, behind our army, accustomed to carry the noble flag of France, stands the whole nation ready to recruit it. Leave the regency, without anxiety, in the hands of our august sovereign, the Empress. To the authority commanded by her great qualities, of which ample evidence has already been given, Her Majesty will add the strength now afforded by the liberal institutions, so gloriously inaugurated by your Majesty. Sire, the heart of the nation is with you, and with your valiant army.

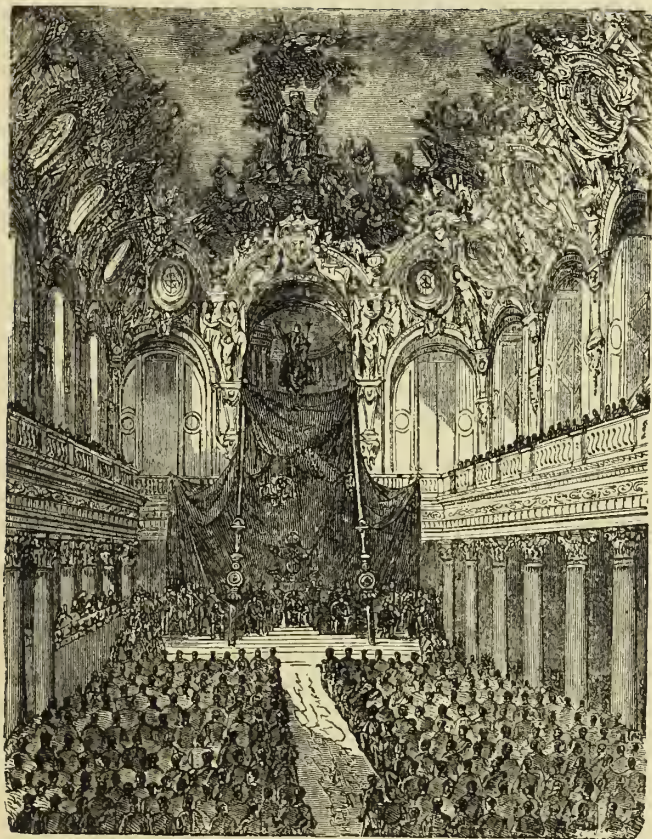
The Emperor replied :

I experience the most lively satisfaction, on the eve of my departure for the army, at being able to thank you for the patriotic support which

you have offered my Government. A war is right when it is waged with the assent of the country, and the approval of the country's representatives. You are right to remember the words of Montesquien, that "the real author of war is not he by whom it is declared, but he who renders it necessary." We have done all in our power to avert the war; and I may say that it is the whole nation that has, by its irresistible impulse, dictated our decisions. I confide to you the Empress, who will call you around her if circumstances should require it. She will know how to fulfil courageously the duty which her position imposes upon her. I take my son with me: in the midst of the army he will learn to serve his country. Resolved energetically to pursue the great mission which has been intrusted to me, I have faith in the success of our arms, for I know that behind me France has risen to her feet, and that God protects her.

The members of the Senate had already congratulated the Emperor upon his course. They were received by him at St. Cloud, on the 16th of July. M. Rouher, the president, in the course of his remarks made use of the expression: "Your Majesty has occupied the last four years in perfecting the armament and organization of the army."

In the Chambers, Thiers, Jules Favre, and a few others of the Liberals, vehemently opposed the war, and to this opposition was added the Republican party, whose chief object was to overthrow the Empire for their own benefit, regardless of the welfare of France. It was a singular sight to see M. Thiers opposing so vigorously the state of affairs he had done so much to bring about. No man in France did more to inflame the popular sentiment against Germany than he, and even as late as 1870, he expressed in a public speech his regret that France had not prevented the formation of the North German Confederation by force. He denounced the *occasion* of the present war as ill-chosen, and the resort to hostilities upon such a pretext as a crime against civilization. We shall have occasion to show the position of all classes of the French people with respect to war with Prussia, and for the present shall content ourselves with remarking that the opposition of the Republicans and their allies was more selfish than patriotic, more prompted by hostility to the Emperor than by love for France.



Reception of the Chambers by the Emperor at the
Tuileries : Paris.

On the 23d of July, the Emperor Napoleon, who had not yet left Paris,* issued the following proclamation :

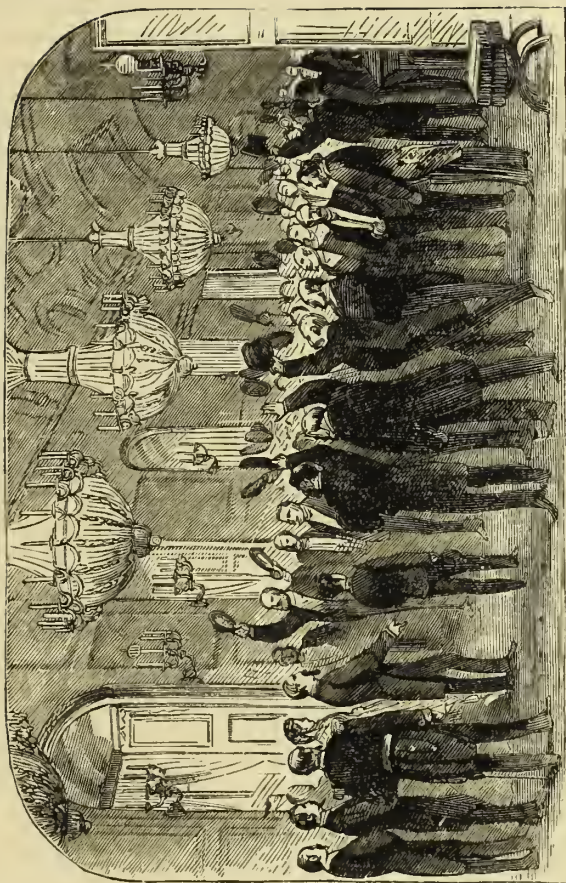
FRENCHMEN :—There are, in the life of a people, solemn moments, when the national honor, violently excited, gathers itself up irresistibly, rises above all other interests, and applies itself with the single purpose of directing the destinies of the nation. One of those decisive hours has now arrived for France. Prussia, to whom we have given evidence during and since the war of 1866 of the most conciliatory disposition, has held our good-will of no account, and has returned our forbearance by encroachments. She has aroused distrust in all quarters necessitating

* The following circular of the French Government to its diplomatic agents abroad, stating the French view of the causes of the war, will be of service to the reader :

“ PARIS, *July*, 21.

“ MONSIEUR :—You are already aware of the chain of events which has conducted us to a rupture with Prussia. The communication which the Emperor's Government produced, on the 15th inst., in the tribunes of the great bodies of the State, and of which I have sent you the text, explained to France and Europe the rapid variations in a negotiation in which, by degrees, as we redoubled our efforts to preserve peace, the secret design of an adversary to render it impossible was disclosed. Either the Cabinet of Berlin considered war necessary for the accomplishment of the projects it had long since been preparing against the autonomy of the German States, or that, not satisfied with having established in the centre of Europe a military power redoubtable to its neighbors, it desired to take advantage of the strength it had acquired to displace definitively, for its own benefit, the international equilibrium ; the premeditated intention of refusing us the guarantees most indispensable to our security as well as our honor, is plainly exhibited in all its conduct. The following doubtless is the plan combined against us : An understanding prepared mysteriously by unavowed intermediates was, if light had not unexpectedly been thrown upon it, to lead things to the point when the candidature of a Prussian prince to the throne of Spain would have been suddenly revealed to the assembled Cortes. A vote carried by surprise, before the Spanish people should have had time for reflection, would have proclaimed—at least such was the hope—Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern heir to the sceptre of Charles V. Thus Europe would have found herself in presence of an accomplished fact ; and, speculating on our deference for the great principle of popular sovereignty, the calculation was that France, in spite of a passing displeasure, would pause before the will, ostensibly expressed, of a nation for which our sympathies were known.

“ The Emperor's Government, as soon as it became aware of the peril, did not hesitate to denounce it to the representatives of the country as to all foreign cabinets ; against that manœuvre the judgment of public opinion became its most legitimate auxiliary. Impartial minds were nowhere deceived



The Emperor receiving the Congratulations of the Members of the Senate upon the
Declaration of War, at the Palace of St. Cloud.

exaggerated armaments, and has made of Europe a camp where reign disgust and fear of the morrow. A final incident had disclosed the instability of the international understanding, and shown the gravity of the situation. In the presence of her new pretensions Prussia was made to understand our claims. They were evaded and followed with contemptuous treatment. Our country manifested profound displeasure at

as to the real situation of things; they immediately comprehended that if we were painfully affected in seeing traced out for Spain—in the exclusive interest of an ambitious dynasty—a part totally unsuited to the straightforwardness of that chivalric people, so little in conformity with the instincts and traditions which unite it to us, we could not have the idea of denying our constant respect for the independence of its national resolutions. Every one felt that the unscrupulous policy of the Prussian Government was alone in this affair. That Government, in fact, not considering itself bound by common right, and despising the rules to which the greatest powers have had the prudence to submit, attempted to impose on abused Europe so dangerous an extension of its influence. France has taken up the cause of equilibrium, that is to say, the interest of all the populations menaced like herself by the disproportionate aggrandizement of a royal house. In so doing does she place herself, as has been asserted, in contradiction to her own maxims? Assuredly not. Every nation, we are foremost to proclaim, has a right to govern its own destinies. That principle, openly affirmed by France, has become one of the fundamental laws of modern politics. But the right of each people, as of each individual, is limited by that of others, and any nation is forbidden, under the pretext of exercising its own sovereignty, to menace the existence or security of a neighboring nation. In that sense it was that M. De Lamartine, one of our great orators, said, in 1847, that in the choice of a sovereign a Government has never the right to pretend, and has always the right to exclude. That doctrine was admitted by all the Cabinets in circumstances analogous to those in which we have been placed by the candidature of the Prince of Hohenzollern, especially in 1831 in the Belgian question, and in 1830 and 1862 in that of Greece. In the Belgian affair, the voice of Europe herself was heard, for the five great Powers decided. The three courts which had taken in hand the cause of the Hellenic people, inspiring themselves with an idea of general interest, had agreed not to accept the throne of Greece for a prince of their families. The Cabinets of Paris, London, Vienna, Berlin, and St. Petersburg, represented in the Conference of London, adopted that example; they made it a rule of conduct for all in a negotiation in which the peace of the world was involved, and thus rendered a solemn homage to that great law of the balance of power which is the basis of the European political system. In vain the National Congress of Belgium persisted in electing the Duke de Nemours. France submitted to the engagement she had made, and refused the Crown brought to Paris by the Belgian Deputies. But she in her turn imposed the necessity to which she resigned

this action, and quickly a war cry resounded from one end of France to the other.

There remains for us nothing but to confide our destinies to the chance of arms. We do not make war upon Germany, whose independence we respect. We pledge ourselves that the people composing the great Germanic nationality shall dispose freely of their destinies. As for us, we

herself, by excluding the candidateship of the Duke de Leuchtenberg, which had been opposed to that of the French Prince.

"In Greece, when the throne was last vacant, the Emperor's Government opposed at the same time the candidateship of Prince Alfred of England and that of another Duke de Leuchtenberg.

"England, acknowledging the validity of the considerations invoked by us, declared at Athens that the Queen did not authorise her son to accept the Crown of Greece. Russia made a similar declaration for the Duke de Leuchtenberg, although that Prince, by reason of his birth, was not considered by her as absolutely a member of the Imperial family.

"Lastly, the Emperor Napoleon spontaneously applied the same principles in a note inserted in the *Moniteur* of the 1st September, 1860, to disavow the candidateship of Prince Murat to the throne of Naples.

"Prussia, whom we did not fail to remind of those precedents, appeared for a moment to give way to our just demands. Prince Leopold withdrew his candidateship; there was room to hope that the peace would not be broken. But that expectation soon gave place to fresh apprehensions, and then to the certainty that Prussia, without seriously abandoning any of her pretensions, was only seeking to gain time. The language, at first undecided, and then firm and haughty, of the chief of the house of Hohenzollern, his refusal to engage to maintain on the morrow the renunciation of yesterday, the treatment inflicted on our Ambassador, who was forbidden, by a verbal message, from any fresh communication for the object of his mission of conciliation, and, lastly, the publicity given to that unparalleled proceeding by the Prussian journals, and by the notification of it made to the Cabinets—all those successive symptoms of aggressive intentions removed every doubt in the most prejudiced minds. Can there be any illusion when a sovereign who commands a million of soldiers declares, with his hand on the hilt of his sword, that he reserves the right of taking counsel of himself alone, and from circumstances? We were led to that extreme limit at which a nation who feels what is due to itself cannot further compromise with the requirements of its honor.

"If the closing incidents of this painful discussion did not throw a somewhat vivid light on the schemes nourished by the Berlin cabinet, there is one circumstance not so well known at present, which would put a decisive interpretation on its conduct.

"The idea of raising a Hohenzollern prince to the Spanish throne was not a new one. So early as March, 1869, it had been mentioned by our Ambassa-

demand the establishment of a state of things guaranteeing our security and assuring the future.

We wish to conquer a durable peace, based on the true interests of the people, and to assist in abolishing that precarious condition of things when all nations are forced to employ their resources in arming against each other.

dor at Berlin, who was at once requested to inform Count de Bismarck what view the Emperor's Government would take of such an eventuality. Count Benedetti, in several interviews he had on this topic with the Chancellor of the South-German Confederation and the Under-Secretary of State entrusted with the management of foreign affairs, did not leave them in ignorance that we could never admit, that a Prussian Prince should reign beyond the Pyrenees.

"Count de Bismarck, for his part, declared that we need be under no anxiety concerning a combination which he himself judged to be incapable of realization, and during the absence of the Federal Chancellor, at a moment when M. Benedetti considered it his duty to be incredulous and pressing, M. de Thile gave his word of honor that the Prince de Hohenzollern was not and could not seriously become a candidate for the Spanish crown.

"If one were to suspect official assurances so positive as this, diplomatic communications would cease to be a guarantee for the peace of Europe; they would be but a snare and a source of peril. Thus, although our Ambassador transmitted these statements under all reserve, the Imperial Government deemed fit to receive them favorably. It refused to call their good faith into question until the combination which was their glaring negation suddenly revealed itself. In unexpectedly breaking the promise which she had given us, without even attempting to take any steps to free herself towards us, Prussia offered us a veritable defiance. Enlightened at once on the value to be attached to the most formal protests of Prussian statesmen, we were imperiously obliged to preserve our loyalty from fresh mistakes in the future by an explicit guarantee. We therefore felt it our duty to insist as we have done on obtaining the certitude that a withdrawal, which was hedged round with the most subtle distinctions, was this time definite and serious. It is just that the court of Berlin should bear, before history, the responsibility of this war which it had the means of avoiding and which it has wished for. And under what circumstances has it sought out the struggle? It is when for the last four years France, displaying continual moderation towards it, has abstained, with a scrupulousness perhaps exaggerated, from calling up against it the treaties concluded under the mediation of the Emperor himself, but the voluntary neglect of which is seen in all the acts of a Government which was already thinking of getting rid of them at the moment of signature.

"Europe has been witness of our conduct, and she has had the opportunity of comparing it with that of Prussia during this period. Let her pronounce now on the justice of our cause. Whatever be the issue of our combats, we

The glorious flag of France, which we once more unfurl in the face of our challengers, is the same which has borne over Europe the civilizing ideas of our great revolution.

It represents the same principles; it will inspire the same devotion. Frenchman! I go to place myself at the head of that valiant army which is animated by love of country and devotion to duty. That army knows its worth, for it has seen victory follow its footsteps in the four quarters of the globe. I take with me my son. Despite his tender years, he knows his duties his name imposes upon him, and he is proud to bear his part in the dangers of those who fight for our country. May God bless our efforts. A great people defending a just cause is invincible.

NAPOLÉON.

A powerful ironclad fleet had been collected at Cherbourg, and on the 25th of July, sailed from that port to blockade the German ports. It was commanded by Admiral Bouet-Willaumez. Being unable to visit it in person, the Emperor sent the Empress to Cherbourg to represent him, and on the day of the sailing of the fleet, she read in tones full of emotion, the following proclamation to the officers and men:

OFFICERS AND SEAMEN:—Although I am not in your midst, my thoughts will follow you upon those seas where your valor is about to be displayed. The French navy has glorious reminiscences. It will prove itself worthy of the past. When, far from the soil of our country, you are face to face with the enemy, remember that France is with you; that her heart throbs with yours; that she invokes upon your arms the protection of heaven. While you are combating at sea, your brethren in arms will be struggling with the same ardor, for the same

await without inquietude the judgment of our contemporaries as that of posterity. Accept, etc.,

GRAMMONT."

This circular drew from the Prussian Ministry the following statement, which was published by authority in the German papers:

"In reference to a circular of the Duke de Grammont, published yesterday, and of which a telegraphic summary has been received here, alleging that the Chancellor of the North German Confederation had declared the candidature of the Prince of Hohenzollern to be impossible, and that the Under-Secretary of State, Baron Thile, had pledged his word that such a candidature did not exist, both the Chancellor and the Secretary declare officially and in their private capacity that not a single word on the subject has ever passed between either of them and M. Benedetti, either officially or in private conversation, since they were first aware of the fact that the offer of the Spanish crown had been made to the Prince of Hohenzollern."

cause as yourselves. Do you reciprocally second each other's efforts, the same success will crown them. Go ! display with pride our national colors. On beholding the tri-colored flag floating over our ships, the enemy will know that in its folds it bears everywhere the honor and the genius of France.

NAPOLEON.

PALACE OF ST. CLOUD, *July, 23d, 1870.*

On the 28th of July, the Emperor left St. Cloud in a special train for Metz, the headquarters of the army, and arriving there issued the following address to his troops on taking command :

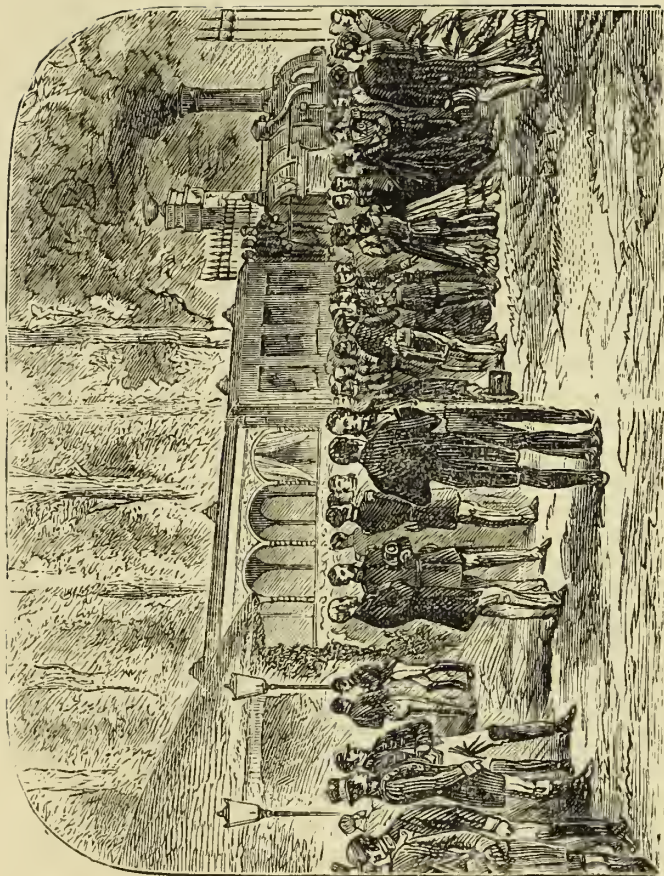
SOLDIERS : — I come to take my place at your head to defend the honor of the soil of our country. You go to combat against one of the best armed of European countries ; but other countries as valiant as this have not been able to resist your valor. It will be the same to-day. The war which now commences will be long and hardly contested, for its theatre will be places hedged with obstacles and thick with fortresses ; but nothing is beyond the persevering efforts of the soldiers of Africa, Italy, and Mexico. You will prove once more what the French army is able to accomplish, animated by a sentiment of duty, maintained by discipline, influenced by love of country. Whatever road we may take across our frontiers, we will find upon it glorious traces of our fathers, and we will show ourselves worthy of them. All France follows you with ardent prayers, and the eyes of the universe are upon you. Upon our success depends the fate of liberty and civilization. Soldiers, let each one do his duty, and the God of battles will be with us.

NAPOLEON.

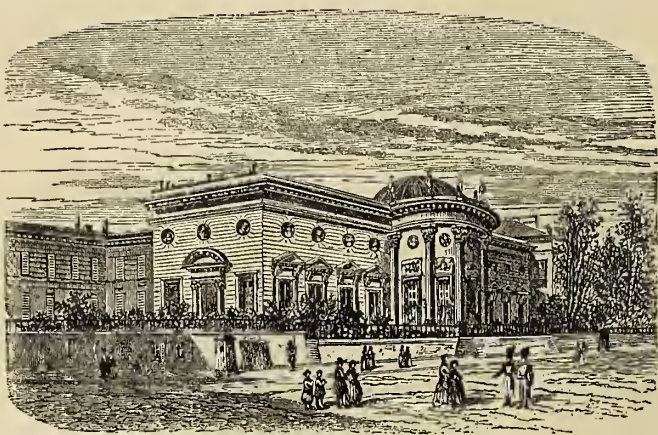
At the general headquarters at Metz, *July 28, 1870.*

Before leaving Berlin, King William, by the following proclamation, set apart the 27th of July, as a day of solemn prayer :

I am compelled to draw the sword to ward off a wanton attack, with all the forces at Germany's disposal. It is a great consolation to me before God and man that I have in no way given a pretext for it. My conscience acquits me of having provoked this war, and I am certain of the righteousness of our cause in the sight of God. The struggle before us is serious, and it will demand heavy sacrifices from my people and from all Germany. But I go forth to it looking to the omniscient God, and imploring His Almighty support. I have already cause to thank God that on the first news of the war one only feeling animated all German hearts and proclaimed aloud the indignation felt at the attack, and the joyful confidence that God will bestow victory on the righteous cause. My people will also stand by me in this struggle, as they stood by my



Departure of the Emperor and Prince Imperial from the Palace of St. Cloud
for the Army of the Rhine.



Palace of the Legion of Honor : Paris

father, who now rests with God. They will, with me, make all sacrifices to conquer peace again for the nations. From my youth upwards I have learnt to believe that all depends upon the help of a gracious God. In him is my trust, and I beg my people to rest in the same assurance. I bow myself before God in acknowledgment of his mercy, and I am sure that my subjects and fellow-countrymen do so with me. Therefore, I declare that Wednesday, July 27, shall be set apart for an extraordinary solemn day of prayer, and Divine service in all our churches, with abstention from all public occupations and labor so far as may comport with the pressing necessities of this time. I also decree that while the war lasts prayers shall be offered in all Divine services, that in this struggle God may lead us to victory; that he may give us grace to bear ourselves as Christian men, even unto our enemies, and that it may please him to allow us to obtain a lasting peace, founded on the honor and independence of Germany.

(Signed)
BERLIN, *July 21.*

WILLIAM.
VON MUHLER.

On the 31st of July, the King left Berlin for his temporary headquarters at Mayence, which he reached on the 2d of August. The next day he issued the following address to his troops :

All Germany stands united against a neighboring State, which has surprised us by declaring war without justification. The safety of the fatherland is threatened. Our honors and our hearths are at stake. To-

day I assume command of the whole army. I advance cheerfully to a contest like that which, in former times, our fathers, under similar circumstances, fought gloriously. The whole fatherland and myself trust with confidence in you. The Lord God will be with our righteous cause.

WILLIAM.

Meanwhile the efforts of the neutral Powers to avert the war continued, but without avail. The most graceful, as well as the most touching of these was the offer of mediation by Pope Pius IX., who on the 22d of July, addressed letters to both the Emperor and King William. His letter to the King was as follows :

YOUR MAJESTY :—In the present grave circumstances it may appear an unusual thing to receive a letter from me ; but, as the Vicar on earth of God and peace, I cannot do less than offer my mediation.

It is my desire to witness the cessation of warlike preparations, and to stop the evils—their inevitable consequences. My mediation is that of a Sovereign whose small domain excites no jealousy, and who inspires confidence by the moral and religious influence he personifies.

May God lend an ear to my wishes, and listen also to those I form for your Majesty, to whom I would be united in the bonds of charity.

Given at the VATICAN, *July 22d, 1870.*

PIUS.

A postscript adds :

I have written identically to the Emperor.

It is not known what reply the Emperor made to this offer, but the response of the King was prompt, and to the following effect :

MOST AUGUST PONTIFF :—I am not surprised, but profoundly moved by the touching words traced by your hand.

They cause the voice of God and of peace to be heard. How could my heart refuse to listen to so powerful an appeal ? God witnesses that neither I nor my people desired or provoked war.

Obedying the sacred duties which God imposes on Sovereigns and nations, we take up the sword to defend the independence and honor of our country, ready to lay it down the moment those treasures are secure.

If your Holiness could offer me, from him who so unexpectedly declared war, assurances of sincerely pacific dispositions, and guarantees against a similar attempt upon the peace and tranquillity of Europe, it certainly will not be I who will refuse to receive them from your venerable hands, united as I am with you in bonds of Christian charity and sincere friendship.

(Signed)

WILLIAM.

As a means of weakening the sympathy of the neutral Powers for France, Count Bismarck on the 29th of July issued a circular to the diplomatic agents of Prussia at the courts of those Powers, giving an *exposé* of secret negotiations made by Napoleon III. to Prussia in May, 1866, and renewed several times since that date. The following is an abstract of the circular :

“Before the Danish war, says Count Bismarck, the French legation at Berlin urged an alliance between France and Prussia for the purpose of mutual aggrandizement. France, anticipating war with Austria as a consequence of the Danish war, made overtures relative to the restoration of the Luxembourg frontier of 1814, the acquisition of Saarburg and Landau, while a broader settlement of the boundary question on the basis of language was not to be excluded. These propositions in May, 1866, took the form of propositions for an alliance, offensive and defensive, the manuscript of the original of which is in the foreign office here. These propositions are as follows :

First. Should the Congress of the powers assemble, Italy to have Venetia and Prussia the Duchies.

Second. Should the Congress disagree, alliance offensive and defensive will be made between France and Prussia.

Third. Prussia to open hostilities within ten days after the dissolution of the Congress.

Fourth. Should no Congress meet, Prussia to attack Austria within thirty days after the signature of the present treaty.

Fifth. Napoleon to begin hostilities against Austria as soon as Prussia begins, despatching 300,000 men during the first month across the Rhine.

Sixth. No separate treaty shall be made by either Power with Austria. When a joint treaty is made the following are to be the conditions : 1. Venetia to go to Italy ; 2. Prussia to select German territory at will for annexation, the number of inhabitants not to exceed eight millions of souls, the territory thus acquired to become a part of the kingdom of Prussia without federal rights ; 3. France to have a liberal share of the Rhine provinces.

Seventh. A military and maritime alliance to be made between France and Prussia, to which Italy may become a party should she so desire.

"This programme (the circular states) was rejected in June, 1866, in spite of the threatening urgency of France. The proposals were incessantly renewed, with modifications sacrificing Belgium and South Germany, but they were never seriously entertained by Prussia. For the sake of peace, however, it was thought best to leave Napoleon to his delusions. No word implying approval was returned; time was counted on to revolutionize France and extinguish the scheme: hence the long delay and silence. The attempt against Luxembourg failing, France repeated her former propositions, making the specifications clear in regard to the acquisition of Belgium by France and South Germany by Prussia. These last propositions were formulated by Count Benedetti himself; and it is improbable that he wrote them without the authority of the Emperor, as they are the same which were made four years ago, under threat of war as the alternative of their refusal. Any one acquainted with these antecedents must have known that had Prussia acquiesced in the seizure of Belgium, France would soon have found another Belgium in Prussian territory."

The publication of this document was followed by the general circulation of photographic copies of the manuscript of the secret treaty. The French Government emphatically denied that it had ever made such proposals to Prussia. On the morning after the publication of the treaty, M. Ollivier, the French Prime Minister, had an interview with the principal editors of Paris, during which he explained the position of the Government on several questions relating to Prussia.

He gave the same explanation of the secret treaty project that Count Benedetti had previously given relative to the measures taken by the French Cabinet some time previous to affect a general disarmament, which measures, he said, were merely intermediary to those of the Earl of Clarendon, the British Premier, for a like purpose. Count von Bismarck replied to the Earl of Clarendon that King William refused absolutely to disarm. M. Ollivier said he gave the honor of

his name and that of his colleagues that no offer was made to Prussia other than that made by the Earl of Clarendon.

M. Benedetti published an explanation of his part in the transaction. He said it was well known that Count von Bismarck made "France an offer both before and after the war with Austria. The substance of this offer was that France should take Belgium as compensation for the aggrandizement of Prussia. The Emperor in all cases declined the proposition. The very moment the treaty of Prague was concluded, Count von Bismarck again betrayed his desire to 'restore the equilibrium,' and made several proposals looking to combinations affecting the integrity of States bordering on France. During one of these conversations Count von Bismarck dictated to Count Benedetti this secret treaty project which has just been made public, and which Count von Bismarck has kept ever since. This accounts for the handwriting. Count Benedetti gave notice of the contents of the proposed treaty to the Emperor's Government at the time, but the proposition was promptly rejected." Count Benedetti added that the King of Prussia was not favorable to Count Bismarck's plans.

Count Bismarck, upon the publication of M. Benedetti's letter, again addressed the Prussian representatives at foreign courts, insisting upon the correctness of his statements. He gave a circumstantial account of the manner in which M. Benedetti drew up the treaty, and added that he had reason to believe that the proposition would have been renewed as soon as the preparations for war were complete, had it not been for the publication of the text.*

* The exact language of the treaty and the letters concerning it are here given :

DRAUGHT TREATY.

"His Majesty the King of Prussia and His Majesty the Emperor of the French, judging it useful to bind closer the ties of friendship which unite them, and so confirm the relations of good neighborhood which happily exist between the two countries, and being beside convinced that to attain this result, which is, moreover, of a kind to insure the maintenance of the general peace, it is for their interest to come to an understanding on the questions concerning their future relations, have resolved to conclude a treaty to the

The effect of this discussion upon the neutral nations is thus stated by one of the leading journals of Europe :

“ The controversy between the diplomatists of France and Germany as to which of their bodies is guilty of the concoction, and which of the concealment, of the design to seize on Belgium, has almost burnt itself out, so intense has been its fire. The resources of diplomacy are exhausted when each combatant has accused the other of direct falsehood. Among all the clouds of assertion and denial it remains clear that Count Benedetti wrote out the terms of a treaty for the appro-

following effect, and have, in consequence, nominated as their representatives the following persons, viz. :

His Majesty, etc.

His Majesty, etc.

Who, after exchanging their full powers, which have been found in good and due form, have agreed on the following Articles :

ART. I. His Majesty the Emperor of the French acquiesces in and recognizes the gains made by Prussia in the course of the last war waged by her against Austria, and that Power's allies.

ART. II. His Majesty the King of Prussia engages to facilitate the acquisition by France of Luxembourg ; and for this purpose His Majesty will enter into negotiations with His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, with the view of inducing him to cede his sovereign rights over the Duchy to the Emperor of the French, on the terms of such compensation as shall be judged adequate or otherwise. The Emperor of the French, on his side, engages to assume whatever pecuniary charges this arrangement may involve.

ART. III. His Majesty the Emperor of the French shall raise no opposition to a federal union of the Confederation of North Germany with the States of South Germany, excepting Austria, and this federal union may be based on one common Parliament ; due reservation, however, being made of the sovereignty of the said States.

ART. IV. His Majesty the King of Prussia, on his side, in case His Majesty the Emperor of the French should be led by circumstances to cause his troops to enter Belgium or to conquer it, shall grant armed aid to France, and shall support her with all his forces, military and naval, in the face of and against every Power which should, in this eventuality, declare war.

ART. V. To insure the complete execution of the preceding conditions, His Majesty the King of Prussia and His Majesty the Emperor of the French contract, by the present treaty, an alliance offensive and defensive, which they solemnly engage to maintain. Their Majesties bind themselves, besides and in particular, to observe its terms in all cases when their respective States, the integrity of which they reciprocally guarantee, may be threatened with

priation of the country of an unoffending neighbor, whose neutrality and independence the State he represented had guaranteed. It is equally clear that Count Bismarck either suggested such a project, or, as he says, permitted it to remain unknown to the friendly States, and especially to England, on whom it was an attack. When Count Bismarck refused the Emperor an inch of German soil after Sadowa, he took care to let it be known to all the world that France had made the demand and had been refused. But when Belgium was in question, he at least, to use his own words, let France suppose he

attack; and they shall hold themselves bound, in any like conjuncture, to undertake without delay, and under no pretext to decline, whatever military arrangements may be enjoined by their common interest conformably to the terms and provisions above declared."

FRENCH DENIALS.

PARIS, *July 29, 1870.*

To the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

MONSIEUR LE DUC: However unjust may have been the criticisms of which I was personally the object when the fact became known in France that the Prince of Hohenzollern had accepted the crown of Spain, I did not feel called on to notice them, and, as was my duty, I left to His Majesty's Government the care of rectifying them. I cannot maintain the same silence in presence of the use which Count Bismarck has made of a document to which he seeks to assign a value it never possessed, and I ask permission from your Excellency to re-establish the facts in all their exactitude. It is a matter of public notoriety that the Chancellor offered to us, before and during the last war, to assist in re-uniting Belgium to France, in compensation for the aggrandizements which he aimed at, and which he has obtained for Prussia. I might on this point invoke the testimony of the whole diplomacy of Europe, which was aware of everything that was going on. The French Government constantly declined those overtures, and one of your predecessors, M. Drouyn de Lhuys, is in a position to give on this point explanations which would not leave any doubt subsisting. At the moment when the peace of Prague was concluded, and in presence of the excitement raised in France by the annexation of Hanover, Electoral Hesse, and the City of Frankfort to Prussia, Count Bismarck again testified the most ardent desire to re-establish the equilibrium broken by these acquisitions. Various combinations respecting the integrity of the States bordering on France and Germany were suggested; they became the object of several interviews, during which the Count always endeavored to make his personal ideas prevail. In one of those conversations, and in order to form a thorough comprehension of his intentions, I consented to transcribe them, in some sort, under his dictation. The form, no

might agree to an extension of territory in that quarter, without making any express promise. Nothing will shake the conviction of most Englishmen that France and Prussia have on many occasions in the last four years discussed the appropriation of Belgium by France, in defiance of England, as a thing having so much to recommend it as to make it worth serious discussion. That Count Benedetti and Prince Napoleon entered on such discussions without knowing very well that the Emperor would approve of their doing so, is totally incredible. Count Bismarck may perhaps have never let his

less than the substance, clearly demonstrates that I confined myself to reproducing a project conceived and developed by him. Count Bismarck kept the paper, desiring to submit it to the King. On my side, I reported to the Imperial Government the communications which had been made to me. The Emperor rejected them as soon as they were brought to his knowledge. I ought to say that the King of Prussia himself appeared unwilling to accept the basis suggested, and since that period—that is to say, during the last four years—I have had no further exchange of ideas with Count Bismarck on the subject. If the initiation of such a treaty had been taken by the Emperor's Government the draft would have been prepared at the Ministry, and I should not have had to produce a copy in my own handwriting; besides, it would have been differently worded, and negotiations would have been carried on simultaneously in Paris and Berlin. In that case the Prussian Minister would not have contented himself with handing, indirectly, the text over to publication, especially at the moment when your Excellency was rectifying in the despatches which were inserted in the *Journal Officiel*, other errors which attempts were being made to propagate. But to attain his aim—that of misleading public opinion and forestalling any indiscretions which we might ourselves commit—he has adopted this expedient, which dispensed him from specifying at what moment, under what circumstances, and in what manner, that document was written. He evidently entertained the idea of suggesting, owing to those omissions, conjectures which, while disengaging his personal responsibility, would compromise that of the Emperor's Government. There is no need to qualify such proceedings; to point them out and deliver them to the judgment of the public in Europe, is sufficient. Accept, etc.

V. BENEDETTI.

EMILE OLLIVIER'S DENIAL.

PARIS, *July 26, 1870*

MY DEAR FRIEND:—How could you believe there was any truth in the Treaty the *Times* has published? I assure you that the Cabinet of the 2d of January never negotiated or concluded anything of the kind with Prussia

Royal master into the secret. But the fact remains that those who were then masters of France and Prussia consulted as to the advisableness of extinguishing Belgium by sheer force. We cannot feel as partisans of one more than of the other side. But now that the whole truth is known, we are obliged to look our position in the face, and see what we can do and ought to do, and what turn of events will be most advantageous to us. Obviously it is France, not Germany, that wants

I will even tell you that it has negotiated nothing at all with her. The only negotiations that have existed between us have been indirect, confidential, and had Lord Clarendon for their intermediary. Since Mr. Gladstone slightly raised the veil in one of his speeches, we may allow ourselves to say, that the object of those negotiations, so honorable to Lord Clarendon, was to assure the peace of Europe by a reciprocal disarmament. You will admit that this does not much resemble the conduct of Ministers who seek a pretext for war. You know the value I set upon the confidence and friendship of the great English nation. The union of the two countries has always seemed to me the most essential condition of the world's progress. And for that reason I earnestly beg you to contradict all those false reports, spread by persons who have an interest in dividing us. We have no secret policy hidden behind our avowed policy. Our policy is single, public, loyal, without *arrière-pensées*; we do not belong to the school of those who think might is superior to right; we believe, on the contrary, that right will always prevail in the end; and it is because the right is on our side in the war now beginning, that, with the help of God, we reckon upon victory. Affectionate salutations from your servant. (Signed) EMILE OLLIVIER.

BISMARCK'S REJOINDER.

BERLIN, July 29.

TO COUNT BERNSTORFF:—Your Excellency will be good enough to communicate the following to Lord Granville: The document published by the *Times* contains one of the proposals which have been made to us since the Danish war, by official and unofficial French agents, with the object of establishing an alliance between Prussia and France for their mutual aggrandizement. I will send the text of an offer made in 1866, according to which France proposed to aid Prussia with 300,000 men against Austria, and to permit Prussia's aggrandizement by six or eight millions of subjects, in return for the cession to France of the district between the Rhine and the Moselle. The impossibility of agreeing to this course was clear to all except French diplomatists. On this proposition being rejected, the French Government began to calculate upon our defeat. France has not ceased to tempt us with offers, to be carried out at the cost of Germany and Belgium. In the interests of peace I kept them secret. After the Luxembourg affair,

Belgium. It is a great object to Germany that France should not have Belgium, and a strong united Germany is likely to secure this object as nothing else could do. If Germany holds her own against France, and if it is thoroughly understood that England means to go to war if Belgium is seized, the independence of Belgium is placed on its only possible permanent basis. It is strange, however, how even now the French official press and the proclamations and manifestoes

the proposals dealing with Belgium and South Germany were renewed. M. Benedetti's manuscript belongs to this period. It is not likely that M. Benedetti acted without the Emperor's sanction. Finally, the conviction that no extension of territory was attainable in conjunction with us, *must have matured the resolve to obtain it by fighting us*. I have even grounds for believing that, had not this project been made public after our armaments on both sides were complete, France would have proposed to us jointly to carry out M. Benedetti's programme against unarmed Europe, and to conclude peace *at Belgium's cost*. If the French Cabinet now repudiates aims for our participation in which it has uninterruptedly labored since 1864, either by demands or promises, this is easily to be explained by the present political situation.

I enclose to you, for Lord Granville, the original copy of Benedetti's proposed second secret treaty, referred to, presented in his own handwriting:

SECRET TREATY NO. 2.

ART. I. The French empire again assumes possession of the territory which belonged to France in 1814, and is now part of the dominions of Prussia.

ART. II. If Prussia pledges herself to obtain from the King of Bavaria and the Grand Duke of Hesse the cession of the territory which they possess on the left bank of the Rhine, and to transfer its possession to France, an indemnification of the two German Princes is reserved.

ART. III. All the provisions uniting the territory which is under the sovereignty of the King of the Netherlands to the Germanic Confederation, as well as those which refer to the rights of garrison in the fortress of Luxembourg, are annulled.

The following letter, referring to the above treaty, is likewise preserved in Berlin in Benedetti's own handwriting:

"MY DEAR PRESIDENT:—In reply to your communications which I have sent from Nicholsburg to Paris, in consequence of our interview of the 26th ult., I have received from Vichy the copy of a secret treaty, of which I enclose a copy. I hasten to communicate it to you, in order that you may be able to examine it at your leisure. I am at your disposition to confer with you about it whenever you think the right moment to have come. Yours,

"Sunday, Aug. 5, 1866.

BENEDETTI."

of the French Government persist in ignoring the fact that it is Germany that France is opposing, and not Prussia, and that the Germans resent French interference in their affairs quite as much as they resent French intrusion into their territory. The Emperor will have it that he goes to save Germany from despotism, and the *Journal Officiel* recounts the efforts of French diplomacy to keep Germany weak and divided, as if these efforts deserved the utmost gratitude from Germans, and as if their failure ought to justify even in German eyes the waging of war against that odious Power who made them fail.”*

Having failed in their efforts to secure peace, the neutral Powers, including the United States of America, declared a strict neutrality between the combatants, and forbade the people of their respective countries from unlawfully assisting either party. Thus the conflict was narrowed down to France and Germany, the rest of the world remaining as spectators of the dreadful struggle.

Here, just on the eve of the war, we may pause to notice a feature of the conflict which has produced endless discussion. It has been charged, on the one hand, by the enemies of the Emperor Napoleon III., that he dragged the French nation into the war in opposition to its wishes, and asserted, on the other hand, by his friends, that he was forced into it against his better judgment by the popular will. A clearer understanding of this question will be of infinite service to us in discussing the events of the war.

In the opening pages of this work we have shown the state of feeling on the part of the French people towards Germany, and have argued from it that war was certain at some future time. M. Prevost Paradol, than whom no better exponent of the sentiment of the French Liberals (the opponents of the Empire) can be found, has said in the concluding chapter of his “*La France Nouvelle*,” in reviewing the events of 1866 :

“It remains for us to examine the hypothesis of peace, that is, systematic and prolonged inactivity of France, while wit-

* The London *Saturday Review*.

nessing the continual aggrandizement of Prussia and the progress of German unity.

“ We do not need to dissimulate that *this is the least probable hypothesis of all*, for every chance *indicates that war must burst out from the actual situation*. It is not that the Prussian Government means to provoke it, nor that the French Government desires it: on the contrary, it is well known that, by different reasons, the rulers of these two States are sincerely attached to peace; but in spite of the will of men the situation is for war. It is almost an impossibility that Prussia, with all her prudence, should not threaten once more to absorb Germany; and is it impossible that the French Government, with all their forbearance, should let Prussia go on without resisting it, sword in hand?”

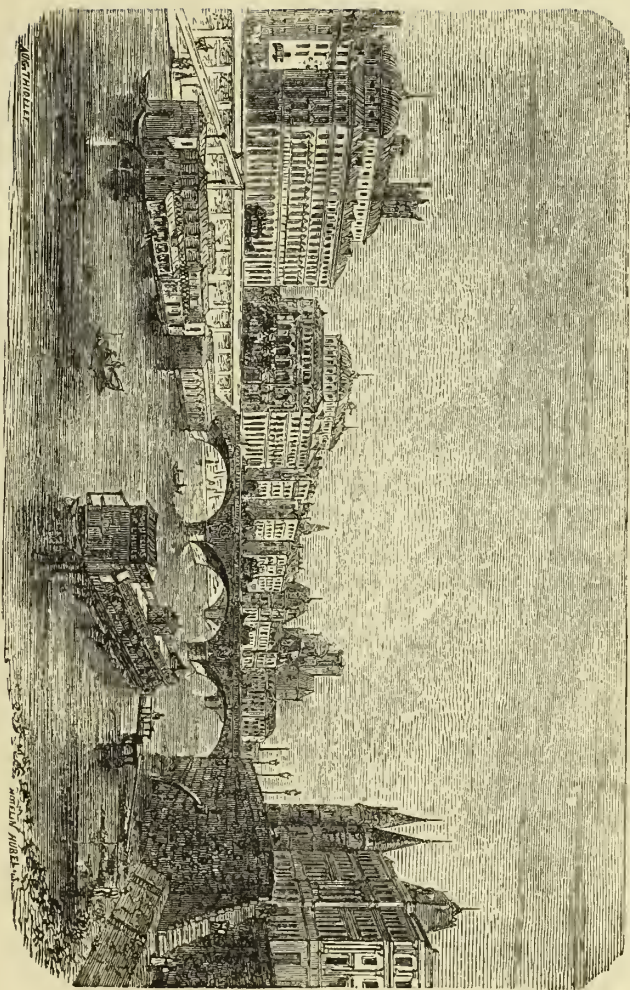
Alexis de Tocqueville invariably declared that whenever any ruler of France should give the word to march on the Rhine with a definite aim of reconquest, the whole nation would rise and march on the Rhine as it had done before.

As we have already shown, there were two strong feelings influencing the people of France; the one a desire to regain the left bank of the Rhine, and the other a desire to prevent the consolidation of Germany, because of its danger to France. If the Empire encouraged these feelings, its antagonists were no less guilty. M. Thiers, the ablest of all the opponents of the Empire, and at one time the Prime Minister of France under Louis Philippe, had always maintained during his whole political career the proposition that it was the right and the interest of France to prevent, by diplomacy or if necessary by force, the consolidation abroad of the national unity which constitutes her own greatness and pride. Of late years the chief weight of the attacks of this veteran statesman upon the political system of France has been rested upon its neglect to prevent the unification of Italy and Germany. He has always maintained that France should have exerted her whole force to keep the Italian states and those of Germany as widely separated as possible. His bitter remark that the Second Empire had made two great statesmen in Europe,

Cavour and Bismarck, is well known, and did no little damage to the peace of Europe by fanning the French opposition to Germany to a still greater heat.

The attacks of the leading French Republicans upon the Emperor, upon this very ground, were even more bitter. M. Prevost Paradol, one of the most brilliant, as well as one of the most thoroughly informed as to the national feeling, shall serve as a specimen of his colleagues, since we have not space for other citations. In a letter to the *Courrier du Dimanche*, in 1866, he said: "They talk to us of *compensation* for the approaching completion of German unity. Sir, I know of no compensation but one, which can be worthy of the head of a Government of France, whatever may be his name, or origin, or title—whether he calls himself King, President, or Emperor—and that is to die fighting sword in hand, to prevent it."

An English writer, commenting on the course of M. Paradol and his colleagues, says: "It would be unjust to the unfortunate ruler of France—whose declaration of war against Prussia rekindled into so fierce a blaze from their embers of 1813–14 all those national animosities which still smouldered in the German heart—to forget that politicians claiming the title of Moderate on all other questions, and exercising such influence as that of Thiers in the legislative body and Prevost Paradol in the press, had been declaring war, so far as words went, these four years on the whole German nation, if it should dare to complete its union under Prussian leadership or in Prussian alliance. It was *casus belli* enough that an united German nation should presume to form itself beside an united French nation; and it could only be a question of time, prudence, and preparation, *when* the Rhine should be crossed to crush such insolent pretensions with the armed force of France." The writer before us, indeed, shows the shrinking of humanity from the horrors of the coming conflict, and the presentiment of genius of the doubtful prospect of success. But in his view the mere fact that Germany pretended to national unity would justify France in drawing the sword to keep her, perforce, divided. "And the very doubt



Pont au Change, showing the Theatres on the North Side : Paris.

of victory exasperated the feverish impatience which expected the combat."

Having done all in their power to make the country wish for war, having brought public opinion to such a state that peace was impossible and war a question of time only, having held up the Emperor to popular execration because he would not make war to prevent the accomplishment of the German wish, one might suppose that these gentlemen would be the warmest supporters of the Government when the war did come. Not so. Having driven the Emperor into the war, they, to serve their own ends, began a fierce opposition to him, alleging as their excuse that the occasion of the rupture was ill chosen; and in the hour of their country's supreme peril they applied themselves with unpatriotic energy to the task of weakening and overthrowing the Government of the Emperor. When all France should have presented a solid front to the foe, these Moderate gentlemen could find no more heroic employment than distressing and embarrassing the Administration to which the country looked for the prosecution of what all parties knew to be a death struggle. The plea upon which they based their opposition was as unpatriotic as their conduct. It was more—it was untrue. The war not their work, indeed! Who but they had maddened France? Who but they had driven public opinion to such an extreme that the Government could see no other course to satisfy it but war? History will do these Moderate gentlemen justice, and will stamp them as men who shrank from the consequences of their own acts, as men whose patriotism could rise no higher than a selfish opposition to a dynasty.

The Emperor Napoleon, from his place of captivity, has just given to the world his defence of his course, and the reasons which drove him into the war. It is so important a part of the history of the struggle, that I give it here entire. It is as follows:

"The policy of the Second Empire has been the subject of violent attacks. It has been reproached with uncertainty and the absence of frankness. The Emperor Napoleon III.

has been represented as a cunning, false man, without defined principles, acting contrary to his promises, without other motive than a vulgar ambition. It becomes those who have served both the sovereign and his policy to present the truth. We will endeavor to prove, in recalling facts too much forgotten, that, since 1852, the acts of the Cabinet of the Tuileries have always had the same end—the grandeur of France, a better reconstruction of Europe. So long as the authority of the Emperor was powerful and respected, the country was calm and respected, our exterior relations inspired no alarm. Under that far-seeing and moderate regime that has been called the personal government, we have enjoyed eighteen years of security and prosperity. The embarrassments and misfortunes have only fallen upon France since the establishment of the Parliamentary system, that so much vaunted form of government, where the responsible ministers create the catastrophes, and retire from them as they arrive in order to let all their responsibility and weight fall upon the head of the State.

“Let us begin at the commencement of his reign. When Napoleon III. ascended the throne, he found himself, by the force of things, called to realize a second time, although in a much smaller proportion, the mission of the Emperor Napoleon I., who explained at St. Helena his work in the world by these words: ‘I have conquered revolution, ennobled the people, and reestablished kings.’ The Revolution of February (1848) had shaken many thrones. To consolidate them it was necessary to reestablish in France order and the principle of authority. Europe, like France, was tried by subversive passions, foolish theories, as well as by imperative wants and legitimate aspirations. It was necessary to suppress the former, and give to the latter a rapid impulse—taking from the revolution all that there was of good, aiding the moral and material advancement of all classes of society in elevating the people to a higher degree of civilization. Carried to the highest power by the free will of the people, the Emperor had no need, in order to sustain an uncontested

authority, to have recourse to expedients, neither to seek a vain military glory. His first thoughts were solely turned towards internal improvements, and as to foreign questions, he hoped that in the times in which we live, they would be settled without contention, without violence, by the accord of enlightened men who were at the head of the governments. Also, when in his address at Bordeaux he pronounced the sentiment: 'The Empire is Peace,' he expressed a sincere desire, a profound conviction. Events that are in the hands of God were soon to awaken him from illusions that had birth in an elevated mind and an honest soul. At the moment when Napoleon III. was engaged with M. Bineau, then Minister of Finance, on a project for the reduction of taxes, affecting more particularly the poorer classes, the Eastern Question suddenly sprang up like a scarecrow in the midst of golden dreams of a Government that began with a firm hope of inaugurating in France the era *de la poule au pot*, the dream of Henry IV. This was a cruel disappointment to the Emperor to be obliged to adjourn his projects of internal reform in order to apply all his solicitude to preparations for war. It became his duty to sustain in the East with the aid of two free nations, the traditional policy of France. The Crimean War, the cause and ending of which are unnecessary to relate here, resulted in cementing the alliance of France and Great Britain. By the moderation exemplified by France, during the discussion of the conditions of peace, she gained the esteem and friendship of Russia. From that epoch the relations between the two Governments have always been marked by the most entire frankness and the greatest cordiality; and thus, while the alliance with England remained so intimate, the local hatred that had so long divided the two countries weakened more and more. Napoleon III. never ceased to be faithful to that alliance, and repulsed far from him every suggestion that invited him to profit by the embarrassments of the United Kingdom that might create great difficulties and trouble a rival Power. The Emperor resisted with firmness these temptations, and

never hesitated to place his sympathies on the side of his ally, whether it was at the time of the Indian revolt, during the war of Secession in America, in the affair of the steamer *Trent*, at the time of the Abyssinian expedition, and in other as critical circumstances.

“But it was not only England and Russia that the Emperor conciliated by his conduct, frank and honest, in 1856. It gained also the gratitude of Prussia by the haste with which he responded to a desire of the King. Here are the circumstances: The belligerent Powers only, that is to say, Russia, England, France, Turkey, and Piedmont, were convoked at the Paris Peace Congress. The King of Prussia was extremely offended at not being invited to that Conference, which was to regulate the peace of Europe. England energetically opposed the admission of one of his representatives. She showed herself still much irritated at the conduct of the Cabinet of Berlin, which had not concealed its sympathies for Russia during the campaign. The King, Frederick William IV., brother of the actual King, then wrote to the Emperor Napoleon a letter expressive of the profound mortification that he experienced by an exclusion, which he regarded as injurious to him, and full of confidence in the justice and friendship of the Emperor. He solicited him to interfere and break down the opposition of Great Britain, adding how much he would owe to him his entrance to that Congress, which he regarded as a personal service to him, and of which he would preserve an ineffaceable gratitude.

“The Emperor, moved by his chivalrous appeal to his good faith, impressed besides with the propriety of Prussia’s participation in the great European deliberations, insisted upon her admission and obtained it. The year 1856 marked, without contradiction, one of the most glorious epochs of the Second Empire. Peace was to be signed by the belligerent Powers, and the birth of an heir to the crown of France gave a new pledge of security for the future. By a happy coincidence, the birth of the Prince Imperial was fêted on the

shores of the Black Sea by the French, Russian, English, Italian, and Turkish armies.

“The profound calm that France enjoyed after the Crimean war continued only for three years. In 1859, grave events forced again the sovereign of France to make war. At this epoch the troubles of Austria and Piedmont occupied the attention of Europe. They could not be indifferent to us, for Piedmont once conquered, Austria would have become mistress of all Italy, and extended her rule to our frontiers. The Emperor therefore resolved to sustain the pretensions of Piedmont, and to declare that he took up arms to free the peninsula from the Alps to the Adriatic. He raised the flag of nationalities. In two months Austria was forced beyond the Mincio. Peace was concluded before the Emperor’s programme had been fully executed. The disturbed attitude of Germany caused the suspension of our victorious march. It would have been unwise not to suppose, during the progress of the siege of Verona, that another war would have to be sustained on the Rhine. In this conjuncture the Emperor acted with a prudence which the Italians could reproach, but which the French ought to approve; he had no right, for a foreign cause, however much he might sympathize with it, to peril the destinies of his own country. The success obtained by France had not, however, settled any of the external questions.

“In Italy, Venice remained still under the rule of Austria, who preserved her formidable quadrilateral of fortresses. In Germany, while Austria and Prussia disputed for supremacy, the ideas of nationality fermented, and in their name the inhabitants of the Germanic race in the duchies of Holstein and Schleswig were claimed for the German nationality. Poland moved again in a weak effort to recover her independence. Affairs in Greece were alarming. The Danubian principalities were seeking to establish their independence by invoking the aid of the Eastern powers. Finally, the grave question of the temporal power of the Pope divided the consciences of the people.

“In the presence of these discordant elements agitating Europe, Napoleon III. proposed to the great Powers to meet in Congress in order to terminate in common accord the questions which, remaining unsolved, would one day menace the peace of the world. In opening the legislative session of 1864 he expressed himself in these terms :

Has not the moment arrived for the reconstruction upon new foundations, of the edifice mined by time, and destroyed, piece by piece, by revolutions? Is it not urgent to recognize by new conventions what is irrevocably accomplished, and accomplish by a common accord that which the peace of the world demands? The treaties of 1815 have ceased to exist. The force of things has overthrown them, or tends to overthrow them almost everywhere. They have been broken in Belgium, in France, as upon the Danube. Germany moves to change them; England has generously modified them by the cession of the Ionian Isles, and Russia tramples them under foot at Warsaw. In the midst of this continued rending of the fundamental European pact violent passions are excited, and in the South as well as in the North, powerful interests demand a solution. What is, therefore, more legitimate and more prudent than the convocation of the Powers of Europe in congress, where personal pride and resistance would disappear before a supreme arbitration? What is more harmonious with the ideas of the age, with the wishes of the greatest number, than an appeal to the conscience, to the reason of every country, and say to them, “Have not the prejudices, bitterness which divide us, existed already too long?” Shall the jealous rivalry of great Powers forever hinder the progress of civilization? Shall we forever occupy each other with mutual defiance by exaggerated armaments? Must the most precious resources be indefinitely ruined in the vain ostentation of our forces? Shall we ostensibly maintain a state of things that is neither peace with its security, nor war with its chances of fortune? Let us give no longer a fraction’s importance to that contentious spirit of extreme parties in arraying ourselves by narrow calculations to the legitimate aspirations of the nations. Let us have the courage to substitute a sickly and precarious condition, a stable and regulated situation, should it have to cost some sacrifices. Let us meet without a preconceived system, without an exclusive ambition, animated by the single thought of establishing an order of things henceforth founded upon the well-understood interests of both sovereigns and peoples. This appeal, I believe would be understood by all. A refusal would lead to support of secret projects that dread the light of day; but even when the proposition is not unanimously accepted, it would have the immense advantage of having signalled to Europe where is the danger and where the safety. Two ways are open : The one leads to

progress by conciliation and peace ; the other, sooner or later, leads fatally to war by the obstinacy to maintain a part that crumbles away.

“ The Powers, particularly England, received with disdain this proposition. Whether she was wounded in seeing the initiative taken by the head of the French Government, whether she did not believe it possible to give satisfaction to the different interests present, she rejected this means of pacification. However the mode of solution and understanding counselled by the Emperor might have, perhaps, prevented the complications that were soon to arise. The death of the King of Denmark had rendered precarious the duchies of the Elbe, and the national Germanic sentiment was so excited that Austria, in order not to lose her situation in Germany, decided to join Prussia in a war of nationality against Denmark. England proposed to France to join her in opposing this movement that was leading the whole of Germany. In spite of its sympathy for Denmark, the French Cabinet expressed to that of St. James that an energetic protestation would lead fatally to war, which France would have almost alone to meet ; for if England had only to send her fleet and troops to the Baltic, France was exposing herself to fight upon the Rhine the combined forces of Germany and Austria. On the other hand, the Emperor, after having openly proclaimed the principle of nationalities, could he maintain upon the shores of the Elbe another course to that he had followed on the shores of the Adige ? He was, besides, very far from supposing that a war, the avowed object of which was to deliver the Germans from Danish rule, would result in putting the Danes under German rule. This understanding between Prussia and Austria was not of long duration, and soon rival pretensions led to a critical situation, the consequences of which were easily foreseen. Europe was excited by the antagonism of the two German Powers. A conference was proposed in order to prevent the explosion. It was to circumscribe our action in the limits of the threatening quarrel ; but Austria refusing to take part in it, the conference did not take place. The Emperor Napoleon, however, made known his

understanding of the questions at issue, and to this end he addressed to M. Drouyn de Lhuys, his Minister of Foreign Affairs, the following letter, which was published in the *Moniteur*:

[Here follows a letter from Napoleon, dated June 11, 1866, addressed to his Minister of Foreign Affairs, in which the Emperor gives the points he desires to dwell upon in a circular to be addressed to the diplomatic agents abroad in regard to the events then clearly foreseen at the Tuileries. In this letter the Emperor emphatically repels all idea to extend the French frontiers without consulting the wishes of the people to be annexed, to be by them "freely expressed." He desires to live in peace with Prussia, but acknowledges the necessity of German reconstruction. He fears, however, that war alone can decide the questions at issue, and trusts that France will not be compelled to be the first to disturb the European equilibrium.]

"It was evident that diplomacy was henceforth powerless to arrest the conflict that menaced the centre of Europe, and the interest of France was to preserve such an attitude that would permit her, according to circumstances, to urge the principles of justice and moderation. Before engaging in a struggle, the issues of which were difficult to see, Prussia understood that she could do nothing without assuring herself of the co-operation of France, or at least her neutrality, for it was of the highest importance to her not to array against her at the same time both the French and the Austrian armies. The Count de Goltz, Prussian Ambassador at Paris, was charged to sound the intentions of the Emperor: several interviews were had towards the commencement of 1866. The King of Prussia wrote to the Emperor to inform him that, in view of the events looming up, he had charged his Ambassador to ask him what were his intentions, and to come to an understanding with him. The Emperor replied to the King that it was difficult for him to see the results of the conflict about to commence; but the two sovereigns might count reciprocally upon their sincerity and their desire to maintain between them, whatever might occur, the most amicable relations. The interviews were oft repeated, and the neutrality of France was declared. This neutrality, very favorable for

Prussia, permitted her to enter upon the campaign. At this time they were so sure at Berlin of the kindly attitude of France that the Count de Bismarck said one day to M. Benedetti: '*Our confidence in your Government is so great that we do not leave a soldier on the left bank of the Rhine.*'

"The rapid success of Prussia astonished the world, and produced a profound impression in France. The organs of the Government, it is true, stated that, thanks to her moderation and the effect of her influence alone, France had stopped a victorious army at the very gates of Vienna, had contributed to preserve the integrity of Austrian territory, and had facilitated the reunion of Venice with Italy, had maintained the independence of the small states of Southern Germany, had obtained concessions for Denmark; yet all these clauses of the Treaty of Prague did not satisfy public opinion. Then might be seen men, who were formerly the most pacific, surrounding the Emperor to engage him to convoke the Corps Legislatif, to call the reserves under arms, and to declare war to Prussia while her principal forces were still engaged on the Danube. The Emperor refused to follow the counsel that Frederick the Great gave in his Memoirs, when he pretended that a sovereign was not like a simple private individual under obligation to keep his word, and that he was authorized to break it when the interest of his country required it. Persisting in the line of conduct that he had traced for himself, Napoleon aroused himself and combated what he regarded an error of public opinion. For this honorable policy, that is proper to recall in the present circumstance, he was bitterly reproached. All the deputies of the opposition, likewise all the journals of that shade have never ceased since that time to represent the Government of France as feeble and pusillanimous, charging it with not daring to maintain and defend by arms the true interests of France. To put an end to these accusations and to give a clear and precise direction to public opinion, the Emperor invited the Marquis de Lavalette, then Minister *pro tempore* of Foreign Affairs, in the absence of the Marquis de Moustier, to address to our repre-

- sentatives abroad a circular that would indicate, in order that no one might be deceived, the intentions of the Government. As ordinarily such documents are written by the responsible Minister, and not by any one who might hold provisionally the portfolio, there need be no misunderstanding as to their origin. It was known that it was not only inspired by the Emperor, but that it was almost entirely written by his hand. Here are the most important passages of this circular :

PARIS, *September 16.*

SIR : — The Imperial Government can no longer suppress its opinion in regard to the events taking place in Germany. As M. de Moustier will be absent for some time to come, His Majesty has ordered me to lay before his diplomatic agents the motives which control his policy. The war which has raged from the centre to the south of Europe has destroyed the Germanic Confederation and definitely established Italian nationality. Prussia, whose boundaries have been extended by victory, rules to the Main. Austria has lost Venice ; it is separated from Germany. In view of these great changes, all the Powers are thinking of what to do ; they ask themselves what is the import of the peace lately made, what will be its influence on European affairs and the international position of each power. Public opinion is aroused in France. It hovers between joy at the destruction of the treaties of 1815, and fear lest the power of Prussia shall become excessive, between the desire of maintaining peace and the hope of extending its territory by war. It applauds the complete enfranchisement of Italy, but would be assured that no danger menaces the Pope. The perplexities which trouble our minds and have their echo abroad, oblige the Government to state its views precisely. France can have no equivocal policy. If she is affected by these important changes which are taking place in Germany, she should frankly say so, and take measures necessary to guarantee her security. If she loses nothing by the changes she should honestly say so, and meet exaggerated apprehensions and ardent views which, by exciting international jealousies, would draw her from the path she should follow. To dispel uncertainty and establish conviction it is necessary to notice the past and the future. What do we see in the past ? About 1815 the Holy Alliance united all peoples against France from the Ural to the Rhine. The German Confederation comprised, with Prussia and Austria, 80,000,000 of inhabitants ; it extended from Luxembourg to Trieste, from the Baltic to the Trent, and girdled us with the steel of five fortified federated places ; our strategic position was confined by five most sudden territorial combinations ; the least difficulty we might have with Holland or Prussia about the Moselle, with Germany about the Rhine,

with Austria about the Tyrol or the Frioul, could combine against us all the united Powers of the Federation. Austrian Germany, inexpugnable at the Adige, could advance, when the time had come, to the Alps. Prussian Germany had as *avant-garde* on the Rhine all those secondary States' unceasingly troubled by desire for political change, and disposed to consider France the enemy of their existence and aspirations. If Spain be excepted, there was no Continental power with which we could form an alliance. Italy was parted and powerless, and did not rank as a nation. Prussia was neither sufficiently compact nor independent to sever itself from its traditions. Austria was too much occupied with her Italian possessions to arrange matters with us. Doubtless, the long peace has been able to obscure the remembrance of those political organizations and these alliances, for they seem formidable only in case of war; but that precarious security France obtained only at the price of her role among the nations. It is indisputable that for about forty years she has met the coalition of the three Northern Courts, united by the memory of defeats and common victories, by analogous principles of government, and by solemn leagues and feelings of hatred towards our liberal and civilizing action. If now we examine the future of Europe transformed, what guarantees does it offer to France and the peace of the world? The coalition of the three Northern powers is broken; the new principle which reigns in Europe is freedom from alliances; all the great Powers are placed in full independence, and left to the development of their destinies. Prussia aggrandized, free henceforth from all solidarity, assures the independence of Germany. France need take no umbrage. Proud of her wondrous unity, of her imperishable nationality, she can neither oppose nor regret the work of assimilation which has ended jealousies and placed them under the control of those principles of nationality which she possesses to the world. The national pride of Germany is appeased; its inquietude is disappearing, its enmities gone. By imitating France it has taken a step which assimilates it to, not differences her from France.

In the south, Italy, whose long slavery had not blotted out her patriotism, has taken all the elements of national grandeur. Its existence greatly modified the political conditions of Europe. But in spite of thoughtless susceptibilities, or transient injudiciousness, its ideas, its principles, its interests, are coincident with those of the nation which gave its blood to achieve its independence. Austria, freed from its Italian and German preoccupations, does not exhaust its power in barren rivalry, but, concentrating it in the East of Europe, yet represents a power of thirty millions of souls, separated from France by no interest, no hostile feeling. By what singular reaction from the past upon the future shall public opinion see not the allies, but the enemies of France in these nations freed from a past hostile to us, called to a new life, directed by

principles which are ours, and animated by those sentiments of progress which form the pacific bond of union in modern society? A Europe more firmly established rendered more homogeneous by more precise territorial divisions, is a guarantee for the peace of the Continent, and is neither perilous nor detrimental to our nature. This, with Algeria, will number forty millions of inhabitants; Germany, 37,000,000, of which 29,000,000 are in the Confederation of the North, and 8,000,000 in that of the South; Austria, 35,000,000; Italy, 26,000,000; Spain, 18,000,000. What is there in this distribution of European Power which should disquiet us? Must an irresistible power be regretted? could the nations unite in great agglomerations by making secondary states disappear? That tendency is born of the desire to secure to general interests the most efficacious guarantees. Perhaps it is inspired by a sort of providential foresight of the destinies of the world. While the old populations of the continent in their territorial restrictions can increase but slowly, Russia and the United States will be able before a century has passed to number one hundred millions each. Although the growth of these two great empires may be no source of disquietude to us, and, on the contrary we may applaud their generous efforts in behalf of oppressed races, it is to the interest of the nations of Central Europe wisely to see that they remain not parted into so many States without force and without public spirit. Politics should rise above the mean and narrow prejudices of a past age. The Emperor does not believe that the greatness of a country depends on the enfeebling of nations around it, and sees no true balance but in the consummated wishes of the nations of Europe. In this he follows the old convictions and traditions of his family. Napoleon I. foresaw the changes now taking place on the Continent of Europe. He deposited the seeds of new nationalists in the peninsula by creating the Kingdom of Italy; in Germany by destroying 253 independent states. If these remarks are just, the Emperor, who was right in accepting that role of mediator, was not inglorious, in which he could arrest the tide of blood, moderate the conqueror by his friendly intervention, lessen the consequences of reverse, and seek through so many obstacles the re-establishment of peace. He would have misconceived his high responsibility if, on the other hand, by violating proclaimed and promised neutrality he had plunged headlong into the dangers of a great war, of one of those wars which revive the hatred of nations, and in which entire nations are enforced to engage.

“It was impossible to use more apt and favorable language in regard to what has just taken place in Germany. And yet this circular did not produce the effect which might have been expected. But a few months had passed before the same accusations were brought against the Government, and

everybody was excited by the noise of war, which obliged the Emperor, on opening a new session on the 18th of November, 1867, to repeat what he had said :

In spite of the declarations of my Government, which has never changed its peaceful attitude, said he, the belief has reappeared that every change in the internal regulations of Germany should be a *casus belli*. This state of uncertainty cannot long continue. We must freely accept the changes on the other side of the Rhine, and proclaim that so long as our dignity and interests are not threatened, we will not interfere with changes taking place in accordance with the people's will.

"In view of all these facts one must acknowledge that the conduct of the Emperor towards Germany has been marked by loyalty and good-feeling. But while he sought by every means in his power to sanction the truth that the greatness and prosperity of neighboring states are no obstacle to the greatness and prosperity of France, the opposition continued its work of demolition and detraction.

"M. Thiers in his famous speech of March, 1867, declared that the victory of Koniggratz was the most deadly blow given to the influence of France; that its greatness was incompatible with the existence of other great States on its frontiers, and that having made the unpardonable blunder of creating on the other side of the Alps a nation of 23,000,000 of men, it had again egregiously blundered in permitting Prussia thus to extend its territory and develop its power; that the Germanic Confederation was the best possible combination, that it was to be regretted, and that now France must arm herself to defend the autonomy of the lesser German Powers, who should be her satellites. *The whole Chamber, even the Right, applauded this speech.*

"In his turn M. Jules Favre savagely attacked the foreign policy of the Government. 'It was not only in 1866,' said he, 'that Prussia should have been opposed; it is first and foremost against Prussia and Austria together that we should have proceeded, when they in concert undertook to make war against Denmark.' Thus, according to the chief of the radical opposition, France should have arrayed herself at one and the same time against the two most powerful countries of

Central Europe. And later he never ceased to reproach the Government for not haughtily insisting upon the execution of the treaty of Prague.

"And now these two orators intrench themselves behind their last speeches and maintain that they have constantly wished for peace. Especially is this untrue in the case of M. Thiers, who never made the war aught else than a question of opportunity, believing it inevitable. But what shall be said of that sort of tactics which consists in making the country believe that it has been greatly debased, that the day of Sadowa was for it a second Waterloo, and that it has hesitated to use means to raise itself in the world's opinion? Would it were possible to place before the reader these endless harangues in which the conduct of Prussia was represented as a perpetual menace against the security of our frontiers. One knows little of the temperament of France, who would excite that fibre to paroxysm and pretend that it should suppress its indignation and power, or else such action is to play with opposition imprudently and faithlessly.

"In this burning, provoking, unjust polemic the press united with the tribune. In 1868, M. Provost Paradol, one of its most powerful organs, although on the Orleanist side, published a book called "*La France Nouvelle*." He severely blamed the tardy policy of France. He pronounced the principle of nationalities opposed to its interests, and regarded war with Germany as having already broken out in spite of the efforts of both countries to retard it. 'The more one thinks,' said he, 'the more one is convinced that the love of peace, the philosophy, the settled determination of the Governments cannot prevent a collision between Prussia growing and France shut up within her ancient boundaries and deprived of all hope. Such a forfeiture as that is too strong a trial for our political and military pride. Still, as the things of this world are prolific of surprises and prophecies, the least likely to come true are sometimes worked out by chance, it is not absolutely impossible that peace may continue. It is sad to say, but reason and truth force me to say,

that the consequences of this inaction will be nearly the same to us as those of a defeat, but with this difference—that they will take more time to appear, and will necessarily be not so bitter, but at bottom they will be the same. Is an invasion necessary to make a nation disappear from the political stage and fall into moral dependence upon a foreign power? Was Portugal invaded? Was it necessary for us to invade it when we had a quarrel with Portugal some years since on the question of a French slaver whom they refused to return to us? A French vessel simply went and cut the cables of the contested boat in the Tagus, and sailed away untouched beneath the Portuguese batteries. Are you disposed to see the same thing re-enacted at the mouth of the Seine upon the least disagreement with the new arbiters of Europe?"

"Thus, the writer who represented with most truth and talent the spirit of the bourgeois, laid down this dilemma for his countrymen. Either France will resign herself to being nothing more than a second-class power, or she will resolve on war.

"The national honor is the sentiment which stirs the popular fibre of France. All these diatribes threw a disfavor around the governmental policy which did not escape the Emperor's attention. Then he sought with solicitude the means of removing the complaints, unjust though they were, of the opposition, and of giving satisfaction to public opinion. Any step by Prussia, attesting to the eyes of the world that her aggrandizement was not made in a spirit of hostility against France, an act cementing the good relations between the two countries, would have been in the Emperor's eyes a most happy event, and would have assured peace throughout a long future. The annexation of Luxembourg to France seemed to him precisely one of those acts capable of bringing about a real reconciliation—the cession of a country which asked for nothing better than to be French, would have silenced for ever all recrimination. We believe this opinion all the more well-founded as we find it developed by a publicist, in a letter addressed to a German savant, and concluded

in these words: 'One of your countrymen, who displays more passion than I like to see in a man of sense, said to me, at the epoch in question, that Germany owed to France a great debt of gratitude for the real, though negative, part the latter had taken in her foundation. Led on by a principle of pride, which will be followed in the future by sad consequences, the Cabinet of Berlin did not so understand it. Admitted, that territorial aggrandizement, when it is a question of a nation already thirty or forty millions strong, are not of much importance; the acquisition of Savoy and Nice have been more troublesome than useful to France. We must regret, however, that the Prussian Government did not yield the rigor of its pretensions in the Luxembourg affair. Luxembourg, once ceded to France, France would not have been greater nor Germany smaller; *but this insignificant concession would have sufficed to satisfy the superficial opinion which in a country of universal suffrage must be managed*, and would have permitted the French Government to mask its retreat.'

"The great Minister who exercises an influence and preponderance in the affairs of Germany, and who, when he is left to himself, looks questions broadly in the face, had, as we believe, comprehended all the advantages this combination might offer to create good relations between France and Germany, and he would have consented to it had circumstances independent, perhaps, of his will, not intervened to overturn his projects. The most skilful statesmen are often obliged to bend before the inflexibility of unforeseen incidents, and by a fatality which it is not possible not to bitterly deplore, the Luxembourg question, which might have served as a bond of union between France and Germany, dissipating unjust suspicion and extinguishing petty jealousies, became, on the contrary, a new cause of irritation, as well as a new element of conflict. From this instant all was changed. The lever was, so to say, shattered in the Emperor's hands wherewith he had hoped to bring the two countries together, and the opponents had the game in their own hands. 'See,' they exclaimed, 'see the fruits of your condescension towards Prussia. You

have helped her to aggrandize herself, to absorb for her own profit the major part of Germany, and when you express a wish to annex to our country a limited territory whose population is French already in sentiment and interest, you meet at Berlin nothing but hostility and ill-will.' The Emperor underwent this check with profound disappointment. He felt that the policy he had followed towards Germany had just received a blow difficult of reparation. The opposition seemed altogether in the right, M. Thiers was triumphant, and it became more difficult to prove to him that his sinister prejudices had been unjust or illfounded. Foreign relations have always in France exercised great influence over the affairs of the interior. It is vain for a Government to spread public education, to protect agriculture, industry, and commerce, to make arts and sciences flourish; if the country feels that the national flag is not held firmly aloft, a general disquietude paralyzes all the elements of prosperity. The fall of both branches of the Bourbons had no other cause. The opposition knew full well that the most effective army to oppose against the Government were to represent it to the country as not defending national interest with sufficient energy. To-day numbers of people are levelling against the policy of the Second Empire, this reproach, which at the first glance seems justified by events that the unfortunate war whose severities we experience, is the result of the culpable improvidence which has permitted Prussia to become so puissant a power. This question is worthy of a profound examination. We must sometimes judge of things not as they are, but as they might have been. It is true that since Koeniggratz, the power of Prussia is increased, not that she has crushed us with her powerful forces joined to those of South Germany; but let us suppose that before 1866 we should have been at war with her, in what position would France have been, in virtue of the treaties which bound all the members of the Germanic Confederation together? We should have had against us, in case of war, all the forces of Germany, together with those of Austria. People imagine in

France that the Germanic Confederation was one of the complicated machines difficult to set in motion. That was true enough in all internal questions of Germany ; but against the foreigner, the Confederation presented military organized unity, very compact and very solid. If, during the war against Austria, in 1859, a single French battalion had set foot on territory belonging to the Confederation, like the Tyrol, the whole country, from the Alps to the Baltic, would have risen in array. Before 1866 there was no possibility of a serious alliance in the centre of Europe. Austria was irrevocably bound to Germany, and Italy did not exist as a power. It will be said that in 1870 we ourselves stand alone without allies.

“ That is true : but the reconstruction of Central Europe since 1866 permitted us to have them. No treaty hindered the Austro-Hungarian Empire from alliance with us, and reconstituted Italy might have come to our aid. Had this event taken place, and it was in the possibility of things, the policy of the empire would have triumphed, for the facts would then have proved that, in spite of the augmentation of Prussia, there existed a serious counterpoise to her power. Because we have been isolated, it does not follow that we might not have had 700,000 Austro-Hungarians and 400,000 Italians as our allies. Before 1866, on the other hand, it was utterly impossible for us to hope for any effective alliance in the centre of Europe. These considerations, which lose their value to-day because facts have not happened to justify them, were then so controverted by the opposition that public opinion was completely misled. Since 1867 an uneasiness resulting from uncertain external relations made itself felt ; we were at peace without enjoying the real benefits of peace ; and the Emperor, who saw his policy disturbed, his laudable intentions misunderstood, and by that same his own importance weakened, determined to increase the powers of the deliberative bodies in order to give them a greater share of responsibility in the conduct of affairs. We know the series of gradual concessions by which the Imperial Government

became a purely constitutional Government, assuredly the most liberal that has ever existed in France ; deputies elected by universal suffrage ; a Corps Legislatif with full liberty of debate, all the rights of control of interpellation and of amendment, the Senate transformed into a chamber of peers, responsible ministers, liberty of the press, and the right of public meetings—such was the complete scheme of January, 1870. The nation, it may be said, is entirely mistress of her own destinies. What use is she going to make of the liberty thus largely conceded to her ? The country wants peace ; the Chambers, the Government want peace, and yet the issue out of this situation will be war.

“ When M. Emile Ollivier accepted the formation of a Ministry, he laid before the Emperor his programme, in which he frankly accepted the principle of nationalities, acknowledged the right of Germany to constitute herself, as might seem good to her, and manifested the most pacific intentions. A little after the installation of the Ministry of the 2d January, Count Daru, Minister of Foreign Affairs, proposed to Prussia, through the medium of England, a general disarmament. To support this demand by a significant act, it was at the same time proposed to the Chambers to reduce the annual contingent to 10,000 men. This latter measure was carried ; but the proposal of disarmament only met with a cold reception and evasive answer at Berlin. Nevertheless, it may be said that 1870 began under the most favorable auspices. Nothing seemed to break the repose that Europe was enjoying, and in France we only thought of developing, under a liberal rule, the country’s moral and material resources. But, as has been often said, ‘ he who sows the wind reaps the tempest.’ It was not in vain that for four years the opposition of every shade had been making the tribune and the press resound with the most bitter complaints of the increase of Prussian power. It was not in vain that it had accused the government of betraying the true interests of France by displaying so much indecision and longanimity towards Germany. All these declamations, all these attacks had pene-

trated to the very heart of the country ; the army itself, which always reflects the national sentiment, did not remain insensible to the reproaches of weakness hurled at the Government ; it felt itself humiliated by the success of Prussia, as though this success had been won from itself.

Thus, when the news of the candidateship of a Prussian prince for the throne of Spain arrived in France, it had the effect of a spark falling on inflammable material. All the hates, all the jealousies, all the enmities burst out at once, and this incident, which at any other time would have provoked diplomatic notes, roused the whole country. The Ministry, it must be acknowledged, committed the grave fault of offering at the tribune a sort of defiance which rendered diplomatic accommodation difficult. Nevertheless, when it was announced that the Prince of Hohenzollern had retired, for his son, from the candidateship of the Spanish throne, we might hope that peace would be maintained. But public opinion was so excited that all measures of conciliation were repulsed. The journals of all shades urged war. The provinces partook of the exultation of the capital. Whatever may be said about the reports sent by the prefects, and of which only mutilated passages have been put forth, the greater part of these high functionaries announced substantially that in the departments people's minds were very lively, and that even honorable conditions of peace would scarcely satisfy them. We desire no other proof than the following despatches, found by the Prussians in the Chateau of St. Cloud, and published by the North German *Gazette* :

PERPIGNAN, *July 15.*

The Prefect to the Minister of the Interior at Paris :—Great animation reigns here over the last news. War with Prussia is warmly welcomed by the whole population. The Republicans themselves say that in a week hostilities will have commenced, and that on the 15th of next August, our soldiers will keep the Emperor's fête day in Berlin. No one doubts the happy issue of the war.

MARSEILLES, *July 16.*

The Prefect, etc.—A grand manifestation is taking place. The torch-light procession of 15,000 persons singing 'La Reine Hortense' and the

'Marseillaise.' Cries of 'Vive l'Empereur !' 'A Bas la Prusse !' 'A Berlin !' The crowd is full of enthusiasm. No disorder.

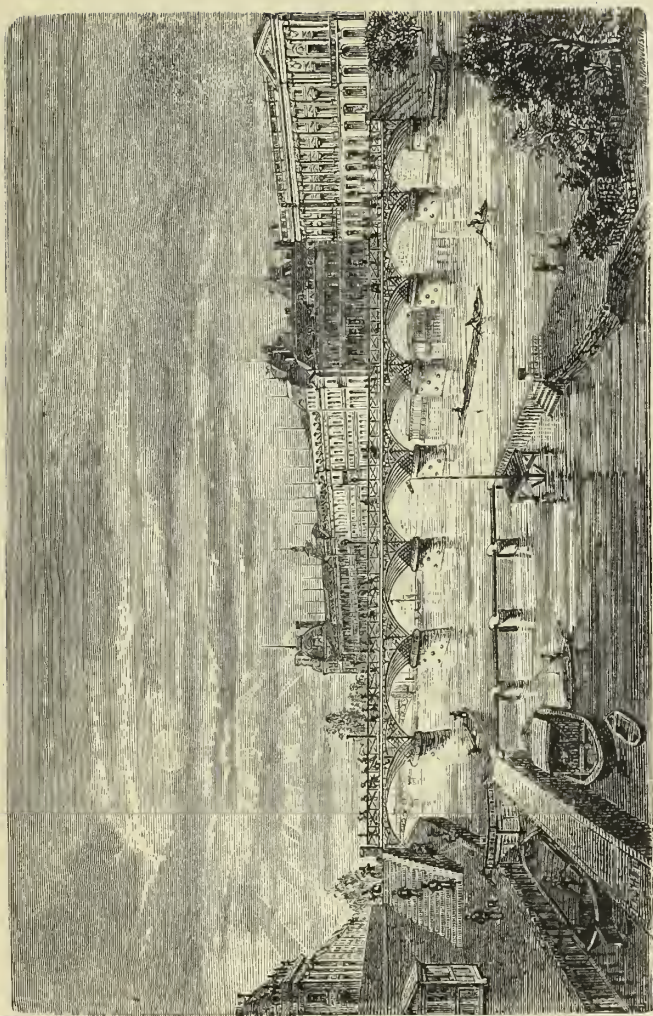
"These sentiments found an expression almost as energetically enunciated in the language of the representatives. The wishes of the Corps Legislatif were nowise doubtful. There was a moment when the Ministers seemed inclined to peace. An order of the day by Clement Duvernois and Jerome David (the last vice-president of the Chamber) had nearly thrown the Cabinet out. This was on July 13. Two days afterward the Chamber was called on to pronounce in a more direct manner on the report of a committee of which M. Kérâtry was a member. The conclusion was unanimous, war by a majority of 247 to 10. Seven members were absent; the Radical opposition were divided. To repeat M. Thiers' words, the whole nation was carried away.

"When in his proclamation to the army, the Emperor pointed out the difficulties of the enterprise, so assured were people of success that the *Journal des Debats* itself expressed an opinion that the Emperor's modesty was too great in his address to his troops. Every soldier on the streets was the object of a popular ovation. In the theatres the public sentiment was manifested by the noisiest demonstrations; we can never forget the night at the Opera when the house rose, as one man, in boxes, parquette and gallery, and thundered 'La Marseillaise.'

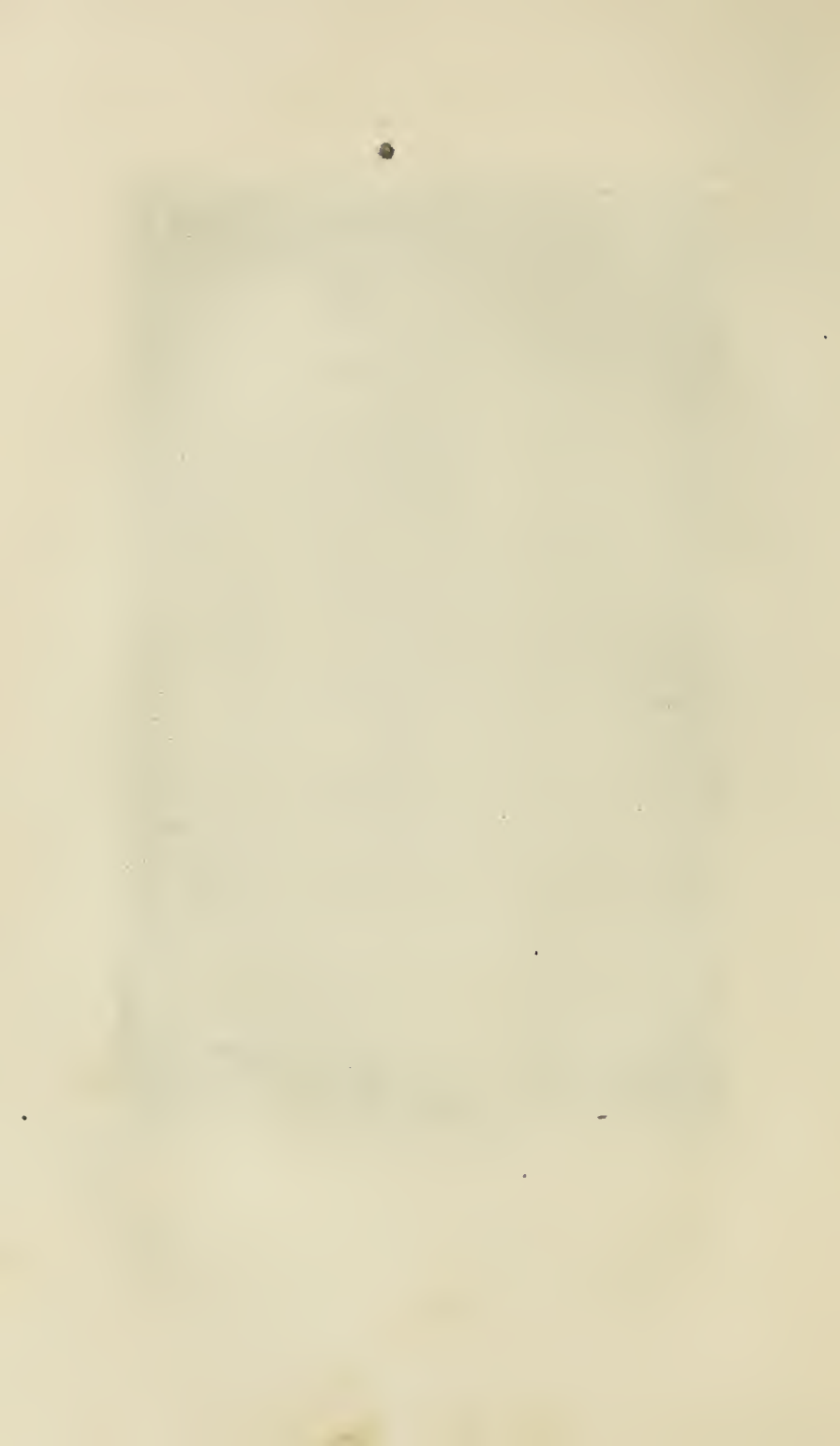
"Such was the enthusiasm at Paris, that the Emperor could not go out without being saluted by crowds shouting 'Vive La Guerre.'

"At the moment of his departure for the army, he did not want to go through the city, because, by all accounts, the populace were inclined to abandon themselves to violent demonstrations: they intended to unharness the horses and to carry him in triumph to the railroad depot. This same populace, a month later, was destroying the emblems of the empire, and was breaking down the statues of the Emperor!

"If we have recalled these well-known facts, it is not to exonerate the Emperor from any responsibility, but only to



Pont des Arts, showing the Louvre and the Tuileries : Paris.
Pont-des-Arts mit dem Louvre und den Tuileries : Paris.



show the public opinion of France. Sunday, July 19th, Napoleon III. went from St. Cloud to the Tuileries to hold a council that lasted several hours. In this council the Emperor and all the ministers settled, after grave deliberation, that a declaration would be made that would render peace impossible. But in the evening the ministers returned to St. Cloud and reconsidered their morning's determination. Ollivier declared to the Emperor that if the documents decided on in the last meeting were now published, such would have been the disappointment that the ministers would have been hooted and their carriages smothered with mud.

"Of course, as a constitutional monarch, the Emperor might have prevented the war, but at the loss of his popularity. He would have been reproached with being humble to the strong and bold with the weak; his conduct would have been denounced as culpable condescension to the foreigner — an inexhaustible theme for the opposition. We say honestly that it was the Emperor's duty to be more wise than the nation, even at the cost of his crown. His excuse is that he accepted the contest with ardor, as a man who is going to fight a duel, because honor demands, not considering his adversary's strength. Without doubt he let himself be borne away by the national rush, by his limitless confidence in the power of the army, and because dreams of military glory, even of territorial aggrandizement, smothered in his soul the cold reason of the statesman.

"Without releasing the Emperor from the responsibility of latter events, we must admit, as Jules Favre recently affirmed, that he made war with his full consent and in a dynastic interest. Who could imagine that in two months after a new consecration by universal suffrage, 'seven millions of votes' confirming the previous plebiscites, and demonstrating to the most incredulous how deep-reaching were the roots of the empire, who could imagine that Napoleon III. would have been obliged to adopt the terrible expedient of war to sustain his power and confirm his dynasty?

"But war successful would have added nothing to the im-

perial establishment; unsuccessful, it must compromise and overturn everything. The Emperor, taking with him the elite of his army, left behind him a wife and child. No armed force, no military chief, trusty and brave; an immense capital always in agitation, saturated with republican ideas, permeated by socialism, a prey to seven hundred journals, and with the right to hold meetings; at the least reverse disorder and tumult were to be expected, perhaps revolution. It is quite evident that war was, once for all, in opposition to dynastic interests, and it is not just to say that the Emperor desired it or imposed it on the country.

"Besides, did not the Vice-President of National Defence always praise ministerial responsibility as a salutary and efficacious institution? Why now, unfaithful to his own principles, does he impute to the Emperor alone, and not to his ministers, all the faults and failures? The truth is that the country cried for war, and the Emperor did not resist the general enthusiasm.

"In conclusion, let us remark with what care Napoleon III., whenever he spoke to the public, sought to prove that his line of conduct was traced out by national sentiment. In his proclamation he says:

FRENCHMEN:—There are solemn moments in the lives of people when national honor violently excited imposes itself like a resistless force and takes into its own hands the guidance of the country's destiny. One of these decisive hours has just struck for France. Our remonstrances have gone forth against the new demands of Prussia. She has eluded them and followed disdainful courses. Our country feels a profound irritation, and a cry of war resounds throughout all France. Nothing is left but to trust our destiny to the lot of arms.

"On the 23d of July he replied to the Corps Legislatif, on their taking leave at the Tuileries:

We have done all that depended on us to avoid war, and I can say that the whole nation, with an irresistible rush, has dictated our resolution.

"Thus, then, accepting the responsibility, the Emperor before and since his defeat has sought to make it clear that he

had not launched the country into a perilous enterprise for mean motives or dynastic interest, but was actively encouraged, if not compelled, by the manifestations of public feeling.

"The reader who has followed this recital of the principal events of Napoleon III.'s reign will have been convinced that this man who is now a captive at Wilhelmshohe employed eighteen years of undisputed power to make France the most flourishing country of Europe, to assuage international enmities, and to protect the independence of foreign people. When his personal efforts appeared insufficient to realize all that he meditated for the general good, he disseized himself voluntarily of authority, he called the representatives of the nation to take part in the direction of affairs, and established in France a system of the widest and most complete liberty. And now, because fortune has abandoned him, is this man nothing but a tyrant who has of his own motion plunged his country into the horrors of a merciless war?

"We have given the facts. Let posterity decide." *

Let us not be misunderstood. We are not seeking to screen the Emperor Napoleon from the responsibility for his acts. We simply wish to refute the assertion that the war was solely the fault of the Emperor, and to establish the fact that the whole French nation shared with him the fault of bringing on hostilities. The quarrel of Germany, therefore, was not with Napoleon alone, but with France. That the war was begun upon a pretext insufficient to justify it, we frankly admit, but we maintain that the Emperor had been forced by his people into such a position that he felt himself obliged to go to war to satisfy them. Let us blame his lack of firmness, let us censure his terrible blunder as we may, but let us not hold him alone guilty. This is simple justice.

* We have given this lengthy defence entire, because of its value to the reader, and because of our desire to bring to his notice every justification offered by either of the combatants.

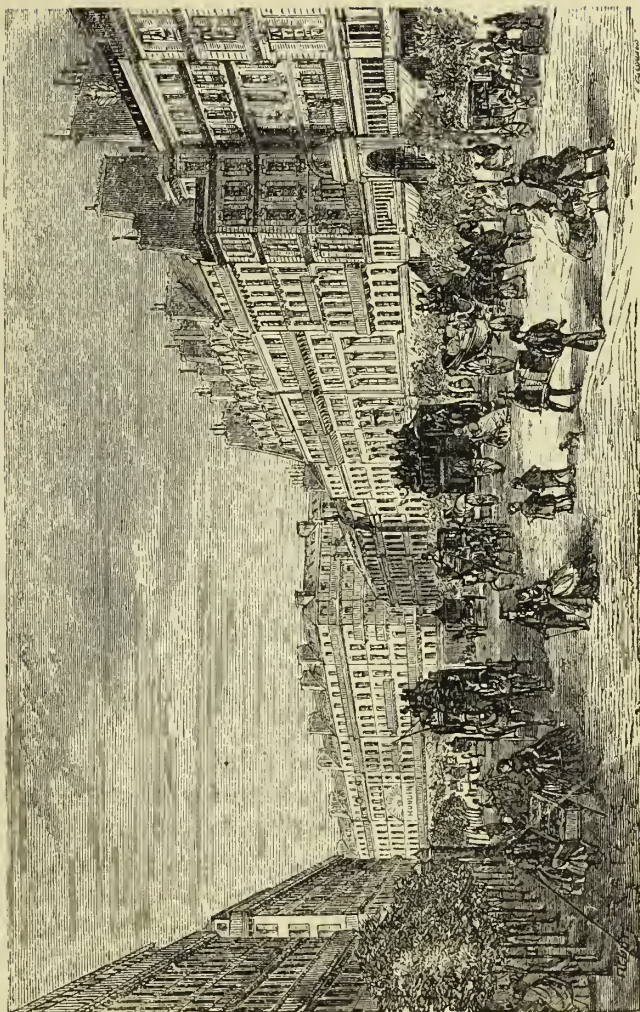
CHAPTER III.

REVIEW OF THE CONDITION OF THE PRUSSIAN ARMY—EDUCATION COMPULSORY—THE PRUSSIAN MILITARY SYSTEM—THE CAREER OF A CONSCRIPT—THE TERM OF MILITARY SERVICE—STRENGTH OF THE ARMY—THE PROVINCIAL SYSTEM—THE NEEDLE GUN—KRUPP'S CANNON—THE STAFF CORPS—HOW OFFICERS ARE TRAINED IN PRUSSIA—FIELD INSTRUCTION OF THE TROOPS—THE NEW TACTICS—DETAILED STATEMENT OF THE ARMY—THE PRUSSIAN NAVY—FINANCIAL CONDITION OF PRUSSIA AND GERMANY—THE FRENCH MILITARY SYSTEM—ITS DEFECTS—REORGANIZATION IN 1868—THE NEW SYSTEM EXPLAINED—FAILURE TO FURNISH SUBSTITUTES—CONDITION OF THE GARDE MOBILE—INFERIORITY TO THE PRUSSIAN SYSTEM—DEFECTIVE CONDITION OF THE INTENDANCE—LAX DISCIPLINE—THE CHASSEPOT RIFLE—THE FRENCH ARTILLERY—THE MITRAILLEUSE—DETAILED STATEMENT OF THE ARMY—THE FRENCH NAVY—FINANCIAL CONDITION OF FRANCE

BEFORE entering upon the narrative of the war let us glance at the military and financial strength of Germany and France, as such a view will enable us to comprehend the conditions upon which each entered upon the struggle.

The war between Prussia and Austria in 1866 revealed to the world the excellence of the Prussian military system, which until then had not been understood in Europe, and which, indeed, the Prussian Government had endeavored to keep as secret as possible. Since the formation of the North German Confederation, Prussia has introduced the same system into the States of the Confederation with perfect success.

This military system was devised by Scharnhorst after the humbling of the monarchy by the First Napoleon. It has been perfected by Von Moltke and Bismarck, and is now confessedly the most admirable in the world. We have not the space here to relate the history of the reforms in the Prussian system, but must content ourselves with offering to the reader a brief account of it as it exists to-day.



Boulevard Montmartre; Paris.

In the first place, education is compulsory in most of the German States, and the men who make up the rank and file of the army are, with but few exceptions, possessed of at least a plain practical education. The men are intelligent and of a better grade intellectually than those of any other European army, and it is upon their superior intelligence that the whole system rests. The Prussian leaders wisely appreciate the fact that it is not brute courage alone which makes a good soldier. Their men are capable of thinking, and are taught to do so, and thus they follow their colors from deliberate conviction as well as from mere enthusiasm. Apart from this, an intelligent army is always easier managed, and indeed can manage itself better, than a mass of ignorant men. War is every year becoming more an affair of science, and the day has already come when victory is as much due to the labors of the schoolmaster, as of the drill sergeant.*

After leaving school, and arriving at the age of twenty years, every young man in Prussia, unless physically dis-

* Says an English writer, "The Prussians, even more than other sections of the German race, are an educated people. Children are nowhere permitted among them to grow up in ignorance and savagery. Each township and parish has its national school, from attendance upon which no exemption is permitted, except to children whose parents are able to satisfy the proper authorities that they are providing elsewhere for the elementary instruction of their sons and daughters. Now it is at least as much in the habit of respect for law and order which the careful training of children induces, as from the amount of intellectual culture elaborated in these national schools, that the State in Prussia is the gainer from the care which it bestows upon the education of its younger members. There may be street Arabs—we dare say there are—in Berlin and other great towns, though they elude the observation of strangers; but you may search Prussia through, and you will not find in the whole kingdom as many ruffians living in antagonism to the law, and therefore at the beck and call of every demagogue who thinks it worth while to get up a street row, as swarm, we do not say in all London, but within the liberties of the city of Westminster, or in Whitechapel, or even in Southwark. And as the discipline of the school is followed and improved by the discipline of the military service, it is not to be wondered at if the Germans in general, and the Prussians in particular, prove to be, when occasion arises, the most easily managed in the face of dangers and difficulties of any people in the world."

qualified, whatever his social position, must hold himself in readiness to join the ranks of the army if called upon, as a private soldier, and to serve for one or for three years, as the case may be. Young men of wealth and position are allowed to serve only one year in the ranks. They receive no pay from the Government during this period, their arms alone being furnished them at public expense; but must provide their uniforms, horses, quarters, and other necessities, at their own charge. During this year they are masters of their own time, except when required for military instruction, and are not obliged to live in barracks, but may pursue their studies or occupations in their own way. Out of this class the officers of the Landwehr, or militia, are formed by a process which carries the cadet through the intermediate grades of corporal and sergeant to an ensigncy. The three years' men, on the other hand, take up their quarters in barracks, and constitute, till the term of their service expires, the rank and file of the Prussian regular army. When the three years are out, they pass into the first class of reserve, upon which the first call is made to fill up the regiments to their war strength upon the outbreak of hostilities. This class is subject to constant Government inspection, and its members may be called upon at any moment to return to the regiments in which they originally served. After serving in this reserve four years, the men pass to the Landwehr, or militia, of their district. The term of service in this branch is five years. The Landwehr are called up by battalions and regiments, and only after war has broken out. At the expiration of this last term of service, making twelve years in all, the men pass to the Landsturm, or third class of reserves. This branch is expected to garrison the fortresses and protect the country in case the Landwehr should be compelled to cross the frontier; but as this has never happened until the present war, the men of the Landsturm are usually allowed to pursue their ordinary occupations in quiet. The population of North Germany is about 30,000,000 in round numbers. Out of this 100,000 recruits are raised annually by conscription, or about

one in every 300 of the population. All men who attain the age of conscription in any one year, and are not drawn for the army, are exempt from military service, except in case of war. The peace footing of the infantry is one half of the war strength, so that on the breaking out of hostilities the regiments are raised to double their number during peace, by recalling an equal number of men from the reserve; and each reserve man so recalled returns not only to the same battalion, but to the very same company in which he served during his first enlistment. The infantry company is 250 strong, with a captain and three lieutenants; the battalion, with one major, is 1000 strong; and the regiment, under the command of the colonel, consists of three battalions. The cavalry and artillery are kept either at or very near their war strength in time of peace. The whole Kingdom of Prussia is divided into provinces, within each of which an army corps is stationed, complete in all parts; complete in its commissariat or *intendance*; complete in its generals of division and their staff, and is presided over and controlled by a General-in-Chief in command of the whole, with a full and efficient staff. Beyond the limits of its own province the army corps seldom moves, except in war. It draws all its recruits from the inhabitants of the province, just as each particular regiment recruits from that particular town and its neighborhood in which its headquarters are fixed. In like manner, the men who have served out their terms return to their homes in the same province, whence they can be recalled in case of need. Everything needed by the corps, arms, munitions, supplies of all kinds, are stored in or provided by the province, so that the army can take the field fully equipped and ready to march immediately upon the receipt of the order to mobilize.

Such is the system upon which the German army is organized. The reader will see that a more perfect organization, from a purely military point of view, could not be designed.

The infantry are armed with an improved breech-loading rifle, known as the needle gun. This weapon is the inven-

tion of Mr. Dreyse, a manufacturer of arms at Sommerda, who spent over thirty years in trying to construct a perfect breech-loading rifle. The cartridge is inserted at the rear, and the ignition is produced by the intrusion of a needle into the fulminate attached to the cartridge. The barrel is 36.06 inches long, and is rifled with four grooves down to the breech, where the chamber, or bed for the cartridge, is smooth and a little larger than the bore. The bed enlarges slightly to the rear so as to admit the cartridge freely, and the lower part of the bore for a distance of 6.17 inches is enlarged so that the ball is gradually compressed into the grooves. The rear of the barrel is conical, and is called the mouth-piece. Over this part there is a six-sided cylinder, which holds all the mechanism of the piece. The air-chamber, next to the cylinder, has the needle pipe screwed into its breech.

The gun is loaded in this way: After it has been brought to a nearly horizontal position, with the butt resting on the right hip, and the left hand at the lower band, and the chamber drawn back from the mouth-piece, the cartridge is inserted through the opening in the cylinder into its place, the chamber again brought up to the mouth-piece by means of the handle, and turned to the right. The locket is shoved up, and the notch of the main spring engages the catch at the inner rear end of the chamber. At the same time the middle offset of the needle-bolt is pressed against the trigger-stop, thus compressing the spiral spring.

Now let the trigger-stop be drawn down by pressure on the trigger so as to clear the offset of the needle-bolt. The bolt will dart forward from the effect of the spring, and will strike the square end of the needle-pipe, which projects sufficiently to pass through the powder of the charge, and inflame the fulminate.

At the time of the adoption of this new gun the cartridge was altered, the sabot being enlarged and placed between the powder and the ball.

The ball is spherio-conical. The charge of powder is 56 grains. The weight of the Prussian needle gun is 10.27

pounds to 11.3 pounds. The mechanism can be taken apart without screw-driver, vice, etc. It can be safely and easily cleaned, and the gun being small is particularly adapted for use in the contracted space of loopholes, on horseback, etc. The objections to the Prussian needle-gun are the danger of a weakening of the spiral spring, and the possibility that the needle may not be propelled with sufficient force to pierce the cartridge. On account of the ease and rapidity with which it is loaded, there is also danger of a waste of ammunition, as the soldier, in the heat of battle, will often fire his piece as fast as possible, even when he knows the firing has no effect. To make the best use of the needle-gun, the soldier requires special training. The Prussian army in this respect, had a decided advantage over their enemy. The war of 1866 had taught them thoroughly the use of their weapon, while the French army had never used the Chassepôt in battle.

The cannon used by the German army are mostly of steel, breech-loaders, of various sizes, according to the service required of them. They are principally of one general pattern, devised by Herr Krupp, a Prussian founder, by whom the greater number were made. The steel of which they are composed is of the low but malleable grade produced by the Bessemer and other kindred processes. They are nearly all rifled, and possess a range and accuracy which are very formidable. They have proved vastly superior to the French guns during the war, and it has been a noticeable feature of every French reverse, that both officers and men have attributed their disasters in no small degree to the terrible fire of the German artillery. Frequently, while exposed to a severe cannonade, the French have found it impossible even to reach the enemy's position with their best guns. The Germans use the percussion shell almost altogether, rarely firing solid shot in battle, and utterly abandoning the time fuze. An officer of the English artillery was told by the chief of artillery of the army besieging Verdun, that the Prussians considered time fuzes as "worthless and worse than worthless, because from their uncertainty they give rise to disgust. In the re-

cent battles the French at first used them largely, and at least four out of five shells fired with them burst ineffectually, until after a short time our men began to despise them, and the moral effect of their artillery was in consequence greatly weakened. They are gradually falling into disuse among our opponents." *

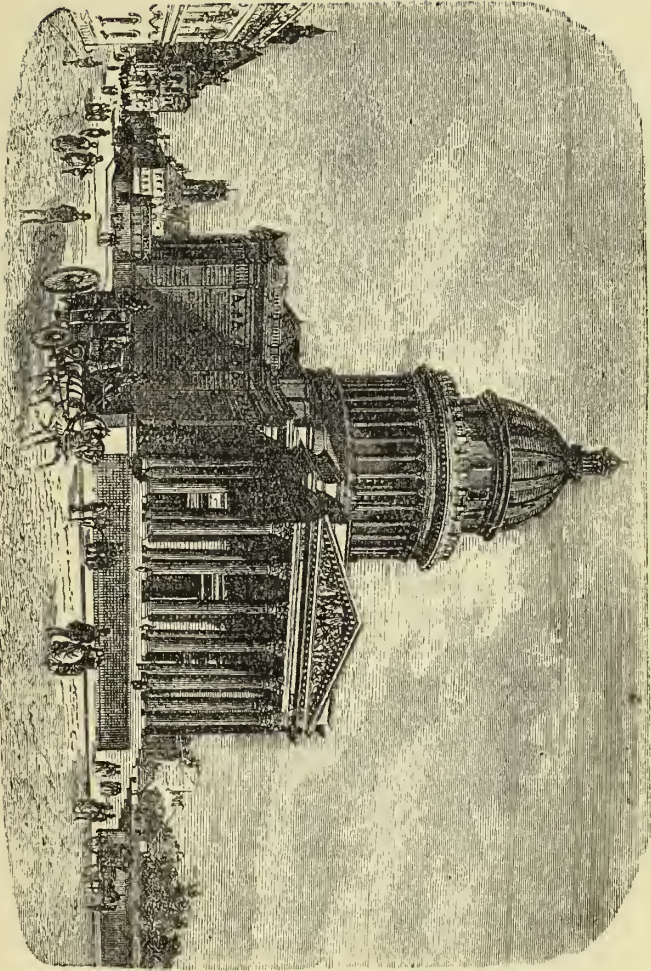
But it was not alone the intelligence of the men, the excellence of the arms, or the perfection of the discipline of her army, that enabled Germany to enter upon the war with confidence. Added to all these is a feature which made her military force the most perfectly officered in the world. This is the staff system. Without a proper understanding of it, the reader will be unable to comprehend many of the most interesting portions of the war. The following description of it is from the pen of a prominent officer of the English army: †

" Prussia, like France, has what is called a staff corps; but the two corps are constructed on different principles. In France, officers who join the staff corps continue to serve with it till they become generals of brigade. In Prussia, all the branches of the service feed the staff corps; such officers as exhibit the surest signs of talent, energy, and powers of application being permitted, after mastering their regimental duties, to enter in certain numbers and at certain fixed intervals what is called the War Academy. This they do, not by going through a pass-examination, and studying in the Academy itself the elements out of which knowledge in the art of war is built up, but by proving in one or other of the general war schools, of which there are seven, that they are already masters of these things, and have the capacity of taking in much more, as well as of applying it to practical

* *From Sedan to Saarbruck, via Verdun, Gravelotte, and Metz.* By an officer of the royal artillery. P. 120.

† This system of staff instruction is distinct from that designed for the education of the line and non-commissioned officers, and for the artillery and engineers, to each of which the greatest care is given in schools provided for each branch.

purposes. The War Academy has been since 1850 under the special direction of Count Moltke, who, as chief of the staff of the Prussian army, prescribes the course of study, and gives to it a wider and more practical range than is dreamed of either with us, or with France, or with Austria. Every art, every science which can in any way bear upon the conditions of armies, receives due attention in that school. Great stress is also laid upon the acquisition of foreign languages, particularly of French, Italian, and English—a more than tolerable proficiency in which is held essential to being posted to what is called the higher staff. As to plan-drawing and surveying, they are carried to perfection. For, not content with making military surveys of some few miles of country around the Staff College, the *élèves* are sent miles and miles away, and expected to bring home with them against a day specified reports of the condition of the country traversed, its roads, its villages, its towns, its rivers, its plains, its hills, its aptitude for the movements of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, separately, and of all three in combination—in a word, all its military features, not forgetting its capabilities of furnishing means of subsistence both to man and horse. They who give proof of more than ordinary aptitude in this matter are then sent into foreign countries, through which they move with their eyes and ears open, and upon which they make, in the guise of travellers' notes, memoranda that are of the greatest possible use for war purposes. It was, indeed, from the travelling notes of staff officers that the Prussians acquired that intimate acquaintance with all the lines of railway in France, the high-roads, by-paths, tracks through forests, fords, and bridges, and the localities of towns and villages, which so much astonished the French people in the present campaign, and gave to the invaders such a prodigious superiority over the French armies. Nor has their attention in this respect been given more carefully to France than to other countries. We have been assured by one of the most distinguished officers on the Prussian staff that at this moment the military capabilities of Austria are better known in Berlin



Sainte-Geneviève. (The Panthéon.) : Paris.

than in Vienna; that the Prussians know more of Italy than the Italians themselves; and that with every pathway in England, every hedgerow and village, not to speak of forts, arsenals, and dockyards, they are familiarly acquainted. And we must add, that of this latter fact he gave us such evidence as set doubt at defiance.

“The officers who most establish a character for themselves in all these respects, having studied and understood in theory the mysteries of transport and supply, and further, given evidence that they can handle the three arms, separately and in combination, are appointed to what is called the upper staff. They who fall short or come behind their comrades, yet exhibit talent above the average, are appointed to the lower staff. When pronounced qualified, both classes are passed on to one or other of the several army corps into which the Prussian forces are, both in peace and war, distributed. Every one of these corps, be it remembered, with the exception of the guard—and the guard also, in one sense—looks, so to speak, outward. They thus severally guard their own portions of the national frontier, and face a State with which the Government assumes that one day or another there may be war. How do the officers of the upper staff fill up their time when allocated to corps? Leaving the routine of discipline and returns to the lower staff, who become adjutants, or, as we should call them, officers of their personal staff to the generals of division, and to the corps-commander, the members of the upper staff give themselves up to planning campaigns, both defensive and offensive. Beginning with an imaginary war of defence, they study the country, from the frontier backwards, making notes of the positions which may be taken up on every road leading to the capital. They satisfy themselves also as to the supplies to be had—as to the amount of wagons and draught animals that may be required and procured on the frontier to attend their corps, both collectively and in detachments; in a word they arrange in their own minds, and make notes of every point which can by possibility conduce to render operations of retreat and of check

to the enemy successful. But their labors do not end there. They travel through the State that confronts them; and in the same way, though more leisurely, and in order not to create alarm or excite jealousy, by short tours made in successive summers, they make themselves as completely masters of its military features and capabilities as they are of the military features and capabilities of their own province. Nor are these gentlemen suffered to grow old, and therefore careless and indifferent, in this important work. After serving on the staff a certain number of years, they return to their regiments, when their places are taken by younger men, who labor like them, and not less successfully, to make themselves accomplished strategists and tacticians. . . .

“Again, the Prussian mode of exercising their troops in manœuvres has taught them in time of peace almost everything that they can be required both to do, and to suffer, and to provide against in war. . . . Year by year, when the crops are gathered in, and comparatively little damage can be done to the fields by marching over them, the weather being yet mild and the days not short, the Prussian Government assembles in various parts of the country two complete armies, of which the commands are intrusted to different generals, and which are expected to operate one against another, as if they belonged to different nations. One army is instructed to protect, say a certain fortress or a town; the other is to manœuvre for the occupation of it. Neither commander knows where his adversary is placed, but both being desired to take up certain positions, they both receive, when their troops are brought together, general instructions as to what they are expected to do. The rival armies consist of all the three arms. They carry with them everything that would be needed in real war; their transport follows them, their provisions, medical stores, spare ammunition, and what not. No tents cumber them, for the Prussians always bivouac, both in manœuvres and in actual warfare; and the chiefs on both sides with the staff, are left to their own devices. These two armies may open the mock campaign, and generally do

so, at a distance of several days' march from each other ; and they are thus constrained to feel their way, one acting on the offensive, the other on the defensive, just as if the sham were a reality. The campaign never lasts for a shorter time than a fortnight—it sometimes occupies three weeks ; and while it goes on everything is done, whether in moving or halting, whether in searching the front and flanks with patrols, or in covering the place of rest with outline pickets, that would be done in an enemy's presence. From such manœuvres men and officers alike learn as much as they would do in actual war. For they cross rivers upon bridges of their own construction, they occupy villages, they make sketches of the *terrain* as they pass along, they bake their bread and cook as they march, and at last come to blows with blank cartridges—some high military authority giving to one or the other the palm of victory, according to the skilfulness of his dispositions.

“It was in these fields of mimic war that the Prussians elaborated that new system of tactics, their application of which to real warfare gave them such a decided superiority over the French. They tried its worth first in the Bohemian campaign, very much to the surprise and scandal of strategists of the old school. . . .

“The Prussian tactics are these. Instead of moving a vast army—say of two or three hundred thousand men—by two or three, or at the most, four great roads, keeping open by patrols the communication between the heads of the several columns, they spread out the whole into as many columns of march as possible—into as many as would enable them, were the country open and free from obstacles, to form their line of battle in half an hour. It may indeed be said that they move in order of battle, perfectly well aware that an adherence to the old rule of covering each separate column of march with its own advanced-guard and its own flankers would expose them at any moment to be cut asunder by an enemy falling upon them in force. But the Prussians do not adhere to this rule. They have their advanced-guards cov-

ering every column, and the flankers too; but in front of their advanced-guards, properly so called, and far wide of either flank, they send out swarms of light cavalry well mounted, led by intelligent officers and made up of men all of them more or less educated, and carefully prepared in peace for the parts that will be assigned to them in war. These cover the entire army as with a zone, within which the columns pursue their way comparatively at ease, well knowing that any such force as would give serious cause of alarm to any one of them, could not approach within miles of their front or flank without due notice given of the danger. Nor is this all. These swarms of intelligent horsemen find out where the enemy are—not where the main force is exclusively, but where every detachment is stationed, every picket placed, every sentry and vedette planted. The intelligence thus acquired they carry back to the head-quarters of the corps or division to which they belong; while the enemy, who have taken no such precautions, remain profoundly ignorant, either that their dispositions have been looked into, or that they are about to be assailed where, perhaps, they least expected danger. Just observe how the campaign opened, and judge from that whether or no we attribute more praise than is due either to the Prussian tactics or to their strategy.

“There is no mystery in the case. The Prussian army owes the conception of this novel mode of handling troops, and the complete success which attended it, mainly, we might almost say exclusively, to the admirable training of their staff. They owe it, at least in part, to the circumstance that the effect of the training is felt throughout the whole army; because theirs is not a staff corps isolated and apart, but a body composed of regimental officers, trained, so to speak, in successive waves, and after their training absorbed again into the ranks. Hence every regiment in the Prussian service—cavalry, infantry, and artillery—has officers serving in it who studied and served as officers of the higher staff; and hence, too, there are never wanting men qualified, when the occasion

arises, to take the lead in carrying into execution the plans of the General-in-Chief down to the most minute detail."

The foresight with which this magnificent army, thus officered and equipped was sent into the field, seems little short of marvellous. Nothing seems too minute to escape their attention. The men were not only supplied with everything needed in a military point of view, but maps of the seat of war were distributed among them, so that they might never be at a loss to know their exact position in the country in which they were operating. Each soldier was provided with a ticket, or card, marked with his name, regiment and company, which he was compelled to wear on his person, as a means of identification in case of his being killed or wounded. The supply system was arranged on the most perfect plan, and throughout the whole campaign the Germans have been well fed, except in a few cases, where no trains could have kept pace with the speed of the army, and well clothed; and we have yet to hear of the first instance of the German ammunition giving out, with no more at hand, at critical moments. The field telegraph system has kept the headquarters in constant communication with all parts of the army, and there has been present always a full corps of artisans with ample materials, forges, etc., for the reconstruction of destroyed railroads and bridges.

The forces of the North German Confederation are as follows:

LINE.—*Infantry*: 4 Prussian regiments of Foot Guards, 4 Prussian regiments of Grenadier Guards, 1 Prussian regiment of Fusilier Guards, 15 regiments of Grenadiers of the line, 77 regiments of Infantry, 13 regiments of Fusiliers, 4 Hessian regiments of 2 battalions each, 1 Prussian battalion of Chasseurs of the Guard, 1 battalion Sharpshooters, 16 battalions of Chasseurs; total Infantry, 118 regiments and 18 battalions—368 battalions in all.

Cavalry: 10 regiments Cuirassiers (including two regiments of Guards), 11 regiments Dragoons (including 2 regiments of Guards), 18 regiments Hussars (including 1 regiment of Guards), 21 regiments Lancers (Uhlanen), (including 3 regiments of Guards), 6 regiments Light Cavalry (including 2 regiments of Guards). Total Cavalry, 76 regiments.

Artillery: 1 regiment of Field Artillery (Guards), 12 regiments of

Field Artillery, 1 Hessian division of Field Artillery, 1 regiment of Siege Artillery (Festungs-Artillerie), (Guards), 8 regiments of Siege Artillery, 4 divisions of Siege Artillery, 1 division Rocket Train; in all, 13 regiments and 1 division Field Artillery, and 9 regiments and 1 division of Siege Artillery.

Engineers: 1 battalion of Pioneers of the Guard, 12 battalions of Pioneers, 1 Hessian company of Pioneers.

Train: 13 battalions and 1 division of Baggage, Ammunition, &c., Train.

LANDWEHR.—97 regiments of Infantry, two battalions each—194 battalions; 12 reserve battalions—12 battalions; 4 regiments of the Guard, three battalions each—12 battalions. Total, 218 battalions.

If we summarize the foregoing, we have the following result:

FIELD-ARMY.—Infantry, 394,310 men; Cavalry, 53,528 men; Artillery, 1,212 pieces.

RESERVE.—Infantry, 145,944 men; Cavalry, 18,991 men; Artillery, 234 pieces.

GARRISON TROOPS.—Infantry, 143,924 men; Cavalry, 10,208 men; Artillery, 234 pieces.

In the above computation are not reckoned the armies of the allied South German States, which now follow:

BAVARIA.—16 regiments of Infantry of 3 battalions each; 10 battalions Chasseurs; 10 regiments of Cavalry; 2 brigades of Artillery; which give 69,064 men in Field troops, 25,757 men reserve, and 22,614 Garrison troops; making, in all, 117,435 men and 240 guns.

WURTEMBERG.—8 regiments of Infantry of 2 battalions each; 2 battalions of Chasseurs; 4 regiments of Cavalry; 2 regiments of Artillery; which give, in Field troops, 22,076 men; Reserve, 6,540; Garrison troops, 5,064; making, in all, 34,680 men and 66 guns.

BADEN.—6 regiments of Infantry of 3 battalions each; 3 regiments of Cavalry; 3 Field divisions of Artillery; giving 16,656 Field troops; 3,995 Reserve, and 9,640 Garrison troops; making, in all, 30,291 men and 64 guns.

Thus the auxiliary troops which the three South German States would bring to the aid of the North German Confederation, amount to 169,802 men, and 370 guns.

The aggregates are: FIELD ARMY, 555,634 men, and 1,584 guns; RESERVES (*Landwehr*), 201,207 men, and 234 field-pieces; GARRISON TROOPS, 192,450 men, and 234 pieces of artillery. Grand total, 949,291 men and 2,052 guns.

The Prussian Navy is yet in its infancy. Its vessels are well constructed, and among the finest and most powerful of their class.

	Number.	Guns.
Iron clads	6	70
Frigates and corvettes.....	9	202
Gunboats.....	23	54
Yachts.....	1	2
Paddle corvettes.....	3	15
Sailing vessels.....	59	315
Total.....	101	658

The steam fleet had an aggregate of 7,020 horse power. It was not expected that Prussia would make any effort to conduct the war on the ocean, and it was supposed that the French fleet would hermetically seal the German ports.

Financially, Germany was in good condition for the war. The revenue and expenditure of the North German Confederation for Federal purposes is small. In April, 1869, the Federal Diet voted a budget of \$56,000,000 for Federal purposes. Of this sum Prussia was to contribute \$39,000,000, and the other States of the Confederation the rest. The total expenditure for the year 1869 was calculated at 72,734,601 thalers, or about \$54,550,950, of which the ordinary and extraordinary disbursements were as follows:

For the Federal Chancellery, etc.....	\$145,435
For Consulates.....	206,738
For the Federal Army.....	49,755,206
For the Federal Navy.....	1,401,734

EXTRAORDINARY EXPENDITURE.

For the Federal Chancellery.....	\$112,500
For the General Post Administration.....	21,000
For Telegraphs.....	242,085
For the Federal Navy.....	2,662,500

In 1869 the revenue of the Kingdom of Prussia was \$125,652,370, and the expenditure the same. Since 1865 the revenue has been almost stationary, and there have been no annual deficits—something of which no other State in Europe can boast. This revenue, in 1869, was raised to the extent of \$31,500,000, from direct and indirect taxes, to the amount of \$14,180,443, which includes the share of the Zollverein customs.

The State railroads, mines, forges, and other Government monopolies yielded the greater part of the balance. The expenditures for 1869 were as follows:

CURRENT EXPENDITURE.

	Thalers.
Ministry of Finance.....	17,617,117
Ministry of Commerce and Public Works.....	41,603,775
Ministry of State.....	73,256
Total current expenditure.....	59,294,148

ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENDITURE.

Ministry of Finance.....	32,026,658
Ministry of Commerce and Public Works.....	9,018,874
Ministry of Justice.....	15,943,780
Ministry of the Interior.....	8,242,488
Ministry of Agriculture.....	2,283,648
Ministry of Public Instruction and Ecclesiastical Affairs.....	6,222,004
Ministry of State.....	394,659
Ministry of Foreign Affairs.....	914,630
Charges for the Hohenzollern territory	220,628

Total administrative expenditure... 75,267,369

CHARGES ON CONSOLIDATED FUND.

Addition to the "Krondotation" of the King.....	1,500,000
Interest on Public Debt, including railway debt.....	16,973,637
Sinking fund of debt.....	8,178,433
Annuities.....	429,753
Chamber of Lords.....	40,910
Chamber of Deputies.....	243,000
Miscellaneous.....	122,807

Total charges on Consolidated Fund. 27,488,540

Total ordinary expenditure..... 162,050,057 = \$127,537,543

Extraordinary expenditure..... 5,486,437 = 4,114,828

167,536,494 = \$131,652,371

The public debt of Prussia is small. The total debt of the Kingdom, exclusive of the liabilities incurred by the annexed provinces for the establishment of State railroads, amounts to \$188,497,520.

France, since the establishment of the second Empire, had held the first place in Europe. Her army was considered by the world the most superb in existence. It had fought successfully two great European wars, had conquered Mexico, and had seen hard service in Algeria. It remained for the present war, however to show grave defects in the French

system, and to deal it such fatal blows that it will probably be reckoned hereafter as a thing of the past.

Until 1793, the French army was officered exclusively by nobles, commissions being bought and sold. Enlistments were voluntary. The Revolution republicanized both the nation and the army, merit was recognized as the sole qualification for an officer's commission, and every conscript carried a Marshal's baton in his knapsack. This radical change created an enthusiasm among the rank and file which proved irresistible under the First Napoleon. Since the Restoration, the army has been officered on a mixed system of promotion from the ranks and of direct appointments from the military schools, the former class constituting one-third of the whole. Promotion is determined by selection, or nominally by merit. The conscription, which places the whole population at the service of the State as each generation completes its twentieth year, was established in France by law in 1798. In 1818, the annual number of conscripts was fixed at 40,000. Under Louis Philippe this number was raised to 80,000. Under the Second Empire it has never been less than 100,000 men, and during the Crimean and Italian wars it was 140,000. A system of exemptions, by which drafted men could by the payment of a sum of money commute their personal service, did much to make the conscription ineffective, so that France was very far from having in actual fact the army represented on paper. In the Crimean and Italian wars the country could only place and maintain in the field one army, not much exceeding one-fourth of her effective strength on paper. The system of exemptions was accordingly abandoned in 1868, and since that time drafted men have been obliged by law either to serve in person or to furnish an able-bodied substitute. This law, however, was not rigidly enforced, and the system of exemptions by a fine to the State was in reality continued. The theory, indeed, was that the fines thus levied were to be applied to increasing the bounties of old soldiers reënlisting for further service; but the war disclosed the fact that these sums were retained in the military chest, and the

ranks remained unfilled. Of the 288,000 men who should have been found in the ranks of the 24 active divisions when the war broke out, not much more than 200,000 were actually with the colors.

Warned by the superior excellence of the Prussian army, and the brilliant success won by it in the war of 1866, the Emperor Napoleon resolved upon the reorganization of his army. This task was entrusted to Marshal Niel, the accomplished Minister of War. The law for the necessary changes was carried through the Chambers, in the face of considerable opposition from the Republicans, in February 1868. Unfortunately for France, Marshal Niel died in August 1869, and the war of 1870 broke out, before his reforms were completed.

The reorganization made every able-bodied male over 21 subject to the conscription. The army was to consist of the regular army and the army of the reserve, the strength of each was to be 400,000 men. Besides there was to be a standing "National Garde Mobile," to be organized to the number of about 400,000 men, destined as an auxiliary to the active army in the defence of the fortresses, coasts, and frontiers of the Empire. The total strength of the military force was, therefore, to be 1,200,000 men. Every man drawn for conscription was to have the right of buying a substitute. The right to furnish substitutes was to be a Government monopoly, the Government to exert itself to encourage the reënlisment of old soldiers, and thus to give the standing army a nucleus of experienced troops.

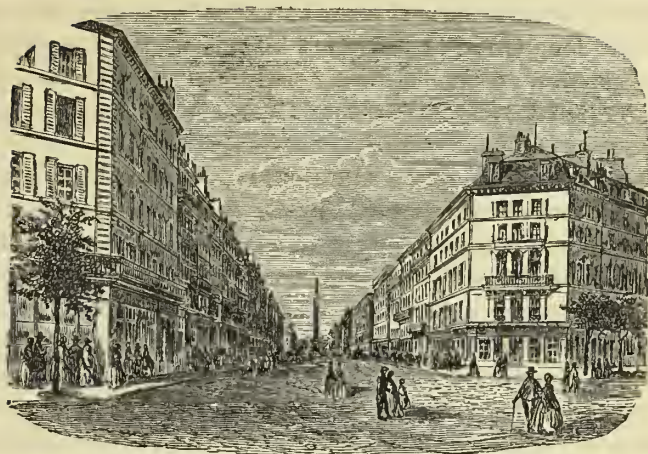
The number of recruits to be raised annually by the conscription was 100,000, or about one in every 370 of the population. The period of military service was fixed at nine years, of which five were to be passed with the regimental colors and the remaining four years in a general reserve, called the *second reserve*. There was to be no territorial connection between the army and any particular districts; also none between the regular regiments and the reserve men who have passed through them. All males, attaining the age of twenty-one in a given year and not included among the

100,000 drawn for the army, were to be enrolled in the Garde National Mobile, in which they were to serve for five years. These were to remain at their homes, and the only military duty required of them by the law in ordinary times, was attendance upon fifteen drills in each year, it being provided that no drill should take them from their homes for more than one night.* In time of war the Garde Mobile were to be employed in garrison duty, in guarding communications, or in furnishing reënforcements to the regular army in the field.

Of the 100,000 recruits to be drawn yearly for the army, 70,000 were to be drafted at once into the ranks, while the remaining 30,000 were to be enrolled in the *first reserve*, in which they were to continue for nine years. No military service was to be exacted of the first reserve men during peace, except that they were to be drilled for five months in each of the first two years. At the conclusion of the nine years they were to be discharged. Upon the outbreak of war the regiments of the army in the field were to be raised to double their peace strength by drafts upon the first reserve. The 70,000 men drafted into the ranks, after completing five years of service with the colors, were to be enrolled in the second reserve and continue therein for four years, after which they were to be finally discharged.

By this arrangement, says a recent writer, "France can in theory furnish a larger number of men at the outset of a war, in proportion to population, than the Prussians; for whereas in North Germany all men attaining the military age in any one year, who may not be drawn for the army, are exempt from military service; in France all men attaining that age and not drawn in the conscription of the year, are enrolled in the Garde Mobile—a mere nominal advantage, however, since the latter force is totally untrained. One defect of the French system seems to be that the men of the *first reserve*, who are first taken to complete regiments to their war strength, have under-

* This part of the law was never enforced, so that the present war found the Garde Mobile entirely untrained.



Rue de la Paix : Paris.

gone no military training worth speaking of, while the men of the *second reserve* are disciplined soldiers, who have passed five years in regimental duty. Another defect as compared with the Prussian system is, that while the French conscript is relieved from all military service at the end of nine years, the Prussian Government never relinquishes its hold on a man once drawn for the army, but passes him from regimental service first into the reserve, next into the Landwehr, finally into the Landsturm.

“The tendency of the military education of the French army has been to give it an overweening idea of its own superiority. With respect to Prussia, as we learn from General Trochu, the doctrine was taught officially in the military schools that the military constitution of that country, which created only young soldiers, was weak, and that the Prussian army would be found deficient in steadiness in the day of battle. This belief was shared up to 1866 by the public and by the army at large. Since the day of Sadowa, French military men have come to doubt the correctness of such teaching.” Since then the French officers have acknowledged the necessity of meeting the Prussian reforms by similar

changes in their own system. Marshal Neil, however, did not live long enough to carry out his reforms thoroughly, and the Emperor, an invalid during the greater part of the time, was obliged to trust them to a minister who ultimately proved himself unfit for the task.

We have spoken of the admirable system of supply in operation in the German army. In the French service this department has long been one of its most serious defects. The *Intendance*, as it is called, is entrusted to superannuated generals, and all the subordinate officials in this department are chosen from the officers or sub-officers of the army. It follows, therefore, that the *Intendance* is entrusted to men who are utterly ignorant of the operations of trade by which alone supply can adjust itself to demand. During the Crimean war, the *Intendance* proved such an utter failure, that the Government was obliged to entrust the task of feeding the army to a commercial house in Marseillès, which kept an abundance of the best provisions constantly on hand. During the Italian war, the troops were often without bread in one of the best grain growing countries in the world. Biscuits were equally scarce. At the outset of the present war, the French troops on the frontier were half starved in their own country, and with their railroads in perfect operation. Thus several weeks were lost.

Another defect in the French system was the maintenance of *corps d'élite* at the expense of the infantry of the line. "Of the 100,000 conscripts poured yearly into the ranks, the strongest, most active and intelligent, are taken in the following order: first for the artillery, next for the cavalry, next for the chasseurs-à-pied or light infantry, and the Imperial Guard. The residuum compose the line regiments, which ought to be the backbone of an army in battle. By this unwise measure, the *esprit de corps* of the favored few is greatly elevated, while that of the many is proportionately depressed; and it has always been the case in late years, that the first have had to atone by enormous losses in battle for the deficiencies of the last."

Of late years the discipline of the French army has been terribly relaxed, to what extent will be plainly evident when we come to consider the events of the war. Another defect was the deficient education of the men, at least thirty per cent. of whom could neither read nor write. The staff system, so admirable in the Prussian service, is of less use in the French army. The staff corps is here isolated from the rest of the army. Regimental officers are trained simply in the military schools, and the advantage of having scattered through the various branches of the service officers thoroughly instructed in every department of the profession of arms is lost.

The fire-arm used by the French army is the celebrated Chassepot rifle, which is probably the most efficient weapon ever put into the hands of infantry. It resembles the Prussian needle-gun, but possesses several improvements. The success of the needle-gun in the war of 1866, opened the eyes of the French to the necessity of providing an equally efficient, if not a better weapon, for their army. The result was the invention by M. Chassepot, after long and careful study, having the Prussian gun to aid him and to improve upon. After the new rifle had been tested over and over again, the attention of the Emperor was invited to it, and it was not long before he was convinced of its superiority, and ordered its adoption in the army.

One of the principal improvements which the Chassepot has over the needle-gun of Prussia is, that its movement is simpler, and instead of being tightly enclosed in the breech by a cylinder, it is almost fully exposed, and the employment of India rubber as an obturator. It is argued that the Prussian gun, after it has been discharged several times in rapid succession, becomes hot and damp in the chamber, owing to the inability of the gas which comes back after the explosion of the cartridge to escape. The inside soon becomes dirty, and the soldier is required to take his piece apart and clean it. The French gun is always open, and while there is no gas shut up in a chamber to corrode the metal, it can in a

moment be cleansed from dirt or rust, and the soldier is always able to quickly discover any accident to his rifle.

The mechanism of the gun is simple. An opening in the right hand side of the chamber admits the cartridge. This chamber is filled by a moveable cylinder, worked backward or forward by a handle. The cylinder surrounds the shaft, and contains the spring by which the needle is propelled. The rear end of the shaft is made in the shape of a handle, and the spring is compressed by drawing back this handle. The shaft also serves to protect the needle, which is surrounded by the same, and is forced out of the front end of the shaft as soon as the trigger is pulled. In loading, the cylinder is drawn back, and the cartridge inserted; the knob is then pressed forward, and laid over to the right side. The handle used in cocking is then pushed up against the knob. By the first of these two movements the cylinder is thrown forward, thereby pressing the cartridge into the breech; the second movement secures the cylinder so that it can be thrown back by the force of the explosion. The pulling the trigger releases the spiral spring, which then forces the needle through the percussion wafer. The projectile used is a rather long slug, with the end rounded and pointed like the American rifle ball. The charge, which is attached to it in a paper covering, is composed of a peculiar powder, specially manufactured for the purpose. The distance at which this gun may be used with certainty is very great—over 1000 mètres, or more than 3,280 English feet.

It was believed, at the outset of the war, that the Chassepot was vastly superior to the needle-gun, as doubtless it would have been in the hands of troops possessed of sufficient familiarity with it, and sufficient steadiness to use it to advantage.* But the superior coolness and intelligence of the

* An officer of the English Artillery questioned the Prussian officers besieging Verdun upon this point. He says: "It was asserted (in the course of the conversation) that the Prussians, on the other hand, possessed great rallying powers, and were very silent in fighting, either in attack or defence; at most giving vent to three distinct '*Hourras*' before closing with the enemy.

Germans, added to their perfect familiarity with their weapon, more than counterbalanced their disadvantages.

The cannon used in the French army are of bronze, and mostly muzzle loaders. They are of the pattern known as the Napoleon gun—the invention of the Emperor Napoleon III.

A new weapon was introduced into this war by the French. This was the now famous *mitrailleuse*, or, as it is sometimes called, the *mitrailleur*. This weapon had never received any practical test before, but was expected by its possessors to accomplish much more than it did. The reader must imagine a many-barreled gun, thirty-seven barrels all laid together like a faggot of sticks, and soldered fast in that position. They are open at both ends, and behind is a wrought iron frame work to support the breech-loading apparatus. A breech-block, containing a separate spiral spring and steel piston for each barrel, slides backwards and forwards behind the barrels, worked by a lever. When the breech-block is drawn back, there is space sufficient between it and the barrels to slip down vertically a plate pierced with holes containing cartridges, one for each barrel. Then the breech-block is pressed forward by means of the lever, and this action both closes fast the back of all the barrels and compresses the spiral springs, so that they are ready to thrust their pistons forward suddenly against their corresponding cartridges and so ignite them but for a certain hindrance. This hindrance is a thin steel plate in front of the pistons, but it is moveable out of the way by the action of a handle. As the handle is turned fast or slow, the plate slides out of the way quickly or slowly in proportion, and permits one piston after another

The great drawback they had to contend with was the inferiority of the needle-gun to the Chassepot. The former was said to be effective at 1000 yards at most, while men began to drop from the effects of the latter at a distance even of 1800 yards; though at such a range the French could only fire at haphazard into the mass, and the Prussians were obliged to advance for 800 yards under fire without returning a shot—a trial so great that they longed eagerly for the possession of the Chassepots."
—From Sedan to Saarbruck, via Verdun, Gravelotte and Metz. By an Officer of the Royal Artillery. Pp. 126, 127.

to strike and discharge its cartridge at intervals of any duration; or, by rapid turning of the handle, all the pistons strike their cartridges so rapidly that the thirty-seven barrels are discharged almost simultaneously—as nearly so as the rifles of a company of infantry ordered to fire a volley. The barrels being practically parallel, the bullets fly very closely, and great destruction must ensue if the aim be true. The mitrailleuse is mounted on wheels somewhat like the carriage of a boat howitzer, and can be easily worked by two men. It was not expected to take the place of field artillery, but was designed to occupy a middle place between the artillery and the infantry. It is capable of discharging 370 cartridges per minute, and within the range of a mile its fire is very destructive.

The French army at the beginning of the summer of 1870 was supposed to be constituted as follows:

PEACE FOOTING.

Three regiments of Imperial Grenadier Guards; 4 regiments of Voltigeurs; 100 regiments of Infantry of the line; 7 regiments of Chasseurs; 4 regiments of Zouaves; 1 regiment of African light Infantry; 1 regiment of Foreign Legion; 3 regiments of Tirailleurs of Algeria; 67 regiments of Cavalry; 18 regiments of Artillery; 2 regiments of Artificers; 3 regiments of Train; 2 regiments of Armorers, Gunmakers, &c.

The summary is as follows:

	PEACE FOOTING.	WAR FOOTING.
Staff.....	1,845 men	1,914 men
Gendarmes.....	24,548 "	25,688 "
Infantry....	265,397 "	515,035 "
Cavalry.....	60,641 "	100,221 "
Artillery.....	38,496 "	66,132 "
Engineers.....	8,000 "	15,443 "
Other troops.....	15,705 "	33,365 "
Total.....	414,632 "	757,798 "

In addition to these were the Garde Mobile, supposed to number 400,000 men. The artillery consisted of 125 batteries.

We shall soon see how much of this force was simply on paper. That it was as efficient as it was, was due mainly to Marshal Neil, first, and to the Emperor. The Marshal ha-

hard work to carry his reforms in the face of the opposition of the very men who, after Sedan, denounced the Emperor for his neglect of the army; but, as we have said, he died before his measures could be fairly adopted in the service, and was succeeded by a War minister who had neither his genius, foresight, independence, nor firmness.

The French navy, of which good service was expected at the outset, was next to that of Great Britain, the finest and most powerful in the world. In January 1870, it consisted of 74,664 officers and men. There were 2 admirals, 6 active vice-admirals, and 30 active counter-admirals. The fleet was composed as follows:

	NO. OF VESSELS.	GUNS.
Screw Steamers, iron-clad.....	55	1,032
Screw Steamers, non-iron-clad.....	233	2,618
Wheel Steamers.....	51	116
Sailing Vessels.....	100	914
Total.....	439	4,680

The total revenue of the Empire in 1869 was \$425,744,360. This sum was raised by custom duties and an elaborate system of inland revenue. It was distributed among these various sources as follows:

Direct taxes.....	\$65,903,732
Registration duties and stamps.....	86,789,200
Customs and salt duties.....	20,724,600
Departmental and Communal taxes.....	45,649,166
Wine and spirit duties.....	46,943,200
Tobacco monopoly.....	49,531,600

The estimated expenditures for the same period were \$440,668,130, and were distributed as follows:

Interests on the funded and floating debt..	\$74,449,153
Ministry of the Interior.....	40,049,587
Ministry of War.....	74,172,155
Ministry of Finance.....	23,889,565
Ministry of Marine and Colonies.....	32,267,684
Collection of Revenue.....	46,855,022

The public debt of France was in 1853 \$1,103,238,940. In 1868 it had grown to \$2,766,344,622. This is exclusive of a

floating debt amounting to about \$173,200,000, which consists of treasury bills, funds from the saving banks, the army dotation fund, and other liabilities. In the face of this increase in the public debt the credit of France rose steadily under the Empire. On the 29th of June 1870, rentes bearing $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest sold for 104, and 3 per cents. for 72·65. The following statement will show the general prosperity of the Empire :

	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.	TOTAL. .
1860.....	\$379,466,965	\$455,425,223	\$834,892,188
1868.....	679,714,400	581,358,000	1,261,072,400

The estimated value of property in France is as follows :

Real property.....	\$16,000,000,000
Rural properties.....	10,000,000,000
Town properties and buildings.....	6,000,000,000
Total.....	<u>\$32,000,000,000</u>

The wars of France have entailed a heavy expense upon the country. Those under the Empire may be set down as follows :

	COST.	LOSS OF MEN.
Crimean War.....	\$1,700,000,000	80,000
Italian War.....	300,000,000	60,000
Chinese and Mexican Wars	200,000,000	65,000
Total.....	<u>\$2,200,000,000</u>	<u>205,000</u>

CHAPTER IV.

ARRIVAL OF NAPOLEON AT METZ—POSITION OF THE FRENCH ARMY ON THE FRONTIER—DETAILED STATEMENT OF ITS STRENGTH—THE SCENE OF OPERATIONS—STRATEGIC VALUE OF RAILROADS ON THE FRENCH FRONTIER—MARSHAL LEBŒUF—DISSENSIONS AMONG THE OFFICERS—FATAL SELF-CONFIDENCE—THE EMPEROR FINDS THE ARMY UNPREPARED FOR WAR—LACK OF SUPPLIES—THE EMPEROR'S PLAN OF OPERATIONS—CAUSES OF THE FRENCH DELAY—THE PRUSSIANS ON THE FRONTIER—CAPTURE OF SAARBRUCK BY THE FRENCH—NEGLECT TO WATCH THE ENEMY—ERRORS OF THE FRENCH AT THE OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN—RAPID MOBILIZATION OF THE GERMAN ARMIES—THE CONCENTRATION ON THE FRONTIER—POSITION OF THE GERMAN ARMIES—DETAILED STATEMENT OF THEIR STRENGTH—STRATEGIC VALUE OF THE GERMAN RAILWAYS—SUCCESS OF VON MOLTKE'S PLANS—ACTIVITY OF THE GERMAN CAVALRY—VON MOLTKE FULLY INFORMED OF THE FRENCH MOVEMENTS—THE GERMAN PLAN OF ADVANCE—NAPOLEON'S ANXIETY FOR HIS LEFT—MACMAHON ORDERED TO CLOSE IN—GENERAL DOUAY'S POSITION AT WEISSENBOURG—ADVANCE OF THE CROWN PRINCE—THE ATTACK ON WEISSENBOURG—DEFEAT OF DOUAY—ARRIVAL OF MACMAHON—THE BATTLE OF WOERTH—"OUR FRITZ" WINS A VICTORY—RETREAT OF MACMAHON—THE CROWN PRINCE PURSUES HIM—DEMORALIZATION OF THE FRENCH—FROSSARD WITHDRAWN FROM SAARBRUCK—THE FIRST AND SECOND GERMAN ARMIES IN MOTION—THE HEIGHTS OF SPICHEREN—THE ADVANCE OF THE FOURTEENTH CORPS—BATTLE OF FORBACH—ANOTHER VICTORY FOR THE GERMANS—RETREAT OF FROSSARD—RETREAT OF DE FAILLY FROM BITSCH—RECEPTION OF THE NEWS AT METZ—KING WILLIAM'S TELEGRAM—THE NEWS IN BERLIN—FRENCH OFFICIAL BULLETINS—CONSTERNATION OF THE MINISTRY—REJOICINGS IN PARIS OVER FALSE NEWS—THE TRUTH KNOWN—A TERRIBLE REACTION—SCENE AT THE MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR—THE PROCLAMATION OF THE EMPRESS—THE APPEAL TO THE NATION—MEETING OF THE CHAMBERS—THE NATIONAL GUARD REFUSE TO DISPERSE THE CROWD BEFORE THE CORPS LEGISLATIF—ALARM IN METZ.

ON the 28th of July, the Emperor Napoleon left St. Cloud for the headquarters of the army on the German frontier, which had been established at Metz. He reached that city at 7.30 in the afternoon, and was cordially received by the army and people. Imme-

diately upon his arrival, he applied himself to the task before him.*

The French army had been thrown forward to the German frontier, and lay distributed between Strasbourg, on the Rhine, to Thionville, on the Moselle. The First Corps, under Marshal MacMahon, was posted at Strasbourg. It numbered 35,000 infantry, 3,500 cavalry, and ninety guns. The Fifth Corps, under General de Failly, was at Bitsche, and numbered 26,250 infantry, 2,600 cavalry, and seventy-two guns. The Second Corps, under General Frossard, was at St. Avold, and numbered 26,250 infantry, 2,600 cavalry, and seventy-two guns. The Fourth Corps, under General L'Admirault, was at Thionville, and numbered 26,250 infantry, 2,600 cavalry, and seventy-two guns. The Third Corps, under Marshal Bazaine, was posted at Metz, in support of Thionville and St. Avold, and numbered 35,000 infantry, 3,500 cavalry, and ninety guns. The Imperial Guard, under General Bourbaki, and numbering 16,650 infantry, 3,600 cavalry, and sixty guns, were at first posted in second line, at Nancy, in order to support either flank, but were afterward moved up to Metz. These columns formed a grand total of 165,400 infantry, 18,400 cavalry, and 456 guns. The Reserve consisted of the Sixth Corps and the cavalry reserve, under Marshal Canrobert, and the Seventh Corps, under General Felix Douay. Canrobert's corps (including the cavalry reserve) was forming at Chalons, and consisted of 35,000 infantry, 9,750 cavalry, and 126 guns; Douay's corps was forming at Belfort, and consisted of 26,500 infantry, 2,600 cavalry, and

* After censuring the luxurious habits of the French generals, the Count de la Chapelle says: "The Emperor, since assuming the chief command of the army, had given an example of earnestness which cannot be denied. Every day His Majesty was holding long conferences with the generals, or visiting the camps without escort or pompous equipage. He was to be seen everywhere on the French military lines, and whatever may be the censure to pass on his succeeding actions, it is a duty to assert that from the commencement of the war he put aside the usual luxury of his habits, and went to work with energy." *The War of 1870—Events and Incidents of the Battle-Fields*. By Count de la Chapelle. P. 11.

seventy-two guns; making a total reserve of 61,500 infantry, 12,350 cavalry, and 198 guns. This brought the total strength of the army gathered for the defence of the frontier to 226,150 infantry, 30,750 cavalry, and 654 guns—and this was all that could be gathered of the 400,000 men supposed to belong to the army of France. One division, it is true, was left to watch the Spanish frontier, another was destined for service in the Baltic. The African (Algerian) army, between 40,000 and 50,000 strong, was ordered to France, but had not yet arrived, and the only means of increasing the strength of the army already in the field, was by drawing from the fourth battalions, very imperfectly drilled, and the Garde Mobile, totally untrained.

The war just about to open was to be different in certain respects from any that had ever been waged between France and Germany. Had the South German States remained neutral, the means by which France and Prussia could have approached each other would have been narrowed down to a frontier of about forty miles, extending from Sierck on the Moselle to Sarreguemines on the Saar. Strategy would have been useless here, and the army first passing the frontier would have been obliged to trust to the momentum of its advance to sweep all obstacles from its path until a wider front could be gained. But the warm response of South Germany to the call of Prussia threw open the whole line from Belgium to Switzerland—the front of operations thus extending from Sierck to Basle in Switzerland. The direct distance between these two places is 140 miles, and this part of the French frontier projects forward into Germany as a great right angle, the base being the direct line between the two places mentioned.

“The northern side of this angle is the line between Sierck and the little town of Lauterbourg upon the Rhine. It traverses first the hilly country about the upper Moselle and the Saar, then passes straight across the high plateaux which rise up from Lorraine to form the western or French side of the Vosges, and descending the steeper eastern side of that high

range, which stands like a wall along the Rhine frontier of France, finally crosses the narrow strip of fertile plain, here but fifteen miles wide, which lies between its foot and the great river which it seems to guard. The little stream, the Lauter, here marks the frontier, and the principal passage over it in the plain is at the small town of Weissenbourg, well known in former wars waged in the Palatinate. The other, or eastern face of the great right angle we are describing, is formed by the course of the Rhine, which runs from Basle due northward through the plain to Lauterbourg, and thence onward to Mayence, where it first meets the hilly country of West Central Germany. This angle, therefore, formed the immediate base for whichever army should first attack, and projecting as it did on the northern face from Germany into France on the Moselle, and on the eastern from France towards Germany on the Rhine, became an object of more pressing interest than it had ever been in the wars of the First Napoleon, or of the Revolutionary armies, when movements were complicated with, or even subordinated to, other invasions of the enemy across the Lower Rhine through the plains of Belgium or the hilly Duchy of Luxembourg, now closed to both the combatants."

Though this angle was, in a strict military sense, the actual base of the armies confronting each other, it may be said that each had its whole country for its base, for the railway system of each was so perfect that troops and supplies could be concentrated with almost lightning rapidity at any given point. Perhaps there has been no more striking instance of the marked manner in which the use of railways has revolutionized the science of war, than the rapid concentration of the German army on the Rhine in the summer of 1870.

A glance at the map will show the reader that the French army possessed remarkable facilities for concentration and mutual support by means of the railways which it commanded. One single direct line of railway connected the towns of Strasbourg, Bitsche, St. Avold, Metz, and Thionville. A second line, in rear of this, brought Strasbourg into direct

communication with Nancy and Metz, by way of Taverne, Sarrebourg, and Luneville. Two railroads extending into the country in the rear of Strasbourg and Nancy, placed those towns in communication with Belfort, which was held by the Seventh Corps, under General Felix Douay, and with Lyons and the South of France. Nancy and Thionville were in direct communication with Paris—the road from the former place running through Toul, Vitry, Chalons and Epernay, and that from the latter through Montmedy, Mézières, Rheims, and Soissons.

Thus the French were in full possession of railroad communication all along their strategical front, and to their rear from the centre and from both flanks. Their line was strengthened by the powerful fortresses of Metz and Strasbourg, and the forts of Bitsche, Petite Pierre, and Phalsbourg, guarding the passes through the Vosges, and by the fortified towns of Thionville and Toul on the Moselle; both commanding railways to Paris. The base of supply for MacMahon and De Failly was Strasbourg; that for the remainder of the army was Metz.

Having thrown down the gauntlet, it was the policy of France to inaugurate the campaign by one of those brilliant initiatives for which that nation has been famous, and which in this case was indispensable. It was of the highest importance that the junction of the North and South German forces should be prevented, and that South Germany should be compelled to remain neutral. This could only be done by a bold and rapid movement of the French across the Rhine, which would place their army between South and North Germany. Such a movement was confidently expected by the world at large.

The French army was in position on the frontier by the 23d of July, but the Emperor remained at St. Cloud. To represent him he dispatched to Metz Marshal Leboeuf, who had been Minister of War, and who was now made Major-General of the army. His own departure was delayed until Leboeuf should notify him that all was in readiness for a forward

movement. Unfortunately, his representative had not the confidence of the army, and was besides utterly incompetent to the task of making such a sudden and daring move with a large army accustomed to a long season of peace. Nothing was accomplished. The troops were moved aimlessly about, and subjected to fatigues which accomplished nothing, and simply exasperated them. Quarrels broke out among officers high in rank, who seemed incapable of suppressing their jealousies. The officers of all grades were to a great degree more thoughtful of their own ease than of the discipline and *morale* of the army. It was in vain that MacMahon, Bazaine and a few others, whose conceptions of the struggle rose higher than the anticipation of a military promenade to Berlin, endeavored to counteract the evils. The fatal neglect which had left the army unprepared for the war, and which followed it to the frontier, made their task hopeless.

"In their fatal self-confidence," says a French writer, who witnessed the scenes he describes, "the French commanders were in the meantime basking in the shades of the cafés at the city of Metz. After a few hurried sentences on the war, and the glorious conquests in perspective, after the important discussion of the evening dinner, mixed with the intrigues of the Emperor's *entourage*, the question of precedence and of eager ambition were subjects far more *à l'ordre du jour* than the advance of the Prussians, or of their *éclaireurs*, which was considered a trifling matter in comparison with the comfort, present and future of those gentlemen. Some of the generals were followed by the whole of their families, wives, daughters, babies, and nurses. Some others were conspicuous by the luxury and importance of their equipage. Their names and the explanations on their acting capacity in the Armée du Rhine, were written in immense letters on their convoys, so that any impresario would have envied the brilliancy of these elaborated sign-boards." *

The Emperor, at St. Cloud, was by degrees informed of the

* *The War of 1870.* By Count de la Chapelle. Pp. 9, 10.

actual condition of his army, and, as we have said, repaired to Metz on the 28th of July. It was only upon his arrival there—broken down in health, and physically incapacitated for the command, which for political reasons he was unwilling to entrust to others—that he learned the whole truth. The army was utterly unprepared for a forward movement. "The army of Metz," he has written since then, "instead of 150,000 men, only mustered 100,000; that of Strasbourg only 40,000, instead of 100,000; whilst the corps of Marshal Canrobert had still one division at Paris and another at Soissons; his artillery as well as his cavalry was not ready. Further, no army corps was even yet completely furnished with the equipments necessary for taking the field. The Emperor gave precise orders that the arrival of the missing regiments should be pushed on; but he was obeyed slowly, excuse being made that it was impossible to leave Algeria, Paris, and Lyons without garrisons."

But this was not all. In spite of the self-evident fact that the army could be used nowhere but on the Rhine frontier, the Intendance or commissariat had utterly failed to provide provisions for the troops, and it was with difficulty that enough could be secured to keep the army from suffering. More threatening still was the lack of military stores. There was a scarcity of ammunition, and supplies had to be hurried forward from distant posts. The very frontier fortresses of Strasbourg and Metz were found with almost empty magazines.

At the outset the Emperor had designed making such a movement as we have indicated. In a pamphlet,* believed to have been dictated by him, his plan for the opening of the campaign is described at some length. He was aware "that Prussia was ready to call out in a short time, 900,000 men, and, with the aid of the Southern States of Germany, could count upon 1,100,000 soldiers. France was only able to

* *Campagne de 1870: Des Causes qui ont amené la Capitulation de Sedan.* Par un Officier Attaché à l'Etat-Major-Général. Bruxelles.

muster 600,000, and, as the number of fighting men is never more than one half the actual effective force, Germany was in a position to bring into the field 550,000 men, whilst France had only about 300,000 to confront the enemy. To compensate for this numerical inferiority, it was necessary for the Emperor, by a rapid movement, to cross the Rhine, separate South Germany from the North German Confederation, and, by the *éclat* of a first success, secure the alliance of Austria and Italy. If he were able to prevent the armies of Southern Germany from forming their junction with those of the North, the effective strength of the Prussians would be reduced by 200,000 men; and the disproportion between the number of combatants thus much diminished. If Austria and Italy made common cause with France, then the superiority of numbers would be in her favor. The Emperor's plan of campaign—which he confided to Marshals MacMahon and Lebœuf alone—was to mass 150,000 men at Metz, 100,000 at Strasbourg, and 50,000 at the camp of Chalons.

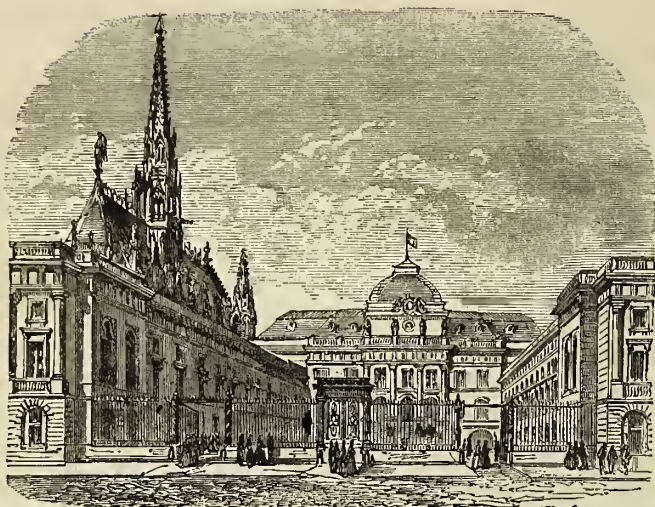
The concentration of the first two armies, the one on the Sarre and the other on the Rhine, did not reveal his projects, for the enemy was left in uncertainty as to whether the attack would be made against the Rhenish Provinces or upon the Duchy of Baden. As soon as the troops should have been concentrated at the points indicated, it was the Emperor's purpose to immediately unite the two armies of Metz and Strasbourg; and, at the head of 250,000 men, to cross the Rhine at Maxau, leaving at his right the fortress of Rastadt, and, at his left, that of Germersheim. Reaching the other side of the Rhine, he would have forced the States of the South to observe neutrality, and would then have hurried on to encounter the Prussians. Whilst this movement was in course of execution, the 50,000 men at Chalons, under the command of Marshal Canrobert, were to proceed to Metz, to protect the rear of the army and guard the northeastern frontier. At the same time the French fleet cruising in the Baltic would have held stationary in the north of Prussia, a

part of the enemy's forces, obliged to defend the coasts threatened with invasion.*

From the first the Emperor had found difficulties in the way of the execution of this plan. Though he appreciated the value of time, he did not go to Metz until a fortnight after the declaration of war. The reason was that he feared to risk the effect upon Paris of waiting two weeks at the head of his army in inaction. He never shared the vain glory of his subordinates and the nation, and in the midst of the enthusiastic demands for a march to Berlin, his voice was almost the only one which warned the people that the struggle would try their manhood to the utmost. Upon reaching the army he found the difficulties still to be overcome. "Even after his arrival the wants of his generals, for the most part unused to face the difficulties of moving very large masses, and accustomed to leave administrative detail to the intendants, raised obstacles such as the more practical soldiers who had led the army in Italy would have known how to overcome." So the time passed away, and nothing was done. All the while it was necessary to keep the country in ignorance of the actual state of affairs, so that, in spite of their impatience at the delay, the people were still as hopeful as ever.

By the first of August the Imperial Guard had joined Bazaine at Metz, Canrobert's corps had moved from Chalons to Nancy; and MacMahon's corps was moving forward from Strasbourg to the Lauter. On the 24th of July the Prussians were reported in force at Saarbrück, and a strong French detachment sent by General Frossard, who had been pushed on with one division of his corps to Forbach, to reconnoitre the place, was repulsed with the loss of ten men. On the same day, some Prussian lancers crossed into French territory to the east of Sarreguemines and blew up the viaduct of the railroad between that place and Haguenau, thereby impeding the French communication between Bitsche and St. Avold.

* This summary is from *The War Correspondence of the (London) Daily News*, recently issued in book form.



Palace of Justice : Paris.

On the 2d of August, the Emperor and the Prince Imperial left Metz for Forbach, for the purpose of ascertaining the position and numbers of the enemy. From Forbach the Emperor with a part of Frossard's corps, advanced upon Saarbrück, a Prussian frontier town, which was held by a small advance force of the enemy. A French division under General Bataille, carried the heights of Spicheren, on the right of Saarbrück, without difficulty; and the Prussians, after a resistance which had no military object, withdrew to their second line of defence. The affair lasted only three hours, and at its close the Emperor and the Prince Imperial went back to Metz to dinner. The Emperor sent the following despatch to the Empress:

"Louis has received his baptism of fire. He was admirably cool and little impressed. A division of Frossard's command carried the heights overlooking the Saar. The Prussians made a brief resistance. Louis and I were in front, where the bullets fell about us. Louis keeps a ball he picked up. The soldiers wept at his tranquillity. We lost an officer and ten men."

The next day the French began to strengthen their position on the Spicheren heights.

This affair was doubtless meant to quiet the murmurs of the people (who were impatient of the delay) until the army was ready to move ; but unfortunately for the authors of the scheme, it was believed in Paris to be an important victory, and to herald the advance of the army into Germany.

All this while, much might have been done that was not done, and at least a knowledge of the enemy's positions and numbers gained. Frossard was at St. Avold, and within twenty miles of his front was the junction of three railway lines coming from Treves, Bingen, and Mayence — lines of the highest importance to the enemy. A bold dash of his cavalry might have damaged these roads so as to render them useless, at least for a time, and thus have delayed the concentration of the German army. The air was full of rumors of the concentration of huge masses of Germans behind Saarlouis and about Treves. L'Admirault, from Thionville, might have tested the truth of these rumors with his cavalry. De Failly's cavalry might also have ascertained the truth whether there was a strong concentration at or near Landau, in Rhenish Bavaria. It seems almost incredible that this last general should have been ignorant of the fact that fully one-third of the German force was assembling within less than a day's march of his outposts. Even MacMahon, that true and tried soldier, seemed paralyzed by the inactivity at Metz and the timorous looking back to see what the opposition in Paris would say. That such attempts were possible is proved by the bold dashes of the German horse into the French lines, and the manner in which they kept their commanders advised of the course of affairs there.

Nothing was done in this respect, however. Even after the capture of Saarbrück, no effort was made to destroy the railroad junction from Treves — all the enemy's railways being left in good condition for the use of their advancing columns. The French remained in utter ignorance of the positions, numbers, and movements of the enemy. Frossard's corps was

left thrown forward so far that it was questionable whether the rest could reach him in time to support him effectually in case of a sudden attack. MacMahon occupied a similarly exposed position. The Emperor becoming anxious for the Marshal's safety, and being satisfied of MacMahon's inability to act independently against the forces which he believed the enemy would shortly direct against him, ordered him to close in from Strasbourg, preparatory to a general concentration. MacMahon, apprehensive of the same danger, asked for and received a reënforcement of one division from Felix Douay's corps at Belfort. Then, in obedience to his orders, he began his march to the northward, from Strasbourg to Bitsche, where De Failly awaited him. His march was to be first along the Rhine, then turning to the left through the Vosges on Bitsche. "In making it he approached the open bit of frontier along the Lauter, between the hills and the Rhine, those fifteen miles of plain which lie near the point of the angle where the French border meets the river, and he would in turning leave his outward flank open to a surprise made along this plain. So a division, under General Abel Douay, younger brother of Felix, the corps commander of that name, was thrust forward to Weissenbourg to bar the opening, while the other four divisions, thus covered, were to turn off into the hills, a day's march in its rear." It seems that the Emperor, though dreading that MacMahon might be assailed in his exposed position, now expected that the principal attack of the Germans would be made on his left, on the Moselle; and the condition of his army filled him with the gravest apprehensions. Meanwhile Marshal MacMahon, having begun his northward march, repaired to Metz to attend a Council of War at that place.

Such was the situation as regarded the French, on the 3d of August.

Meanwhile the Germans were bending every energy to the task of massing their army on their frontier. "From the first day of the war, the provincial organization of the corps which had been fully tested in the campaign of 1866 proved equal

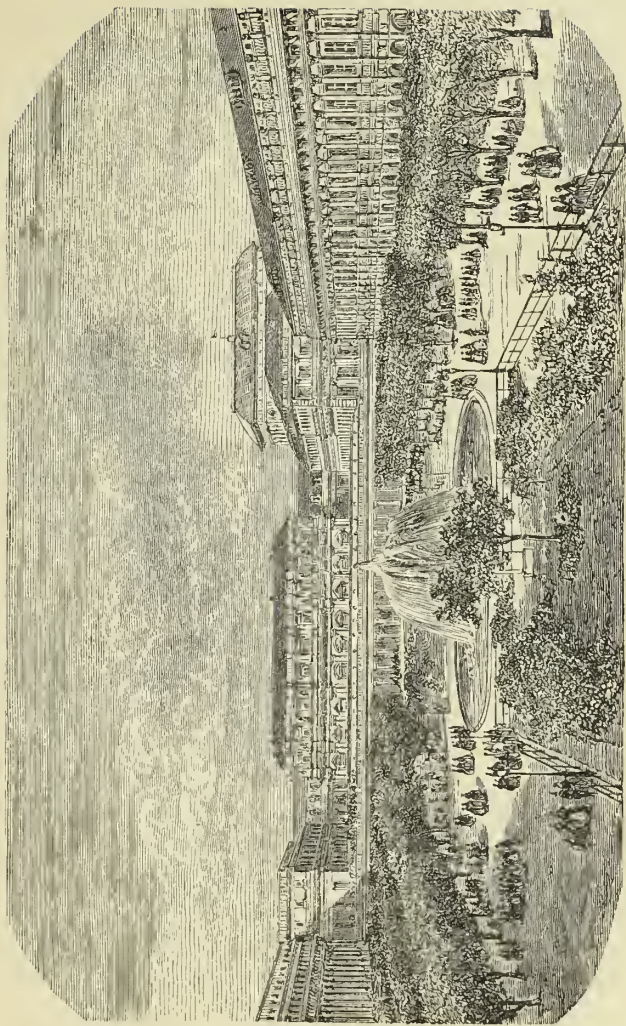
to every demand. The principles on which this is founded are simple in themselves and few in number. They are in the main but two. In the first place, the corps supplies all its own wants as a whole direct from the central War Office, but distributes and checks the supplies so received within itself without reference beyond, being, except as to the filling up of its depots, regarded as its own war administration, and responsible for its own doings. Thus, one vast step has been taken to get rid of that army centralization which Prussian administrators have condemned for its working in the French and Austrian services. The other great rule is to carry this decentralization further within the corps itself, and divide the transport especially, so that no one branch shall be dependent on any outside authority. This subdivision has been naturally condemned as complicated and needlessly expensive; but Prussian authorities hold that an army is above all intended for war, and that the machinery of that which is to be effective should be maintained intact in its framework in time of peace. Carriages of themselves cost little to keep up. Horses, on the contrary, must, under any system, be bought up for transport in case of war; but the only way, in the Prussian view, by which each department can be made thoroughly responsible for its own efficiency, and taught to vie with others in readiness for action, is to hand over to it all the rest of the machinery which would be needed to equip it for the field, and thus to prepare it for independent action so soon as the call sounds to arms. Men, and even horses, may be added at short notice; but without organization so prepared that they may take their places at once where needed, they will at first prove no better than encumbrances. As a consequence of this system, it no doubt at some time happens that a particular corps or column may have a superfluity of supply; but on the other hand, delay at the outset to wait for the issue of necessities from distant stores is prevented, and in the field it is found a less evil in practice that there should be no excuse for failure, than that even occasionally a necessary supply should be inadequate. The Prussian system enlists on its side the power-

ful motive of emulation on the part of each general and each regimental commander. The opposite practice takes from these officers a large part of their responsibility to throw it upon a special class of men trained in peace to raise objections to every demand, and blamed in war if their minds do not instantly rise to the full necessities of the occasion."

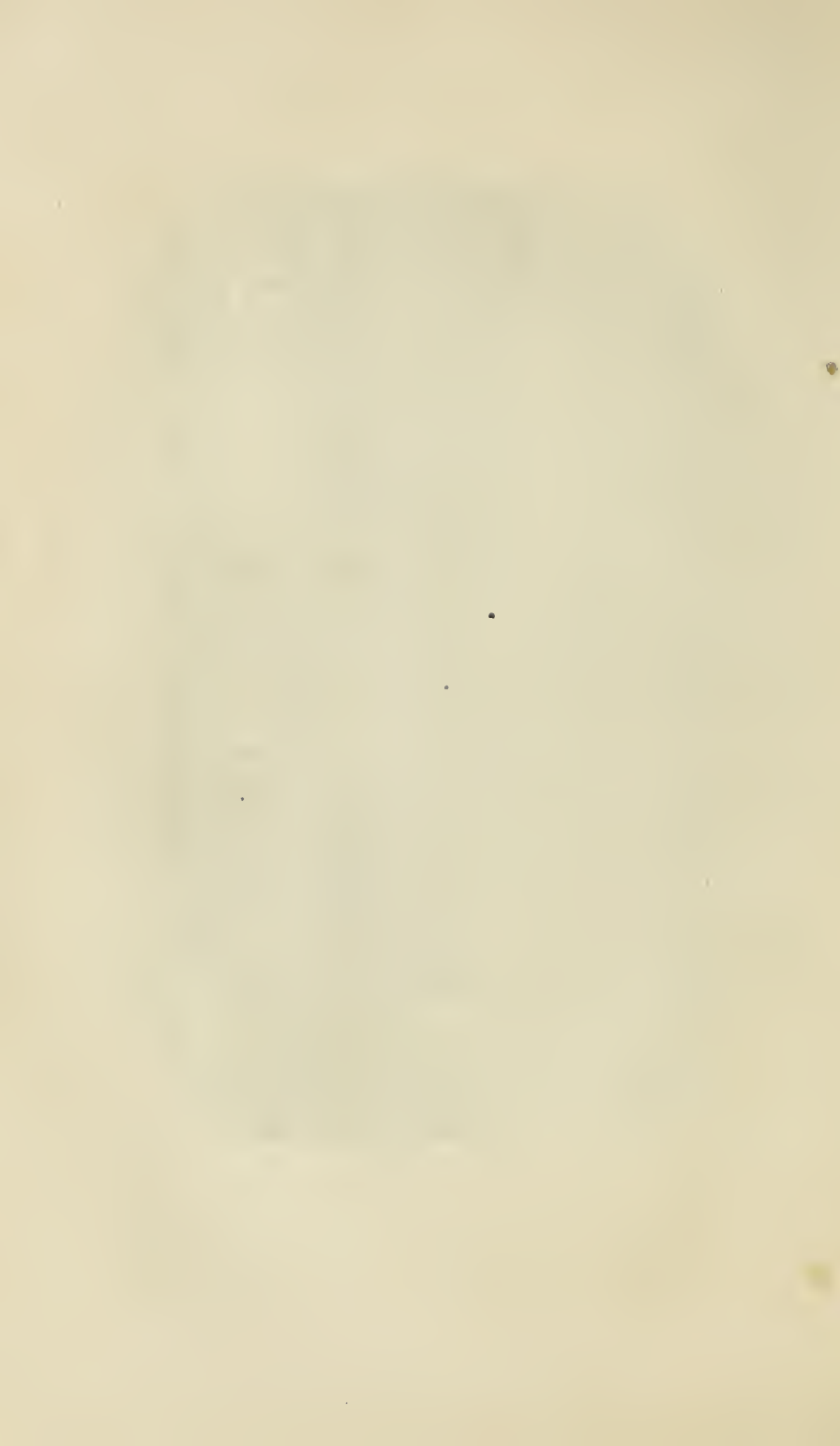
The order for the mobilization of the German armies was given on the 16th of July, and the 28th of that month was the period fixed for the completion of the armament. Before the latter day arrived, however, the army was in readiness for the field, and the various corps were pushing forward with all speed to the frontier. The North German army, consisting of thirteen corps d'armée, and the South German forces, consisting of two Bavarian corps, one division from Würtemberg, and one division from Baden, promptly secured their communications with each other. This immense force was under the immediate command of the King of Prussia, but its movements were in reality directed by the greatest soldier of the day, General Von Moltke. It was divided into three armies. The First Army was commanded by General Von Steinmetz; the Second Army by Prince Frederick Charles; and the Third Army by Prince Frederick William, the Crown Prince of Prussia. All three commanders were tried soldiers.

By the 28th of July, the 1st army had reached the frontier, but it was the only German force so far advanced. It occupied the line of the Saar; from Saarbourg on the right, with advanced posts at that place and at Merzig, Saarlouis, Saarbrück, and Bliescastel; with its main body massed at Ottweiler, Nuenkirchen, Homburg, and Landstuhl.

The 2d army, under Prince Frederick Charles, with which the head quarters of the King of Prussia were established, crossed the Rhine at Mayence and Mannheim, and pressed forward rapidly. On the 1st of August it took post on the left of Steinmetz, having its outposts at Zweibrücken and Pirmasens, and its main body echeloned from the left of the 1st corps at Landstuhl, along the line of railway joining that place with Landau, at Kaiserlautern, and Neustadt.



Gardens of the Palais Royal: Paris. Residence of Prince Napoleon.
Gärten des Palais Royal: Paris. Residenz des Prinzen Napoleon.



About the 2d or 3d of August, the 3d army, under the Crown Prince, having passed the Rhine at Mannheim and Germersheim, took post on the left of the 2d army, occupying as outposts Bergzabern on the road leading to Weissenbourg, and Wenden, the junction of the railroads coming from Carlsruhe in one direction and from Mannheim by Neustadt in the other; and having its main body at Neustadt, Spire, Landau, and Germersheim.

The following table will show the composition of these various armies:

	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Guns.
1ST ARMY.*—GENERAL STEINMETZ.			
CHIEF OF STAFF: MAJOR-GEN. VON SPERLING.			
Corps 7th, Westphalians. Von Zastrow.....	25,000	3300	96
Corps 8th, Rheinlanders. Von Göben.....	25,000	3300	96
2ND OR CENTRE ARMY.—PRINCE FREDERICK CHARLES. CHIEF OF STAFF: COLONEL VON STIEHLE.			
Guards. Prince of Wurtemberg...	29,000	4400	96
1st East Prussian. Von Manteuffel.....	25,000	3300	96
2nd Pomeranian. Von Fransetzky.....	25,000	3300	96
3rd Brandenburgers. Von Alvensleben (2).....	28,000	3300	96
4th Schleswig-Holsteiners. Von Manstein.....	29,000	3300	96
10th Hanoverians. Von Voigts-Rhetz.....	25,000	3300	96
11th and 12th Saxons. † Saxon Crown Prince.....	29,000	3300	96
3RD ARMY.—CROWN PRINCE. CHIEF OF STAFF: LIEUT.-GEN. VON BLUMENTHAL.			
5th Poseners. Von Kirchbach.....	25,000	3300	96
6th Silesians. Von Tumpling.....	25,000	3300	96
11th Hessians and Nassauers. Von Bose.....	35,000	1100	96
1st Bavarians.....	25,000	2500	96
2nd Bavarians.....	25,000	2500	96
Division of Würtemberg ‡.....	19,000	2500	54
Division of Baden....	18,000	1800	42
Forming a Grand Total of....	412,000	47,800	1440

* Moved up to the Saar from their permanent quarters at Minden, Düsseldorf, Cologne, Coblenz, and Treves.

† The 4th Corps, Prussian Saxons, which properly belonged to this army, only arrived in France late in August.

‡ The Würtemberg division did not join till the 5th August. The 6th Corps did not join till the 12th August.

In addition to these immense columns, which so heavily outnumbered the French, strong reserves were in course of formation at Coblentz, Mayence, Frankfort, and Hainau.

The railway system on the German frontier, and leading back into the interior of Germany, was of immense service in effecting the concentration of the army. It was equally serviceable for strategic purposes after the concentration was effected.

Steinmetz, on the right, communicated with Prince Frederick Charles, in the centre, and he, in his turn, with the Crown Prince; on the left by the railroad from Treves, through Merzig, Saarlouis, Saarbrück, Ottweiler, Homburg, Landstuhl, Neustadt, and Landau, all occupied by their troops; to Wenden junction, the extreme left outpost of the Crown Prince's army. "The course of this railway between Saarbrück and Wenden, is in the form of a curve, concave towards the French; that is, having the flanks advanced and the centre retired; and it obviously gave remarkable facilities for massing troops on the flanks, which were the only parts of the German line exposed to attack."

Steinmetz communicated to his rear by the railroad to Mayence, which passes through Wenden, Sobernheim, and Bingen; Prince Frederick Charles by two lines of railway, one of which led to Mayence, by way of Neustadt, Mannheim and Worms; the other to Heidelberg, by way of Mannheim; while the Crown Prince had the choice of two lines of retreat, equally secure—the one by Mannheim either to Mayence or Heidelberg, the other by railroad from Wenden junction to Carlsruhe. The strong fortresses of Mayence, Landau, and Gernersheim greatly strengthened the general position of the German army, which was more compact than the strategic position of the French army.

In addition to the forces thus gathered on the frontier parts, the four corps raised in the coast district (the 1st, 2d, 9th, and 10th,) were retained on the seaboard of Prussia as the nucleus of a force placed under General Vogel von Falkenstein to guard against any descent by the French from the sea, and

to overawe Denmark and Sweden, whose sympathies were avowedly with Napoleon. General Von Moltke did not deem it necessary to leave any force on the Russian and Austrian frontiers, wisely believing that if he could beat France at the outset, neither of those Powers would be likely to cause him any anxiety. Meanwhile, he exerted himself to place his army on the frontier. Hour by hour the armed legions thronged over the Rhine, to the positions assigned them, "while with unflagging kindness the wants of each regiment as it passed were supplied with willing contributions from kind-hearted citizens. Never were a country's exertions and its Government more in harmony than in that memorable fortnight; for the war had aroused the double sentiment of patriotism, and of deep-seated animosity against the French bequeathed by memories of old offences, of conquest, of occupation, and oppression." General Von Moltke gave his personal supervision to the task of concentration, so that there was no division, no lack of unanimity in the German councils. Everything felt the irresistible impulse of one great will, and every part of the vast and complicated mechanism moved with a regularity and promptness which could not fail of success. As a recent writer has well said, "If the means for concentration offered to Moltke's hand were an age in advance of those that had served Napoleon, the great German strategist may boast that his plans were carried out with completeness and promptitude proportioned to the advantage."

Meanwhile the activity of the German horse was unceasing. From the outset the frontier was watched with sleepless eyes. The German cavalry, as we have seen, succeeded in destroying the railway viaduct between Sarreguemines and Haguenau as early as the 24th of July. On the 31st of July a detachment of twenty Baden troopers, of whom six were officers, made a daring reconnoissance into France. They crossed the frontier at Lauterbourg in broad daylight, and moved swiftly to Niederbronn, cutting in their passage the telegraph wires at the Huntsbach station on the railroad between Haguenau and Weissenbourg. The next morning

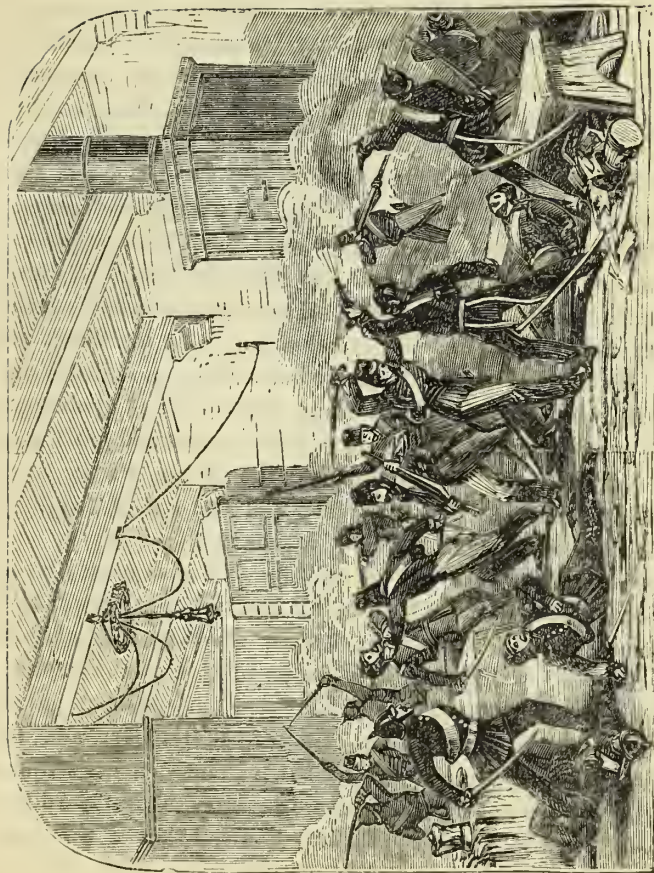
they were surprised at a farm house where they were breakfasting, one of their number was killed,* and the majority were made prisoners; but several succeeded in making their escape to their own lines, carrying with them the valuable information they had gained, and which they laid at once before the Crown Prince. Every day small parties of well-mounted intelligent and daring men were engaged in similar reconnoissances, by means of which the German commanders were kept informed of the movements of their adversaries, and by means of which they also succeeded in mystifying the French as to their positions and intentions.

General Von Moltke had not under-estimated the importance of the duty before him. Though aware that his force was numerically stronger than that of the Emperor, he was also aware that the French rifle would to a certain extent atone for this weakness on the part of the French. He was also aware that he was to encounter an army which had never been easily beaten, and which had won some of the most brilliant triumphs in history. He was thoroughly informed as to the defects of the French service, and confident of the superiority of his own, and he entered upon the active operations of the war with a deliberate conviction that he would be successful.

Though meaning to make the war aggressive upon the first opportunity, the German leaders believed that their first duty would be to defend their own territory, for, in common with the rest of the world, they supposed that France would open the war by a bold dash into Germany. They therefore wished for nothing so much as for time to move their army forward. This, as we have seen, was granted them. Their surprise at the delay of the French was great, but it soon gave place to a fierce exultation as their preparations drew nearer to completion. When all was at length in readiness, it was resolved to anticipate the enemy, and to carry the war into France.

By some means Von Moltke succeeded in impressing the

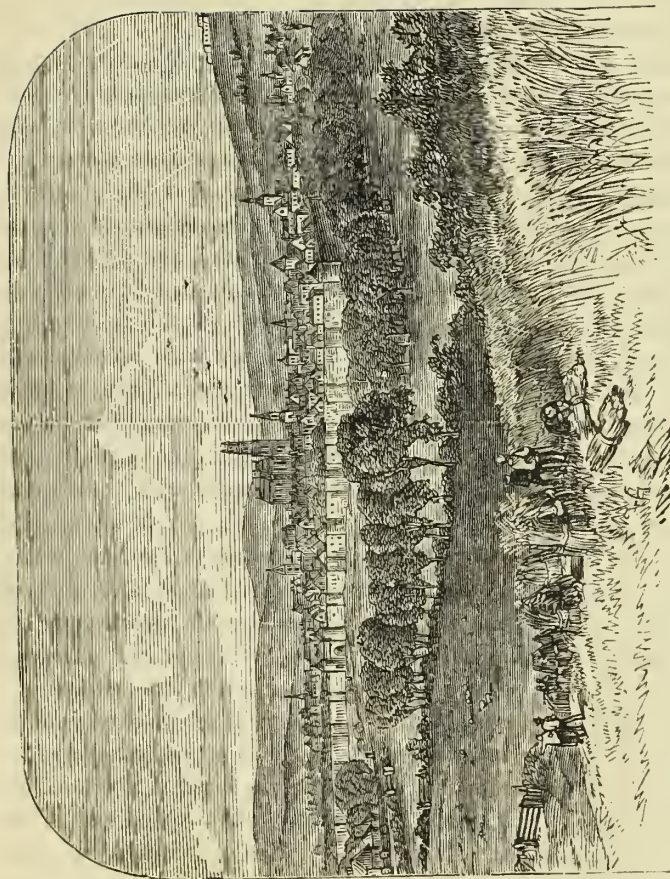
* An Englishman, named Winsloe, the first officer killed in the war.



The First Blood of the War. A Scouting Party of Baden Officers Surprised by the French.

French with the idea that the army of Prince Frederick Charles was massed about Treves. This, as we have seen, caused the Emperor to apprehend an attack upon his left flank, and accordingly MacMahon's corps was drawn in from the Rhine. The German plan of advance was simple, and bore a close resemblance to that which had been so brilliantly successful in Bohemia in 1866. The armies of Steinmetz and Prince Frederick Charles were to unite and advance towards Metz, engaging the main body of the French if it should be found between Saarbrück and that place, whilst the third army, under the Crown Prince, was to move against the French left on the Rhine, and drive it through the Vosges. Then sweeping around to his right, the Crown Prince was to threaten the communications of the Emperor, and force him to make the retreat which would be a disaster to the French of itself, or to stand and be attacked in front and flank at once. Events, as we shall see, considerably modified Von Moltke's plan, though each change was for his advantage. He was perfectly aware that MacMahon possessed no force capable of opposing the advance of the Crown Prince, and resolved to strike the blow at once. On the 4th of August, the Crown Prince began his flank movement.

As we have seen General Abel Douay's division had been thrown forward to Weissenbourg by MacMahon, to cover the movement of his corps to the Vosges. Douay reached his position by end of July, and sent his patrols across the Lauter, which exchanged shots with the Bavarian outposts, but failed in consequence of the superior vigilance of the Germans, to discover the concentration of the Crown Prince's army within less than a day's march of their lines. It was a hazardous measure to throw Douay so far to the front, but it was one which the necessity of the case justified; but the responsibility of occupying the very exposed position which was chosen by Douay, must rest upon himself and not upon MacMahon. He might have pitched his camp ten miles farther back, and have accomplished all that was expected of him by the Marshal, but, for reasons which he is now powerless to

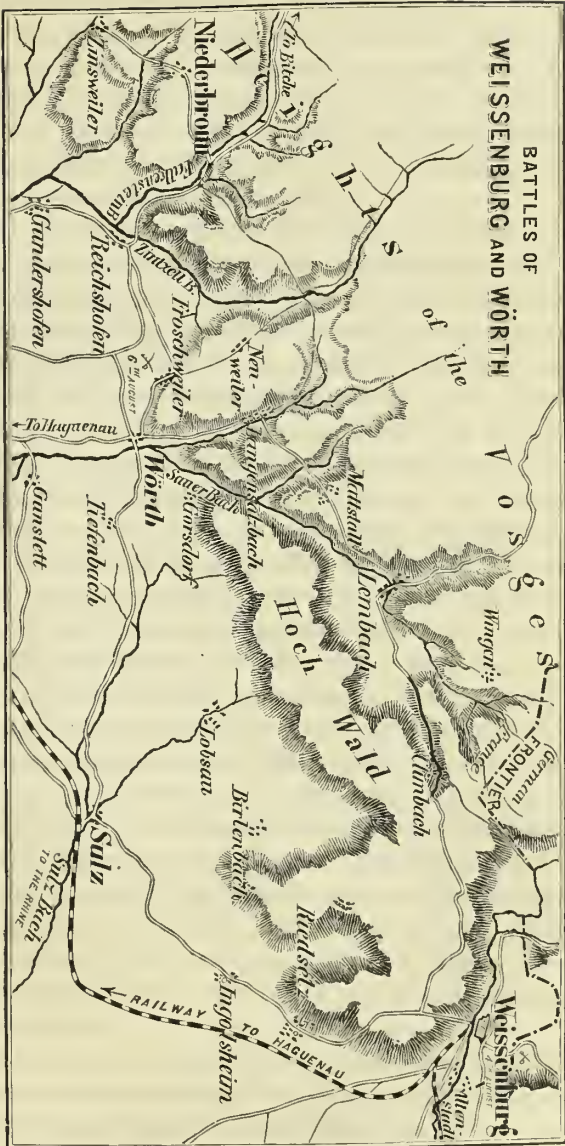


Weissenbourg, the Scene of Prince Frederick William's First Victory.

explain, he chose a position in the immediate vicinity of Weissenbourg, and but two miles from the Bavarian frontier. The country in his front was densely wooded, and admirably adapted to concealing the movements of an army, and it seems that General Douay failed to cover his line with an adequate picket force.

Early on the morning of the 4th of August, the advanced forces of the army of the Crown Prince arrived in front of Douay's position; these troops consisted of 40,000 men, well supplied with artillery. The French troops were utterly unconscious of the presence of an enemy, and were quietly engaged in cooking their breakfasts. The Prussians rapidly secured the heights commanding their camp, and posted their artillery. At half-past eight o'clock, the French were aroused to a sense of their danger, by a storm of shells from the Prussian guns; they sprang to their arms with alacrity, and were soon in position. General Douay endeavored to meet the danger by a counter attack, but was driven back by the deadly fire of the Germans, and forced to act on the defensive. The Germans made their attack with ardor, and the French fought with desperate courage, but nothing could have saved them from being crushed by the overpowering force which the energy and genius of the Crown Prince had arrayed against them. The Crown Prince himself testifies to the gallantry with which they fought to maintain their positions. It was in vain, however. General Douay was killed by a shell early in the action, while heroically endeavoring to rally his men, and the division, in spite of its gallant resistance was soon forced to seek safety in flight. Six hundred prisoners, one piece of artillery, and the French camp fell into the hands of the victors. The French fled rapidly, and in utter demoralization towards Haguenau, and although the Baden troops crossed unopposed at Lauterbourg in boats which the French had neglected to destroy, and endeavored to cut them off, the fugitives succeeded in making their escape. The ardor of the Crown Prince had led him to attack Douay before the arrival of his cavalry. Had his horse been present

BATTLES OF WEISSENBURG AND WÖRTH





the French force would have been annihilated. The Germans lost 700, and the French many more, in killed and wounded, in this affair. The moral effect of the victory was very great. The Germans were much elated, and their confidence in the gallant leader who had carried them to victory in 1866 was so great that they declared the affair at Weissenbourg the prelude to a second Königgratz. On the other hand, the French were unnecessarily cast down.

Marshal MacMahon was at Metz, in attendance upon a council of war when the news of Douay's defeat reached him, and he at once set out for his corps. He did not appear to understand the true nature of the Crown Prince's movement, or to credit the reports of the fugitives as to the great strength of the German army before him. With the hope of checking the German advance, he resolved to give battle to the Crown Prince. Having rallied the fugitives of Douay's command upon his other divisions, the Marshal took position, near Woerth, on the slopes of the Vosges, his object being to cover the railway from Strasbourg to Bitsche, and the principal roads connecting the eastern and western slopes of the Vosges. His left rested on Reichshofen, his centre was on the eminences between Fröschweiler and Woerth, and his right extended to beyond Elsasshausen. His position was chosen with the eye of a soldier. His line was semi-circular, presenting a convex front to the enemy, and, owing to the formation of the ground on all sides, was capable of being stoutly defended. A force attempting to pass him here by the road to Haguenau, would have exposed its flank to attack, while the road through the Vosges could only be gained by dislodging him. He held his line with a force of 55,000 men, consisting of his own corps, a division of Felix Douay's corps from Belfort, and a brigade of cuirassiers belonging to Canrobert's corps.

On the 5th of August, the Crown Prince was informed that MacMahon was concentrating his troops at Woerth, and resolved to advance upon him before he should receive further reinforcements. The march was at once begun from Weissen-

bourg, the object being to accomplish the change of front, which has been alluded to, before attacking the French. The army of the Crown Prince now numbered 130,000 men, and was plentifully supplied with artillery. On the evening of the 5th, the Fifth Prussian Corps pushed its van from its bivouac at Prenschof on the height east of Woerth. On the other side of the Saur numerous camp-fires of the French were visible during the night, the French outposts occupying the heights west of the Saur, opposite Woerth and Gunstett.

Though certain that he had but a small force as compared with his own to deal with, the Prince says that it was not his intention to offer battle until the change of front had been effected; but the impatience of his outposts and those of MacMahon brought on heavy firing early on the morning of the 6th. This firing caused the Prussians to send a battalion into Woerth. At eight o'clock steady firing was heard on the right flank, where the Bavarian troops were posted. This and the fire directed by the French upon Woerth, caused the Crown Prince to station the entire artillery of the Prussian Fifth Corps on the heights east of Woerth, with the hope of relieving the Bavarians, who by this time had pressed forward to Neschwiller, where they were hotly engaged. Orders were then sent to the Fifth Corps to break off the engagement, and the Bavarian Second Corps, supposing the order to extend to them, obeyed it literally. MacMahon immediately threw himself with fury upon the Prussian Fifth Corps, and his attack was so sharp that in order to resist it the Crown Prince was compelled to accept the battle. For two hours the struggle went on with a desperation not excelled during the war, but at length the arrival of the Eleventh Prussian Corps compelled the French to fall back on their centre and resume the defensive. The losses on both sides had been heavy, but the French still held a strong position, the capture of which now became the object of the Prussians.

"At two o'clock," says the Crown Prince, "the combat had extended along the entire line. It was a severe struggle. In his strong position on and near the heights of Fröschweiler, the enemy offered us a most intense resistance."



'The Battle of Wuerth—MacMahon's Last Charge.

The Würtemberg division was now ordered to turn toward Reichshofen by way of Ebersbach, and threaten to cut off MacMahon's retreat, whilst the First Bavarian Corps was directed to attack at once and dislodge the French from their position at Fröschweiler and in the neighboring vineyards. "Between two and three o'clock," says the Crown Prince, "the enemy, bringing fresh troops into the field, and advancing with consummate bravery, assumed the offensive against the Fifth and Eleventh Prussian Corps. But all his assaults were beaten off. Thus the fight was going on briskly at Woerth, neither party making much progress, till at length the brilliant attack of the First Bavarian Corps at Görsdorff, and of the First Würtemberg Brigade on the extreme left at Ebersbach, decided the day." It was in vain that mitrailleuse, Chassepot, and artillery opposed the victorious advance of the Germans, for every regiment decimated by the French, a new one took its place. The French saw themselves outflanked on both wings by powerful corps, and their line wavered and broke in disorder on the right centre and left.

As a last desperate resort, MacMahon, who had exerted himself during the battle to atone by his presence and example for his inferiority of numbers, ordered the cuirassier brigade which he had borrowed from Canrobert to charge the Fifth and Eleventh Prussian Corps—especially the artillery of those troops. It was a terrible undertaking, but it was all that was left to him. Summoning the commander of the cuirassiers, who was his personal friend, he ordered him to charge the enemy.

"It is death, my General," was the reply

"That is true," replied the Marshal, sadly; "but what can we do? Let us embrace, my friend."

So saying he clasped the gallant soldier in his arms, and then ordered him to the attack. In an instant the magnificent column of horse was sweeping down upon the Prussians. It was a grand charge, but it was in vain. The Prussians received the troopers with a terrible fire from their artillery and infantry, which cut down men and horses by the hundred.

The brigade was annihilated—merely a handful returning from the charge. It is said that when the heroic old Marshal saw the result of his last venture, he burst into tears of irrepressible anguish—tears which did not shame his manhood.

The day was now lost for the French, and at four o'clock MacMahon reluctantly gave the order to retreat. The movement was covered by the First and Second Divisions, which enabled the rest of the corps to retreat without being too closely pressed by the Germans. At first the withdrawal was effected in good order, but the majority of the troops soon became demoralized, and it was impossible for their commander to control them. An attempt was made to make a stand at Niederbronn, with the artillery, but the Bavarians captured the guns, and active pursuit was made by the German army on all the roads. The French fled rapidly, the demoralization becoming greater at every step. The French right, though not pressed at all after abandoning its position, gave way to the most disgraceful panic. Fleeing madly, though wholly unpursued, a dense crowd took the road through Haguenau towards Strasbourg. They cut the horses from the guns and wagons to quicken their speed, and hurried on. Three thousand of these reached Strasbourg without their arms, and took refuge in the fortress, where they were at once embodied in the garrison. The rest of the army retreated upon Saverne. The confusion in this part was almost as great. The men who had borne the brunt of the battle so nobly, were now utterly demoralized.

Marshal MacMahon did what lay in his power to cover the retreat of his men with the few regiments who kept their ranks, and finally succeeded in reaching Saverne, twenty-five miles from the field of battle, on the evening of the 7th. He had lost all his personal baggage, nearly all his personal staff had been killed or wounded, and he himself was worn out with exhaustion, having been fifteen hours in the saddle.

The French lost heavily in killed and wounded, in the battle of Woerth. The Germans estimated the number at

10,000. They also lost 7000 prisoners, 4000 taken on the field and 3000 during the retreat. Thirty pieces of cannon, six mitrailleuses, and two eagles were taken by the Germans. The German loss was 7000 killed and wounded. The Germans bore willing testimony to the gallantry of the French resistance, and none more warmly than the gallant commander of the Third Army.

From Saverne, where he succeeded in rallying the remnants of his corps, MacMahon continued his retreat upon Nancy, closely followed by the Crown Prince.

While the battle was going on at Woerth events of equal importance were transpiring at the other end of the line. Upon the receipt of the news of the disaster at Weissenbourg, the Emperor ordered General Frossard to withdraw his corps from the heights overlooking Saarbrück, which had been held by that command since the 2d of August. Frossard immediately obeyed the order, and on the night of the 5th of August, his corps lay in the valley which extends from Saarbrück to Forbach. The latter town lies in this valley at a distance of six miles from Saarbrück. The valley is here a mile in width, but widens gradually to four miles in the direction of Saarbrück, that town lying on the left of the valley. The right of this valley is bounded by the Spicheren heights, running from Forbach to Spicheren village about three and a half miles in a straight line. The left of the valley is bounded by thickly wooded heights running parallel with the road from Forbach to Saarbrück. The Spicheren heights are much higher than those on the opposite side of the valley. They rise in almost perpendicular ascent several hundred feet above the valley, and form a natural fortress. They completely command the valley, which is perfectly open and destitute of all cover, and across which an enemy must advance to attack them.

As has been said, the First and Second German Armies were ordered to advance upon the French by the way of Saarbrück. This movement was begun on the 5th of August, and on the morning of the 6th, the leading division of General

THE BATTLES
OF
SAARBRÜCKEN AND SPEICHERN
2ND AND 6TH OF AUGUST 1870.



Steinmetz's army, under General Von Kamecke, occupied Saarbrück and began to reconnoitre the French position. As soon as General Frossard saw the weakness of the German force in Saarbrück, he determined to move back to the Spichen heights, which he at once occupied with his whole corps. During the action which ensued, he was reënforced by a division from Bazaine's corps, which brought his strength to 40,000 men, and 72 guns. As the Germans advanced from Saarbrück the French opened fire upon them from the heights.

The battle was opened about noon, by the Prussian 14th division of General Von Göben's corps, under General Von Kamecke. This officer said that he was greatly outnumbered by the French, but perceiving the advantages which would be secured by their dislodgement from the heights, he resolved to attack them at once, knowing that the other divisions of the army were following close in his rear, and would soon come up. He made a bold dash at their front, and also attempted to turn their left flank by Styring, but all his efforts were repulsed. By three o'clock he had brought his entire division under fire, and the engagement had assumed a very sharp and serious aspect.

Fortunately for him, the other divisions of the corps, urged on by the sound of the cannonade, now began to arrive on the field. Von Barkenow's division was the first to reach the spot; and two of its batteries preceded it at full speed to Kamecke's assistance. At the same moment the 5th division under General Stülpnagel, belonging to Prince Frederick Charles' army, appeared on the Winterberg hill. It had been stationed at Sulzbach that morning, but upon the first sound of the battle, had been ordered forward, its only guide being the roar of the guns. General Von Göben had also reached the field, and he now assumed the command. He at once directed a vigorous attack against the French front, especially against the wooded portion of the declivity. The charge was successful, and the wood was carried. On the southern edge of the wood, the French made a stand, and bringing all their resources to bear, endeavored with repeated charges of cavalry

and infantry, supported by a heavy artillery fire, to reëstablish their lines. The Prussian infantry stood firm as rocks, however, and their artillery rained a terrible fire upon Frossard's command. Two of the batteries of the 5th Prussian division clambered up the steep and rugged hills by a narrow mountain path, where men could scarcely climb, and establishing themselves on the summit, aided greatly in repulsing the French. Frossard then attempted a flank attack on the Prussian left, but was repulsed. A last impetuous charge was now made by the bulk of Frossard's command. It was his third since the Germans had entered the wood; "but," says General Steinmetz, "like the preceding ones, this last effort was shortened by the imperturbable calmness of our infantry and artillery. Like waves dashing and breaking against a rock, the enemy's battalions were scattered by our gallant troops." Finding all his efforts useless, Frossard ordered a general retreat of his command, covering his movement with the fire of his artillery. His retreat soon became a rout, and only the darkness, and the ignorance of the German commanders of the extent of their victory, saved him from losing his whole command. "It was eight o'clock," says a French writer, in describing the close of the battle; "the fight was now in the streets; the Prussians were completely victorious, and the remains of Frossard's corps d'armée were in full retreat; their General-in-Chief had disappeared in the confusion, and Forbach was on fire. The scenes of despair were disheartening, the inhabitants of the town flying in wild terror, not only before the destructive element, but also before the shower of bullets, increasing with the retreat of the soldiers and the advance of the enemy." Baggage, guns, caissons, camp-equipage, all were abandoned in the flight. Forbach was seized by the 13th Prussian division during the battle on the heights, and Frossard was thus cut off from the direct road to Metz, and forced to retreat to the southwest, leaving the road to St. Avold in the hands of the Germans. "The road taken by the French in their flight was blocked by numerous wagons, with provisions and

clothing, and the woods were filled with stragglers, wandering about in a purposeless way. Among the spoils of the day were several railway vans full of confectionery, and ten days afterward, it was easier to obtain a hundred weight of sweetmeats at Forbach, than a loaf of ordinary bread."

The battle of Woerth was won by a superior force of Germans against an inferior force of French; but at Forbach the case was reversed. The French greatly outnumbered the Prussians during the whole struggle—fifty-two French battalions, with the artillery of an entire corps, and posted in an almost impregnable position, were defeated by twenty-seven Prussian battalions supported by but the artillery of one division. The battle of Forbach demonstrated their confidence in their ability to engage superior numbers with success, and was a fine instance of the daring, decision, and tactical skill of the German commanders.

"But," says the correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, "the Prussian victory was not obtained without terrible loss on their side. On Wednesday, when I visited the heights, there were still many French and Prussians unburied, some of them looking as if only asleep. What has been said about the frightful effect of the Chassepot bullet does not seem to have been exaggerated, for many of the wounds on the Prussian bodies were horrible to look at. I noticed one man whose whole face was one big wound, a ball having struck him just under the eye, and made a hole one could have put one's fist into. There was little contortion in the bodies, as was to be expected, most of the wounds being gunshot ones. There was, however, some hand-to-hand fighting in the final struggle for the top of the hill. The muskets and bayonets which covered the ground were broken and bent with blows given and received. Even the French officers taken prisoners admit the great dash and bravery shown by the Prussians in their attack on hills, which I can say from experience were difficult to climb without an alpenstock. They own that the mitrailleuses used by the French were very deadly at close quarters, but they affirm that at any distance the balls

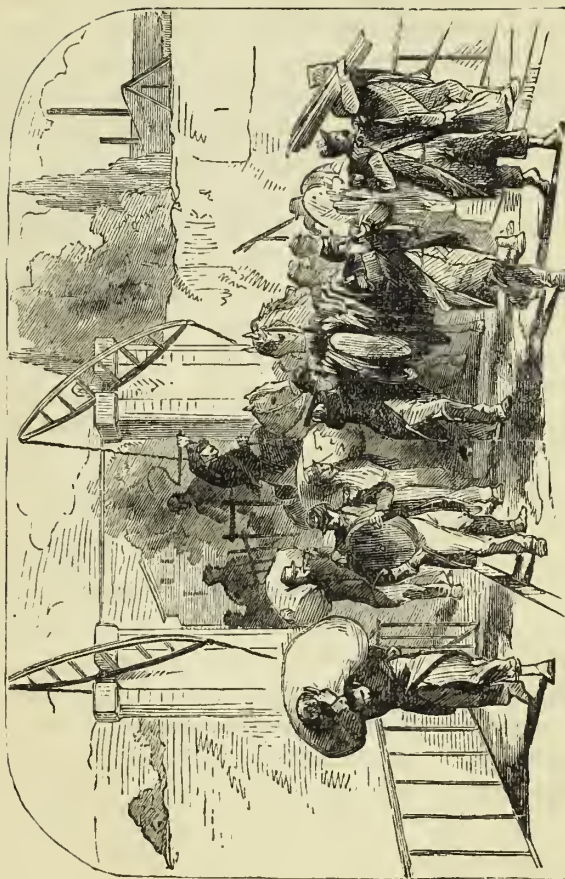
fly so wide that they are little to be dreaded. Though some of the bodies are still unburied, most of them are interred, and pious hands have raised rough wooden crosses above the graves, with the names of those who sleep below inscribed on them. Frossard's division made so precipitate a retreat from Forbach, that they left many baggage-wagons and the whole of their pontoon-train behind them. Thus it happened that they did not break the railway up at Forbach; not a rail, as far as I can see—and I have been all along the line from St. Avold to Saarbrück—has been disturbed."

The loss on both sides was heavy, that of the French being the most severe. Two thousand prisoners were taken by the victors.

As we have seen, the corps of General De Failly was posted at Bitsche, between Woerth and Forbach. A division of this command had reached MacMahon at Niederbronn just in time to cover his retreat upon Saverne. As soon as he heard of Frossard's defeat De Failly, perceiving that his position was untenable, abandoned Bitsche and retreated southward with the greatest precipitation. He came up with MacMahon at Saverne on the evening of Sunday August 7th, his sudden and unexpected appearance causing the Marshal to believe at first that his command was a part of the enemy's pursuing force.

It was known in Metz that Frossard was hotly engaged with the enemy, and the Emperor and his staff were in the railway depot ready to start for the battle-field, when a messenger arrived in haste on a locomotive, bringing the news of Frossard's complete defeat. The news of the disasters at Woerth and Forbach reached Napoleon almost at the same moment. It had been an eventful day to the French—a day of two crushing defeats, and we can well credit the statement of a French journalist, that, as the Emperor returned to his headquarters from the depot, "consternation was plainly visible in his countenance."

King William sent the following despatch to Queen Augusta, announcing the victory of Woerth :



Stragglers from the French Army entering Saverne.

Good news. A great victory has been won by our Fritz. God be praised for His mercy. We captured 4000 prisoners, thirty guns, two standards, and six *mitrailleurs*. MacMahon, during the fight, was heavily reënforced from the main army. The contest was very severe, and lasted from 11 o'clock in the morning until 9 o'clock at night, when the French retreated, leaving the field to us. Our losses were heavy.

News of the defeat of Frossard followed fast upon these tidings, and all Germany was in a delirium of joy. In Berlin the rejoicings were enthusiastic. A letter from that city, written on the 7th, describes the scene on the reception of the news:

The capital apparently sees once more in all their glory the July days of 1866. The French prisoners were just on the point of quitting Berlin, when new jubilation was heard through the city from one end to the other, and everybody streamed yesterday evening towards the Linden. It was well known there that something new had occurred, but nothing further was known, and the masses rushed to the front of the royal palace. There Governor-General von Bonin appeared on the balcony and read the dispatch announcing the victory at Woerth. Cries were raised for the Queen; and as the exalted lady stepped forward and bowed on all sides, all those underneath, as if by preconcerted arrangement, sang with one voice Luther's famous hymn, "Eine feste Burg is unser Gott." It was an undescribably beautiful scene, which even the rain, which fell heavily for about twenty minutes, did not materially spoil.

Very different was the effect of the news in Paris. At midnight on the 6th, the Emperor sent the following telegram to the Empress:

Marshal MacMahon has lost a battle. General Frossard, on the Saar, has been obliged to retire. His retreat was effected in good order. All can be reëstablished.

The bad news came in fast, in the following messages:

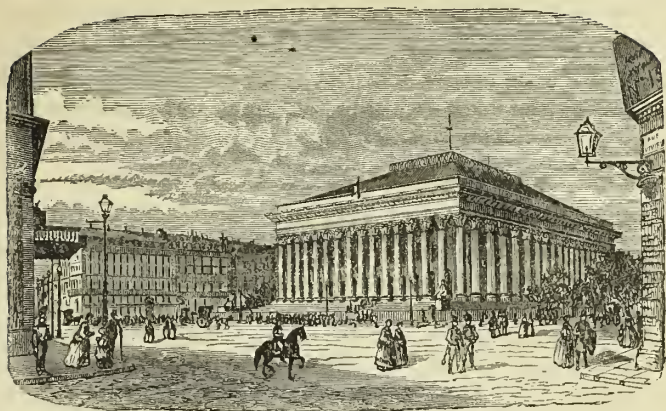
METZ, *August 7, 3.30 A. M.*

My communications have been interrupted with Marshal MacMahon. I am going to place myself in the centre of the position. NAPOLEON.

The corps of General Frossard had to fight yesterday from 2 o'clock in the afternoon with the entire army of the enemy. Having held his position until 6 o'clock he ordered a retreat, which was made in good order.

(Signed,)

LEBŒUF.



The Bourse : Paris.

METZ, 8.30 A. M., *August 7.*

Communication with MacMahon having been severed nothing was received from him till last evening. General Lligle then announced that MacMahon's loss was great in the battle, but that his retirement was effected in good order. On the left the action began at about 1 o'clock in the morning, but was not serious until several masses of the enemy had concentrated, before which the second corps momentarily held its ground. Between 6 and 7 in the evening the masses of the enemy became more compact, and the second corps retired on the Heights. To-night all is quiet. I go to the centre of the position. NAPOLEON.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS, METZ, *August 7, 8.30 A. M.*

That we may hold our position here it is necessary that Paris and France should consent to great efforts of patriotism. Here we lose neither our coolness nor our confidence. But the trial is hard.

MacMahon, after the battle of Reichschoffen, retired, at the same time, covering the road to Nancy. The corps of General Frossard, which suffered severely, is taking energetic measures for defence. The Major-General is in the front.

The news was carefully kept from the Parisians by the Government until the evening of the 7th. On the 6th, at the very moment when the two battles were in progress, some stock-jobbers in the Paris Bourse set afloat the rumor that the Crown Prince of Prussia and 25,000 men had been taken prisoners by MacMahon. The rumor spread like wildfire,

and the city was ablaze with excitement. Shouts of triumph and patriotic songs were heard on every side, houses were decorated with flags, and money was contributed freely for the relief of the wounded. The Bourse and the square surrounding it were jammed with a noisy crowd. The scene on the Boulevards is thus described by an eye-witness :

They were crammed with a frenzied crowd, and I presently saw one of the most extraordinary sights which ever fell under my eye. Mme. Sass passed on her way to the Grand Opera. The crowd recognized her, and forthwith clamor for "*La Marseillaise*" was raised. Excited to a degree below nobody—no wonder, flags were waved from every window, the boulevard was choked with frantic men, madly shouting, or blubbering as they hugged and kissed each other—Mme. Sass stood up in the carriage and sang "*La Marseillaise*." The vast mob joined in the chorus, waving their hats and stamping as they sang. A little lower down the boulevard M. Capoul, of the Opera Comique, being recognized, was likewise summoned to sing "*La Marseillaise*." He obeyed, got on an omnibus top and sang Rouget de l'Isle's hymn. As I stood at the corner of the Rue Drouot, where I could look up the Boulevard Montmartre and down the Boulevard des Italiens (both boulevards end at this street), I could see nothing but human beings, packed like herrings on sidewalk and street, singing "*La Marseillaise*," waving their hats, or relieving their over-fraught hearts by tears, or by hugging and kissing their neighbor. The excitement was intense.

For an hour and a half this excitement prevailed. It was suddenly brought to an end, or rather given a different character, by the announcement that the news was false, that the rumor was a mere stock-jobber's manoeuvre, and that its authors had been arrested. The effect upon the crowd was fearful. A general scream of rage and grief went up from the vast throng. Shouts of "*Down with the Brokers*" were heard on all sides, and a rush was made for the Bourse. "*Burn the Bourse*," shouted a score of voices; and for a moment it seemed that the building was doomed. Chairs, tables, benches, and every movable object were dashed to pieces, and nothing but the prompt arrival of the police, who succeeded in clearing the Exchange saved the edifice.

The mob then rushed to the official residence of the Prime Minister M. Ollivier, in the Place Vendôme, and summoning

him to the balcony demanded the news. The Minister assured them that no news had been received from the army, save that the troops were in strong positions, and the future promising. At the same time he pledged himself that such tidings as might be received, should not be delayed one minute, whether it was good or bad. "We will communicate the bad news," he added, "with full confidence in the judgment and patriotism of the Parisian population, who will understand that an ephemeral check can have no influence on the destiny of France." His remarks had the effect of pacifying the mob, and though the excitement was kept up until midnight, it was more orderly and more patriotic.

In spite of the promise of the Premier, the news from the army was kept back by the Government until the evening of the 7th, when the following Proclamation by the Empress was published :

FRENCHMEN :—The opening of the war has not been favorable to us. We have suffered a check. Let us be firm under this reverse, and let us hasten to repair it. Let there be but one party in the land—that of France ; a single flag—that of the national honor. I come among you, faithful to my mission and duty. You will see me the first in danger to defend the flag of France. I adjure all good citizens to maintain order. To agitate would be to conspire with our enemies.

Done at the Palace of the Tuileries, the 7th day of August, 1870, at 11 o'clock A. M.

(Signed,)

The Empress Regent,

EUGENIE.

This failed to satisfy the people, who insisted upon details, when the dispatches of the Emperor and Marshal Leboeuf, already given, were made public. They were accompanied by the following appeal from the Ministry.

Details of our losses are wanting. Our troops are full of *elan*. The situation is not compromised, but *the enemy is on our territory*, and a serious effort is necessary. *A battle appears imminent.*

In the presence of this grave news our duty is plain. We appeal to the patriotism and the energy of all. The chambers have been convoked. We are placing Paris with all possible haste in a state of defence.

In order to facilitate the execution of military preparations *we declare*

the capital in a state of siege. There must be no faint-heartedness, no divisions. Our resources are immense. Let us pursue the struggle without flinching, and *this country will be saved.*

Paris, the 7th of August, 1870, at 10 P. M., by order of the Empress, Regent. (Signed,)

M. OLLIVER, Minister of Justice.

DUKE DE GRAMMONT, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

M. CHEVANDIER DE VALDROME, Minister of the Interior.

M. SEGRIS, Minister of Finances.

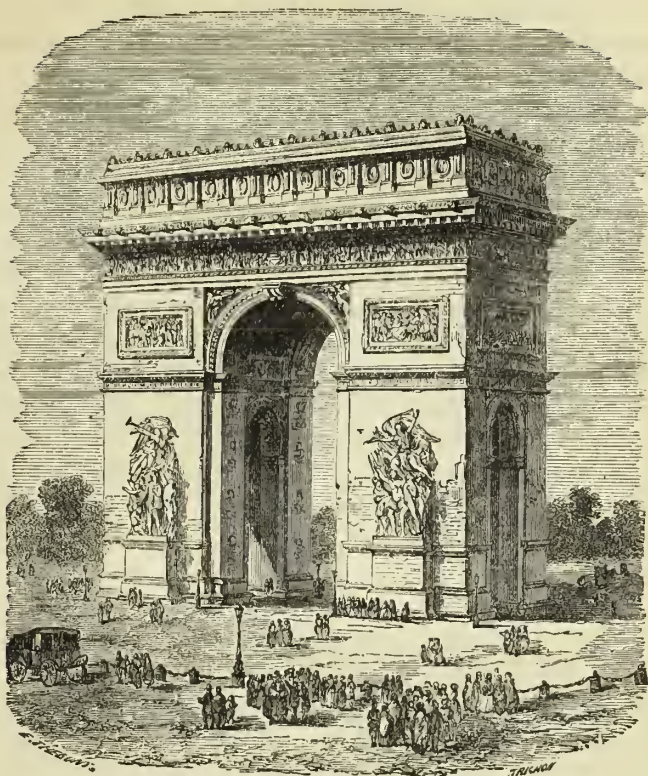
GENERAL VICOMTE DE JEAN, Minister of War *ad interim.*

The next day the Ministers issued the following appeal :

FRENCHMEN !—We have told you the whole truth ; it is now for you to fulfil your duty. Let one single cry issue from the breasts of all, from one end of France to the other. Let the whole people rise quivering, and sworn to fight the great fight. Some of our regiments have succumbed before overwhelming numbers, but our army has not been vanquished. The same intrepid breath still animates it. Let us support it. To a momentarily successful audacity we will oppose an union which conquers destiny. Let us fall back upon ourselves, and our invaders shall hurl themselves against a rampart of human breasts. As in 1792, and at Sebastopol, let our reverses be the school of our victories. It would be a crime to doubt for an instant the safety of our country ; and a greater still not to do our part to secure it. Up, then, up ! and you inhabitants of the Centre, the North, and the South, upon whom the burthen of war does not fall, hasten with unanimous enthusiasm to the help of your brethren in the East. Let France, united in success, be still more united under trial ; and may God bless our arms !

It was plain to the people of Paris that the disasters which had befallen the army were more serious than the Ministers were willing to admit, and that the Government was frightened. Nothing could have been more ill-advised than this frantic appeal to the nation—this clear confession that the Ministers had no confidence in the future ; the effect was in keeping with the appeal, Paris was panic stricken, and symptoms of disorder were seen on every hand.

The Chambers met on the 9th of August. At one o'clock a vast throng had assembled before the Palace of the Corps Legislatif, and the Deputies were received with cries which indicated plainly that trouble was at hand. The National Guard, which surrounded the hall, were ordered to disperse

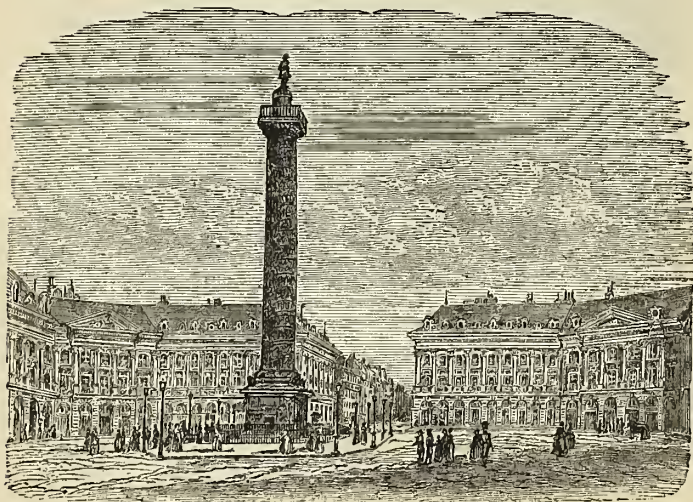


The Arch of Triumph : Paris.

the crowd, but they "refused to advance against their fellow citizens." The cavalry of the regular army on duty in the city was then called up, and the order given to clear the streets. The mob made no resistance, but withdrew shouting.

In Metz matters were quite as bad. The French, both soldiers and civilians, had been so confident of success, had indulged in such bright visions of glory, and such high opinions of their own powers, that the reaction consequent upon their two defeats was terrible. They could at first scarcely realize that the favorite Marshal of France had been beaten, even by a superior force, and having realized it, they were seized with a profound distrust of all their commanders, a feeling which

was increased by the arrival of the news that, on the very same day when MacMahon had succumbed to the overwhelming columns of the Crown Prince, Forssard had been driven from his stronghold by an inferior force. Exaggeration is natural to the French mind, and this time the feeling had full play. Metz was a scene of confusion and disorder, the people imagining the Prussians at their gates, became considerably demoralized. Many fled from the city. The most distressing rumors prevailed on every hand. "Amongst the lower classes," says the Count de la Chapelle, "the excitement had reached almost to madness. Bands of men were parading the streets, asking for revenge, and stopping any looker on who had a foreign appearance. Several English and American correspondents were badly handled by the mob, and the authorities were compelled to put them under arrest, as being the only means to protect them from the infuriated people, who fancied they saw in those honorable gentlemen a lot of Prussian spies."



Place Vendôme and Napoleon Column : Paris.

CHAPTER V.

TRUE POLICY OF THE FRENCH AFTER THEIR DEFEATS—AFFAIRS NOT DESPERATE—THE EMPEROR PROPOSES TO RETREAT UPON CHALONS—HIS PLAN DISAPPROVED BY THE MINISTERS—THE ARMY ORDERED TO CONCENTRATE AT METZ—FATAL DELAYS—IGNORANCE AS TO THE MOVEMENTS OF THE GERMANS—VIGOR OF VON MOLTKE'S MOVEMENTS—KING WILLIAM'S ADDRESS TO THE ARMY—THE INVASION OF FRANCE—THE KING'S PROCLAMATION TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE—REMOVAL OF MARSHAL LEBŒUF—DECISION OF THE EMPEROR—ARRIVAL OF GENERAL CHANGARNIER AT METZ—HIS RECEPTION BY THE EMPEROR—THE COUNCIL OF WAR—NAPOLEON RESIGNS HIS COMMAND—APPOINTMENT OF MARSHAL BAZAINE TO THE COMMAND OF THE ARMY—DEPARTURE OF THE EMPEROR FROM METZ—BAZAINE RESOLVES TO RETREAT TO CHALONS—FATAL DELAYS—ARRIVAL OF THE GERMAN ARMIES BEFORE METZ—VON MOLTKE DISCOVERS THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE FRENCH—BATTLE OF COURCELLES—EFFORTS OF THE GERMANS TO INTERCEPT BAZAINE—SKETCH OF THE FRENCH LINE OF RETREAT—BAZAINE STILL DELAYS—PASSAGE OF THE MOSELLE BY THE GERMANS—THE BATTLE OF VIONVILLE—A BLOODY ENGAGEMENT—SUCCESS OF THE GERMAN PLANS—BAZAINE RETIRES TO THE VICINITY OF METZ—THE NEW FRENCH POSITION—INCREASED ACTIVITY OF THE GERMANS—THE FRENCH MARSHAL LOSES HIS LAST CHANCE OF ESCAPE—THE BATTLE OF GRAVELOTTÉ—A GREAT VICTORY FOR GERMANY—BAZAINE DRIVEN UNDER THE GUNS OF METZ—THE INVESTMENT OF THE FRENCH POSITION—THE SIEGE OF METZ BEGUN.

THE delusions of the French, their fond hopes of victory, were rudely dispelled by their defeats of the 6th of August, but the cause of France was far from being lost. It was true that the power of inaugurating offensive movements had passed into the hands of the German commander, but the Emperor had still left to him the adoption of a vigorous defensive. He had been greatly disheartened by the state of the army at the outset of the campaign, and, as we have seen, had been forced to resign his intention of invading Germany; but these evils while they were powerful in preventing an advance were not as fatal to a defen-

sive policy. He had lost the use of MacMahon's and De Failly's commands for present operations, but he still had the remnants of Frossard's corps and the rest of the army. His true policy, therefore, was to concentrate these commands with the utmost rapidity, abandon Metz and the frontier, and fall back to a new line, nearer Paris, before the Germans should prevent him, as he must have known they would surely seek to do. MacMahon was retreating towards Chalons, where fresh troops were being gathered, and it would have been the part of wisdom for the Emperor to retreat upon that place. Ten days at the least would have been gained by such a movement, during which the new levies would have been brought up and organized an army of at least 280,000 (all but 35,000 being old soldiers), and 650 guns would have been assembled at Chalons,* an intrenched position would have been secured, and all France would have been behind the army. In such a case, the German advance would not have been as rapid as it proved under the actual circumstances. The fortresses of Strasbourg, Metz, Toul, Verdun, Thionville, Phalsbourg, and Bitsche, would have required to be watched, at least 80,000 men being needed for such service, and the advance of the German trains must of necessity have been slow. A bold and fearless confession of the necessity of the case, a defiant and hopeful tone and energetic measures on the part of the Government would have silenced the discontented by arousing the patriotism of the French, and France would have met her enemy on her second line on better terms. But boldness, decision, and vigor—above all rapidity of execution, were needed by the French for the securing of these advantages, and these qualities were woefully lacking.

The Emperor's first care, after the events of the 6th, was to mass his army at Metz. L'Admirault, with the Fourth Corps was moved from Thionville to Metz, where the Third Corps under Bazaine, and the Imperial Guard under Bourbaki, were encamped. A portion of Canrobert's corps was also brought up

* The Metz army and that which MacMahon afterwards led to Sedan, footed up this number.

to Metz, and to that place Frossard led his shattered Second Corps after the battle of Forbach. This force numbered 140,000 men. As a first step, Bazaine was ordered to occupy the line of the Nied in order to rally the Second Corps upon his command.

The Emperor was anxious to withdraw with his army to Chalons, and was fully aware that no time was to be lost in the execution of this movement. He communicated his intention to the Regency at Paris, and the Council of Ministers at first approved it. Two days later, however, M. Emile Olivier informed the Emperor that, upon mature deliberation, the Council had decided that it had been too hasty in approving the retreat of the army upon Chalons, inasmuch as "the abandonment of Lorraine could only produce a deplorable effect upon the public mind." He, therefore, advised the Emperor to abandon his project; and in an evil hour for his country and for himself, Napoleon listened to and was guided by the advice of his chicken-hearted minister. Having decided to remain at Metz, the Emperor now endeavored to mass his forces "in the hope that he might be able to fall upon one of the Prussian armies before they had effected their junction." A week—the most precious week of the war to the French—was suffered to slip by in irresolution and inaction. The Emperor was in utter ignorance of the movements or designs of the enemy. He only knew that they were approaching Metz, and he excuses his irresolution by stating that his movements were uniformly embarrassed "by the absolute ignorance in which we always remained concerning the position and the strength of the hostile armies. So well did the Prussians conceal their movements behind their formidable shelter of cavalry, which they deployed before them in all directions, that, notwithstanding the most persevering inquiries, it was never really known where the mass of their troops was, nor, in consequence, to what points the chief efforts of our army should be directed." It was a situation most trying to the Emperor. He had little hope of success in the approaching conflict with the enemy, and he dared not act in accordance with his convictions for fear of producing trouble in Paris.

Meanwhile the German commander was determined that the French army should not leave Metz, and nothing gave him so much pleasure as the news that his adversary still lingered near that place. The week which was passed by the French in irresolution, was spent by the Germans in unceasing activity. The Crown Prince was left to continue his pursuit of MacMahon, and the Baden contingent was sent to attack Strasbourg—a striking proof of Von Moltke's confidence in his ability to manage the Emperor with the 1st and 2nd armies. The concentration of the 1st and 2nd armies was hastened with all possible vigor, the King himself being in immediate command of both. On the 8th of August, he issued the following proclamation to his troops:

SOLDIERS:—The pursuit of the enemy, forced back after bloody fighting, has already carried a great part of our army over the frontier. Many corps will enter upon the French soil to-day and to-morrow. I expect that the self-discipline with which you have heretofore distinguished yourselves, will be also especially maintained in the enemy's territory. We carry on no war against the peaceable inhabitants of the land; it is, on the contrary, the duty of every honest soldier, to protect private property, and not to allow the good reputation of our army to be marred by even *one* example of lawlessness. I depend upon the excellent feeling which possesses the army, but also upon the vigilance and rigor of all commanders.

On the 10th, the 1st and 2nd German armies crossed the frontier, and on the 11th they were united on the soil of France. The King at once issued the following proclamation to the inhabitants of the departments occupied by the German armies:

We, Wilhelm, King of Prussia, give notice to the inhabitants of the French departments in possession of the German army as follows: After the Emperor Napoleon had attacked by sea and by land the German nation, which desired, and still desires, to live at peace with the French people, I assumed the chief command over the German armies in order to repel this attack. In the progress of events, I have had occasion to cross the French boundary. I make war with the French soldiers, and not with the citizens of France. These will, therefore, continue to enjoy a perfect security of their persons and their property just so long as they do not deprive me, by their own hostile acts against the

German troops, of the right to extend to them my protection. The generals who command the different corps will establish by especial regulations, which shall be brought to the knowledge of the public, the measures which are to be taken against communities or against single persons, who set themselves in opposition to the usages of war. They will in similar manner fix everything in regard to requisitions which shall be demanded by the necessities of the troops. They will also fix the rate of exchange between German and French currency, in order to make the single transactions between the troops and the people easy.

The Emperor now resolved upon a step which should have been taken the moment he found himself unable to order the retreat upon Paris. He was almost an invalid, and was physically incapable of leading his troops in battle; and he was conscious that he "was being made responsible for the wretched situation of the army." He removed Marshal Leboeuf from his position of Major-General of the army, and suffered the staff which had so deceived him to fall into well-merited disgrace. He had seen the situation from the first, clearer than those officers who had sought to flatter him with hopes of success, and knowing that the time had now come when he must think of the interests of his country as apart from those of his dynasty, he determined to relinquish the command of the army into the hands of a general who should be free to act for the good of France without reference to the Empire.

On the evening of the 11th of August, a council of war was convened at the Imperial headquarters at Metz. "The great question to solve, was the appointment of a general, popular enough to inspire confidence, and who would not hesitate in taking such a serious responsibility. Changarnier, the old and popular general of Africa, had arrived at Metz; he came in the moment of danger, to offer his sword to the Monarch who had sent him into exile; he brought the services of his rare experience to the *patrie en danger*. The old general was handsomely received by the Emperor, and from that moment the veteran took the greatest part in the council of war, and exercised a benevolent influence over its decisions.

"The important discussion for the choice of a new Général-

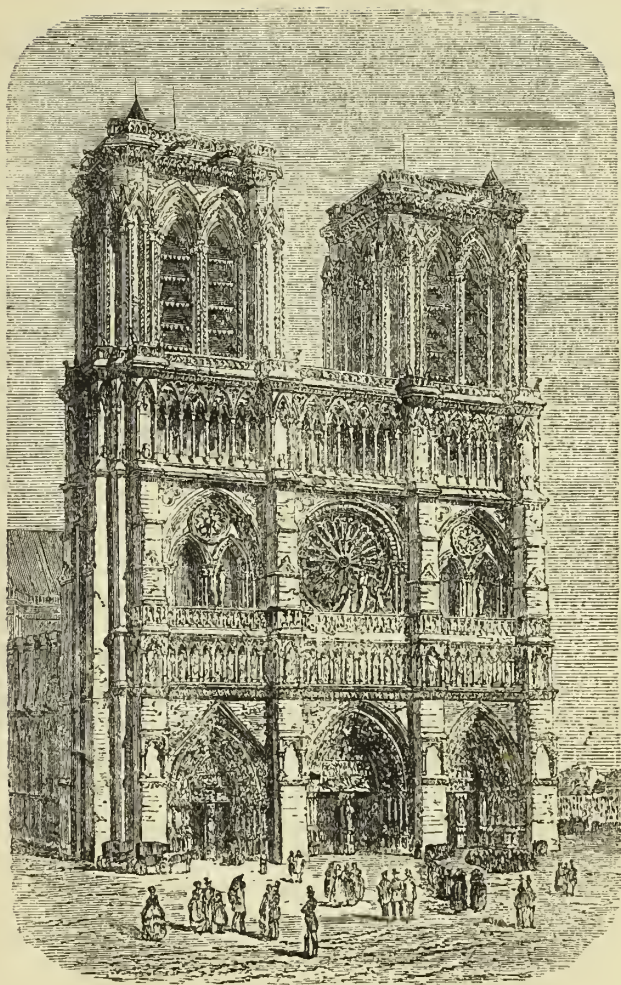
en-Chef was the order of the day. The Emperor was presiding, and after a few sensible remarks on the reasons inducing him to give up the command, he recommended to his lieutenants to consider the importance of their resolution, and he exhorted them to put aside all feeling of ambition, in presence of the grave events which had occurred, and of the great task they had to fulfil; for himself, he was determined not to influence in the least their decision; and after those few sentences, the Emperor buried silently his face in his hands, and waited, without adding a word, for the nomination of his successor to the *Armée du Rhin*.

"The meeting was a stormy one. The favorites of the Court, the generals *de salon* of the Second Empire, those egotistical men, who, taking advantage of the noted kindness and favor of their sovereign, had helped to plunge him into misfortunes without parallel, could not entertain the idea to give up their projects, and to be commanded by a general designated at once by his rank, his qualities, and the prestige of his glorious campaigns. But Changarnier's resistance overcame the petty intrigues, and Marshal Bazaine, the illustrious soldier from the ranks, was appointed to the supreme command of the *Armée du Rhin*, in conjunction with MacMahon, who was to take the command-in-chief of his own corps, also of the corps of De Failly, Felix Douay, and of the new columns in formation at Chalons.

"In assuming the command (August 12th), Marshal Bazaine, in a bulletin to the army, explained briefly the efficient measures he intended to take, and that, putting aside the system followed by his predecessor, he would act at once energetically. The new Commander-in-Chief ordered everybody to take the field, to camp in their respective quarters." *

It was now urged upon the Emperor that there was danger of his being detained at Metz by the Germans, and he was advised to withdraw to Chalons. He decided to do so, and on the afternoon of Sunday, the 14th of August, left Metz for Verdun, accompanied by the Prince Imperial. He addressed

* *The War of 1870.* By Count de la Chapelle. Pp. 39-42.



Cathedral of Notre Dame. Front View : Paris.

the following proclamation to the people of Metz upon his departure from that city :

On quitting you to fight the invaders, I confide to your patriotism the defence of this great city. You will never allow the enemy to take possession of this bulwark of France, and I trust you will rival the army in loyalty and courage. I shall ever remember with gratitude the reception I have found within your walls, and I hope that in more joyous times I may be able to return to thank you for your noble conduct.

Bazaine assumed the command of the army on the morning of the 12th of August, and at once determined on making the retreat upon Chalons, upon which the Emperor had at first decided. Had he moved with promptness and rapidity, he would doubtless have reached Verdun in safety, for it was not yet in the power of his enemy to prevent his escape from Metz; but here again the French delayed, and the chance of escape was lost. Had Bazaine been better informed of the enemy's movements, his course would no doubt have been different; but it seems that he was totally in the dark as to the designs or position of the Prussians.

On the 13th of August, the King of Prussia arrived before Metz from St. Avold, with the 1st and 2nd armies, numbering at least 250,000 men, with 750 guns. He disposed his forces in a huge semicircle, enveloping the town on the east bank of the Moselle. Even then, Bazaine seemed ignorant that he had the main force of the Prussians in front of him.

On the morning of the 14th, the French army began its retreat across the Moselle. The men were in good spirits, and had confidence in their commander. The chief thing now was to make sure of the retreat. Two more days had been wasted, but there was still a chance. Bazaine should have trusted to the fortress and garrison of Metz for the protection of his rear, and have made for Verdun with lightning speed. He failed to do so, however. His retreat was conducted leisurely. Three corps of his army remained around Metz during the 14th, on the east of the city, as if sure of being able to retire when they wished.

Von Moltke was well pleased with this absence of haste on the part of the French, as it gave him all the more time for carrying out his plan of penning that army up in Metz. He appreciated the value of time more than his adversary seemed capable of doing, and his movements were marked by a decision and rapidity which were certain of success. His design was to hold Bazaine at Metz with one portion of his command, while at the same time he cut him off from Verdun with the other. A portion of the army of Prince Frederick Charles was left with Steinmetz on the east of Metz, but the bulk of that command was moved to the Moselle at Pont-à-Mousson, where it passed that river, and moved upon Bazaine's line of retreat to Verdun.

In the meantime, in order to ascertain what the French were doing, and to cover the movement of the 2d army, General Steinmetz was ordered to make a strong reconnoissance towards Metz; this he did on the 14th, and his reconnoissance was soon changed into a sharp attack, as he discovered unmistakable signs of the withdrawal of the French from Metz. The fight, since known as the battle of Courcelles, was stubborn and sanguinary, the French occupied numerous lines of rifle pits, and held several villages in which they had strongly intrenched themselves. The Prussian attack was made with great determination, and the French were compelled to send back the Fourth Corps, which had almost crossed the river at Metz, to the assistance of the troops engaged. The fighting lasted until nightfall, the Germans having forced the French back under the guns of the fortress. Both sides claimed the victory, the advantage was evidently with the Germans.

The Emperor, who had left Metz that afternoon, passed the night at Longueville, a village on the road to Verdun, from which he sent the following dispatch to the Empress:

LONGUEVILLE, *August 14*, 10 P. M.

The army commenced to cross to the left bank of the Moselle this morning. Our advance guard had no knowledge of the presence of any force of the enemy. When half our army had crossed over, the Prus-

sians suddenly attacked in great force. After a fight of four hours, they were repulsed with great loss to them.

NAPOLEON.

On the morning of the 15th, he resumed his journey to Verdun under the protection of a strong escort. An hour after his departure, the house in which he had passed the night was riddled by the fire of the Prussian artillery, which had come up to dispute the passage of the French army over the same road.

King William sent the following telegram to the Queen of Prussia on the night of the 14th :

Yesterday evening victorious combat near Metz, by troops of the Seventh and First Army Corps. Details still wanting. I am going at once to the battle-field.

The advance-guard of the Seventh Corps attacked, last evening towards 5 o'clock, the retreating enemy, who took up a position and called reinforcements from the fortress. Parts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Divisions, and of the First Corps, supported the advance-guard. A very bloody fight spread along the whole line ; the enemy was thrown back at all points, and the pursuit was carried as far as the glacis of the outworks. The neighborhood of the fortress permitted the enemy to cover his wounded to a great extent. After our wounded were cared for, the troops withdrew at daybreak into their old bivouacs. The troops are reported to have all of them fought with a wonderful energy and gayety not to be expected. I have seen many of them, and have thanked them from my heart. The joy was overpowering. I spoke with Generals Steinmetz, Zastrow, Manteuffel, and Guben.

Bazaine passed the night of the 14th in continuing his withdrawal from Metz, and Von Moltke made use of the same time to hasten forward the army of Prince Frederick Charles, and to follow it the next day with the bulk of the 1st army.

There are three roads leading from Metz to Verdun. Two of these unite at Gravelotte, at a distance of five miles from the city. The southernmost leads direct to Verdun through Rezonville, Vionville, and Mars-le-Tour, and is the shortest of all. The next is somewhat longer, and passes through Doncourt and Jarny to Etain, where it unites with the third and northernmost and longest, which leads from Metz almost in a northerly direction along the Moselle to Woippy, thence

defiles through the woods for a long distance over Saulny to St. Privat-la-Montagne, thence over Ste. Marie-aux-Chênes to Aboué into the valley of the Orne, thence again defiles to Briey, where the road divides, one part leading in a north-westerly direction over Longuion and Montmédy to Sedan, and the other leading due westwardly to Etain, uniting there with the middle route to Verdun. All these roads are wide and well laid out, and were in excellent order.

Bazaine continued his withdrawal through the 15th, but not with the speed which should have characterized his movements. He chose the two southernmost of the roads mentioned above for his line of retreat. The Second and Sixth Corps were moved in échelon behind the cavalry division of General De Forton, who had cleared the most southern road as far as Mars-le-Tour, while the division of General De Barail cleared the second road to Conflans-en-Jarnisy. The Imperial Guard held the junction of the two roads at Gravelotte. Meanwhile the Emperor continued his journey to Verdun (in considerable danger of capture by the Prussians), which he reached in safety. Then, sending the Prince Imperial to Rheims, he hastened to Chalons, where MacMahon was exerting himself to get his troops in readiness for the field.*

* Edmund About has given the following account of the Emperor's journey :

"The Emperor, at the commencement of the battle, was at Longueville with the Prince Imperial, Prince Napoleon, and their aides-de-camp, in an inn situated in the middle of the village. The Prussians were certainly not aware of the presence of those illustrious guests, or the house would have been battered with artillery. Two or three shells, however, fell a few paces off, and as the village was in danger of being destroyed by the enemy's fire, the Marshal sent to warn his Majesty of the peril, and orders were at once given for the departure of the Imperial household. The Emperor and his suite mounted on horseback, but the difficulty was great, as the country around was scoured by the German troops. A guide, however, undertook to lead the party by pathways through vineyards, and at a certain moment the Emperor passed within a mile and a half of the Prussians, who, however well informed they usually are, were not aware that such a rich prize was within their reach. After two or three hours' march through woods and plantations, which time must have appeared very long to his Majesty and his suite, they arrived at the high road, which they had then only to follow to reach their

The French seem to have had no suspicion of the proximity of the army of Frederick Charles, or of the effort of the Germans to cut them off from Verdun. They seemed to think that the enemy's whole force was east of the Moselle, at least 25 miles away from their position, and that they would have full leisure to send their train ahead on the 15th and 16th and move off at their leisure on the 17th.

On the morning of the 15th, King William and General Von Moltke made a close examination of the battle field of Courcelles, and of the French position, which satisfied them that Bazaine was leaving Metz. Orders were at once given for the German army, with the exception of the First Corps, which was left before Metz to watch the enemy, to cross the Moselle. The Seventh and Eighth Corps (1st army), were thrown over the Moselle on pontoon bridges at Corny. The rest of the army passed the river at Pont-à-Mousson. By the night of the 15th, the whole Prussian army, with the exception of the First Corps, which was left before Metz, the Second, which was still at Forbaeh, and the Fourth, which was on the march, was over the Moselle, and pushing forward to seize the roads to Verdun. Von Moltke was resolved to

next destination at Gravelotte. The Emperor rested one day at Verdun, and then proceeded to Chalons by rail in a third-class carriage; the servants at the station, who had not been informed of the departure of the Imperial household, had not even time to clean out the compartments, which still bore traces of the troops who had travelled in them on the preceding days. He was only too glad to find a third-class carriage at Verdun, in which to pursue his way to Chalons. An officer approached him at St. Hilaire, and without much ceremony ventured to say, 'Sire, you must be fatigued.' 'Yes, indeed!' answered the Emperor, 'and hungry also.'

"He is altered astonishingly; looking not only much older, but blotched and puffy. He moves about with an air of helplessness.

"*CHALONS, Aug. 14.*—The Imperial headquarters present an aspect of melancholy. The Emperor does not show himself, and no one has seen him since his arrival at the camp. In passing along the road near the pavilion which he occupies, I met the Prince Imperial, in uniform, and wearing the military medal, walking with his equerry. He had the gay and careless air of a boy of his age. After following the road for a distance, he crossed a field, and went and sat down on the edge of a ditch, where he amused himself in drawing lines or figures with his walking-cane in the sand.'

bring Bazaine to a decisive battle somewhere between the Moselle and the Meuse, and drive him back to Metz. We have seen how much the delay of the French commander aided the Prussians; but we are none the less called on to admire the skill and vigor of the designs and movements of the latter. A brief halt was made during the latter half of the night of the 15th, to allow the German troops to rest, and at daybreak on the 16th the march was resumed with all speed, in order to reach the plateau between the Moselle and the Orne, in the direction of Verdun. The cavalry of Von Alvensleben's Third Prussian Corps were pushed forward in advance, and the infantry of that corps hurried after them as fast as possible, the march being in the direction of Mars-le-Tour.

On the morning of the 16th, Bazaine resumed his retrograde movement. All through the 15th the Prussians had given unmistakable evidences of their proximity, by frequent skirmishes with the French outposts,* and other movements, but still the Marshal seemed to think he had an abundance of time to get off.

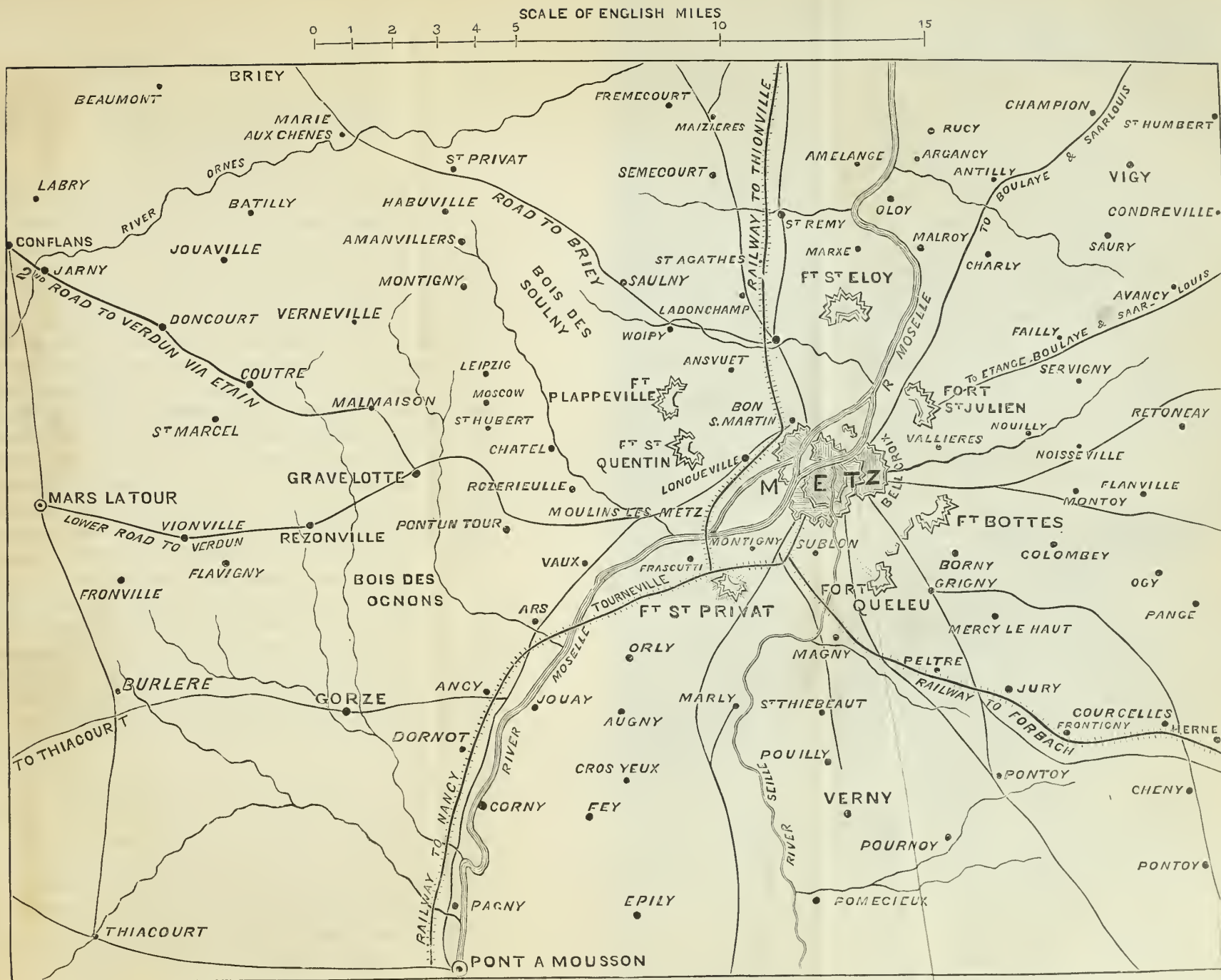
At nine o'clock, while Frossard's corps, which was leading the march, was moving along the most southern road towards Mars-le-Tour, it was suddenly attacked by Von Alvensleben's cavalry, supported by one brigade of infantry. The cavalry had received orders to stop the head of the French column, at all hazards, and hold it until the infantry could come up, and they made their attack with the utmost heroism, and succeeded in bringing their enemy to a stand. They were soon joined by the infantry divisions of the German Third Corps, and the battle became inevitable. Frossard at once took position to meet the attack upon him, and the corps of L'Admirault, Decaen (3rd), and Canrobert, were brought up to support him.

* "At about 4 o'clock (on the afternoon of the 15th), we reached a plateau commanding a full view of the valley of the Moselle, and of the city of Metz, and from there we had also an open sight of the country around. Masses of Prussians were camped at about three miles distance, some of their columns facing the village of Gravelotte."—*The War of 1870*. P. 56.

Subsequently the Imperial Guard were brought into the fight. The French line extended from Doncourt, on the right (on the upper road to Verdun), through the villages of Tronville; Mars-le-Tour, Vionville and Rezonville, to Gravelotte, on the left, and covered the two roads to Verdun. The German line at first faced to the northward, but as fresh troops came up, they were posted by Count Moltke on Alvensleben's left, and thrown forward so far, that at the close of the day the German line faced eastward, its left reaching to the most northern of the roads by which Bazaine was retreating.

The battle soon became general. Until half-past twelve o'clock, it was fought by the Third German Corps alone. This gallant command succeeded in carrying the villages of Mars-le-Tour and Tronville, thus securing the most southern road to Verdun, but its attack on Vionville was repulsed with heavy loss. Matters looked dark at this moment for the Germans, as the French were greatly superior to them in numbers and position. They pressed the Third Corps heavily from the direction of Vionville, and it seemed that Alvensleben would be forced to yield his ground. Suddenly, however, two divisions of cavalry came up at a gallop, having hurried forward with all speed from Thiaucourt. These were ordered to charge the French. They made their attack at two o'clock in the most reckless manner. They were full aware that they could accomplish nothing but gain time for the rest of the army to come up, and that they were simply required to sacrifice themselves for this object, but the brave fellows never hesitated. They swept down upon the French line with an enthusiasm that was irresistible, they broke through it, rode over the batteries, and even charged the staff of Marshal Bazaine himself, killing twenty men and the captain in command of it. Then broken and shattered, they retreated to their own lines, having lost half their number in the charge—a charge which has never been equalled in heroic self-devotion and bravery by anything in history

“ It was splendid
As a dream of old romance :



MAP OF THE COUNTRY AROUND METZ, SHOWING THE BATTLE-FIELDS FROM AUGUST 14th, 1870, TO THE SURRENDER OF THE CITY.

Thinking which their German neighbors
Thrilled to watch them at their labors,
Hewing red graves with their sabres,
In that wonderful advance."

The hour which was thus gained was worth the cost, dear as it was. About three o'clock, the Tenth Corps came up, and was posted on Alvensleben's left, over Puxieux and Mars-le-Tour, towards the woods north of Vionville, in the direction of Bruville, while the Ninth Corps came up on the right, along the Bois de Vionville, and commenced the attack on Flavigny and Vionville. Vionville was carried, but the French held on to Flavigny, and repelled the efforts of the Germans to drive them from it. About half past four o'clock, portions of the Seventh and Eighth Corps, which had crossed the Moselle at Corny, just above Pont-à-Mousson, climbed the side of the mountain, and marched along paths scarcely practicable through the Bois des Ognons and the Bois des Chevaux, and gained possession of these woods. Though they could not come out of them to attack Rezonville, their presence in the woods greatly encouraged the rest of the Germans, who renewed their attack upon Flavigny, which they captured between seven and eight in the evening. The Tenth Corps, which constituted the left wing of the German army, made a sharp attack on Doncourt, with hope of getting possession of the second road to Verdun, by way of Etain, but it was decisively repulsed, and driven back to the north of Mars-le-Tour, where it had hard work to maintain its position. It held on to this ground, however, until the close of the battle.

The fighting ended about eight o'clock in the evening. Strictly speaking the battle was indecisive. The losses were enormous on both sides. The Germans admitted a loss of 16,000 killed and wounded. The French loss is not accurately known, but was probably somewhat less than that of the Germans. The Germans captured 2000 prisoners, 2 eagles, and 7 guns. The fighting was good on both sides, officers and men behaving with the most unflinching courage. The real

advantage was with the Prussians, however. At the end of the day, the French held Gravelotte, Rezonville, St. Marcel, and Bruville; the Germans, Bois des Ognons, Flavigny, Vionville, the woods north of that village, and the ground north of Mars-le-Tour. The French had their whole army in line during the day, while the Germans were unable to bring up more than 120,000 men at the very utmost—three full corps and parts of two others. Although the French had repulsed the attack on Doncourt, the Germans had gotten possession of the lower road to Verdun, which they held with a death-like grip, and they seriously threatened the other.

Bazaine had made a great mistake in simply confining himself to a defensive. He had left Metz to the protection of a strong garrison, under General Coffinières, and had gotten a good start of fifteen miles on the road to Verdun, when the Germans attacked him, and he should have bent every effort to the attempt to break through their lines and force his way to Verdun, and thence to Chalons. True, he had delayed so long that the chance of a sure passage had slipped by, and in case he had been able to break through on the 16th, he would have been followed and harassed by the enemy; but the result would have been no less damaging than it proved, and with good management he would have saved the greater part of his army for a junction with MacMahon. Even on the night of the 16th, after the battle, the longest and most northern of the roads we have mentioned was open to him—the one through Woippy, Ste. Marie-aux-Chênes, and Briey—and a swift and determined effort would have enabled him to gain it, as the German left had gotten no farther than Mars-le-Tour. He decided to retain his force near Metz, however, and gave up the last chance which fortune held out to him. That night he withdrew his army to the vicinity of Gravelotte, within five miles of Metz—thus abandoning five miles of the road to Verdun, over which he had retreated on the 15th.

The battle known as the battle of Vionville, was claimed

as a victory by both sides.* We have seen, however, that the real advantage lay with the Germans. Bazaine seems to have had a better idea of the extent of his danger after the battle than during the engagement, for his movements on the 17th and 18th were marked by greater decision than he had shown before.

Meanwhile the German commander was apprehensive that the French Marshal would seek to escape by the road to

* The German official report was as follows :

"Two roads lead from Metz to Verdun, the direction which the French army had to take in case of a retreat upon Paris. Three corps of the Second Army, which had already passed the Moselle, were immediately directed against the southern road, the one most easily reached, in order, if possible, to arrest the enemy's flank-march on that side. This important task was brilliantly accomplished through a bloody and victorious battle. The Fifth Division (Stulpnagel) threw itself on the Frossard Corps, which covered the enemy's flank. The French army, with almost all its corps, was gradually engaged, while, on the Prussian side, the rest of the Third Army-Corps, the Tenth Army-Corps, a regiment of the Ninth Corps, and a brigade of the Eighth, took part. Prince Friedrich Karl assumed the command. The ground first won by us in a twelve hours' struggle was victoriously held, the south road from Metz to Verdun was gained and retained, and the enemy's retreat to Paris by this road cut off. The conduct of our troops was truly heroic. Our loss was very considerable, but that of the enemy infinitely greater, as could be seen by examination of the battle-field. Until the 19th it was impossible to bury the French dead, and the great number of corpses of the Imperial Guard evidenced the enormous losses of that *élite* force. In the French official account the strength of our troops is reckoned at double its actual numbers. The Emperor's proclamation on leaving Metz, as also other French official documents, leaves no doubt that the main army had the certainly quite natural intention of retreating to Verdun."

On the other hand, Bazaine reports :

"This morning the army of Prince Friedrich Karl directed a spirited attack against the left wing of our position. The Cavalry Division (Torton) and the Second Corps (Frossard) maintained a stout resistance to the attack. The corps, which were placed in *échelon* right and left from Rezonville, appeared gradually upon the battle-field, and took part in the combat, which continued until nightfall. The enemy had deployed heavy masses of men, and attempted several attacks, which were stoutly repulsed. Toward evening appeared a new army corps, which attempted to cut off our left wing. We have everywhere maintained our position, and inflicted heavy losses upon the enemy; our losses are also great. At the moment when the battle raged at its height, a regiment of Uhlans attacked the general staff of the Marshal;

Briey, and he determined to prevent it. During the night of the 16th, and all through the 17th, the German cavalry watched the movements of the French with eagle eyes, and their reports at length convinced Von Moltke that Bazaine, instead of seeking to escape, was withdrawing to a stronger position nearer Metz. He accordingly spent the 17th in hurrying forward the troops which had not come up on the 16th, and on the morning of the 18th, he had his army well in hand. His force amounted to about 190,000 infantry, 24,000 cavalry, and over 600 guns.

Bazaine's new position was well chosen. The old French line of the 16th, from Vionville to the Moselle, still formed the left wing; but the right, now thrown back at rather a sharp angle, extended from Vionville by St. Marcel (on the north Verdun road, three miles from Gravelotte and eight miles from Metz). Vionville, at the angle thus formed, was the centre. St. Privat formed the extreme right, and Gravelotte was the strongest point. The line extended over a series of eminences, the extreme right being posted on a commanding hill, whose steep slopes were perfectly bare of cover. The natural strength of the position was increased by Bazaine, who added to it a formidable series of intrenchments and rifle-pits.* To defend this line, the French commander could

twenty men of the escort were put *hors de combat*, the captain commanding killed. At eight o'clock the enemy was repulsed on the whole line."

On the 17th Bazaine writes again:

"Yesterday, during the entire day, I gave battle between Vionville and Doncourt. The enemy was repulsed. We remained in our positions. I interrupted my movement for some hours in order to bring up ammunition. We have had Friedrich Karl and Steinmetz before us."

* "A somewhat deep valley ran between the ground occupied by the armies, which in both cases was strengthened by thick copses and large woods. The ridges, less high and more gently sloping than at Sedan, were intersected by certain deep gullies, defiladed from the ground in their front. For miles along the main roads, the thick tall poplar trees had been felled with anxious care by the French, lest they should intercept the fire from their guns, the traces of which were still to be perceived, posted with admirable skill, so as to enfilade the main approaches. One position, near the Bois de Ognons, was very interesting to us from the evidences it bore of the

bring only 110,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry, and 260 guns. His troops, however, were in good spirits, and were still hopeful.

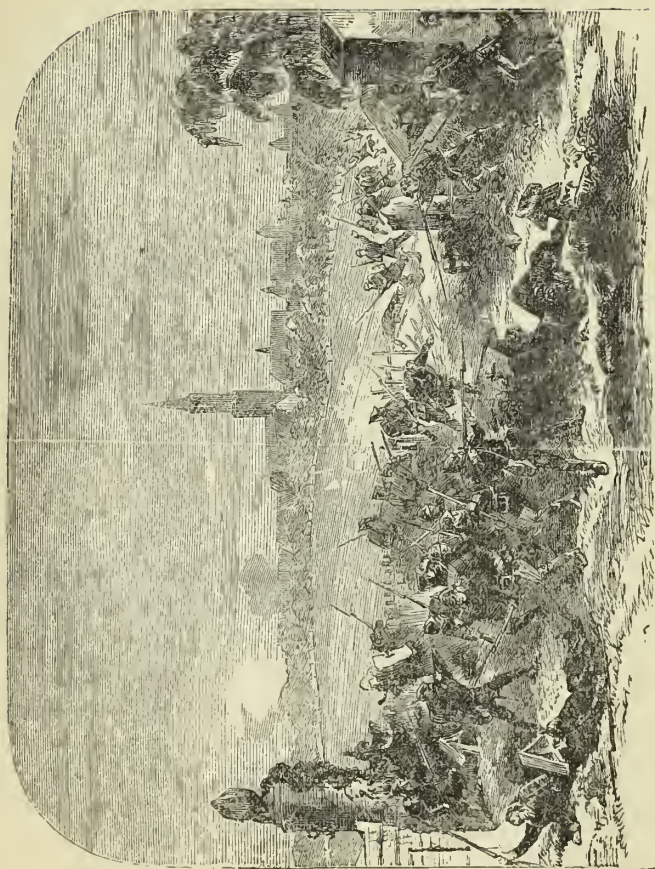
At four o'clock on the morning of the 18th of August, King William was in the saddle. He passed the time until ten o'clock in minutely inspecting the troops, and then taking his station with his staff on the heights of Flavigny, he gave the order to attack the French.

The position of the German army at daybreak on the 18th was as follows: The 1st army, with First, Seventh, and Eight Corps, lay off the hills south of Rezonville. The 2d army, with the Third, Ninth, Tenth, Twelfth, and Guard Corps, were on the left flank south of Mars-le-Tour and Vionville. The southern road to Verdun was in the hands of the Germans, but the French held the upper road as far as Cautre. About ten o'clock the King of Prussia ordered the Ninth

havoc committed on the attacking Prussians by the mitrailleuses, and from the peculiar formation of the ground. . . . A deep gully was bounded on the French side by an acclivity almost scarped for a height of about twenty-five feet; then more gradually sloping in its rise; and finally settling into a gentle dip a little behind the summit. Here were placed the French batteries, comparatively sheltered. The Prussians advanced from the opposite height, about 800 yards distant, to capture this position, clearly visible from their original starting point. But on arriving at the bottom of the valley their enemy had vanished. With difficulty they clambered up the scarp, unconscious of the danger which awaited them, though the spectators from the Prussian position saw with horror their certain doom, which they were unable to avert; and as their heads appeared on the more gentle slope, they were astounded and hurled back by a murderous fire from the guns and mitrailleuses, while the French cavalry thundered down on their flank, almost sweeping them off the face of the earth. The ground selected did credit to the judgment of the French artillery officers. Some of the buildings and orchards on the outskirts of Gravelotte had been put into a most efficient state of defence; indeed, throughout this battle-field there were far more traces of forethought on the part of the French than was perceptible at Sedan, in attempting to strengthen their position. Each story of the houses was pierced with loopholes for musketry fire; the window sashes had been removed, and the openings blocked up with beams; the garden walls and hedges were prepared for defence; and there were numerous devices for obtaining a flanking fire."—*From Sedan to Saarbruck*. By an Officer of the Royal Artillery. Pp. 195–197.

Corps,* "in position there, to move towards the woods behind St. Marcel, while the Seventh and Eighth Corps marched against the forest of Vaux, south of Gravelotte. The latter had orders to push the enemy very slowly, in order to give time to the Guards and Twelfth Corps, to make a long *détour* on the left, by way of Jouaville, Batilly, and Ste. Marie. The Third and Tenth Corps were in reserve, and but few of their troops were in the fight, these being mostly artillery, the principal movement was on the left. Preceded by Prussian and Saxon cavalry, the 2d army advanced, still maintaining communication on the right with the 1st army. The Twelfth Corps took the direction by Mars-le-Tour and Jarny, while the Guards advanced between Mars-le-Tour and Vionville on Doncourt, and the Ninth Corps crossed the highway to the west of Rezonville, toward Cautre farm, north of St. Marcel. Their purpose was to gain the central and northern roads. They quickly found that the French were not retreating, and moved to the right, meeting at Ste. Marie and Roncourt resistance, which was overcome, and, after another struggle among the steep hills at St. Privat-la-Montagne, that place was gained. The right flank of this 2d army, holding the centre of the whole German line, had been earlier engaged with some advanced forces of the French, and toward noon the Ninth Corps was engaged at Verneville. The Guards and Twelfth Corps reached St. Privat about 4 p. m., and immediately moved south and east against Amanvillers. The fighting here was exceedingly severe. The Germans lay in a long curve, sweeping from St. Privat, where the Saxons fought on the extreme left, through Ste. Marie and St. Ail (Guards), Verneville (Ninth Corps), Gravelotte (Eighth Corps), and Forest of Vaux (Seventh Corps), across the Moselle, on the right bank of which a brigade of the First Corps and artillery from the reserves were engaged. The French army fought with its back to Germany; the Germans had Paris in

* The account of this engagement given here is substantially the description given by the editors of the *Army and Navy Journal*—from which the quotations above are made.



Battle of Gravelotte.—Momentary Repulse of the Prussians.

their rear. Bazaine's entire army was in line, including those troops which had been prepared for the Baltic expedition. On the left wing the flanking column, after meeting with resistance at every point, pushed its enemy back through Ste. Marie, Roncourt, St. Privat, St. Ail, Habonville, the wood of La Cusse, and Verneville, until, toward evening, two small outworks of Metz lying northeast of Gravelotte, and named *Leipsic* and *Moscou*, were reached. All three roads out of Metz were then firmly in the grasp of the Germans."

The right wing of the German army had a hard task to perform. At the opening of the battle it was ordered to press the French lightly in the forest of Vaux, immediately in the rear of which wood was the strongest part of the French position. It was covered by a road which ran through a deep cutting whose sides were fifty feet high, back of which was a plateau from 325 to 600 feet high. Behind this is Rozieriulles hill, along the slopes of which runs the highway to Metz. Three tiers of rifle-pits lined this steep; back of the rifle-pits were the infantry; and back of the infantry the artillery. As the highway winds along this hill it is only 5000 yards in an air line from Fort St. Quentin one of the strong outworks of Metz, but the distance is double by the road, and the crest of the hill intervenes between them. Thus the position of the French was not only a stronghold in itself, but it gave them the means of instant escape if driven from it. They had but to cross the hill to find themselves under the cover of the guns of the forts.

As soon as the King was informed of the success of the movement on the left, and the abandonment of the efforts of the French to hold the Verdun roads, he advanced his own position to a hill near Rezonville, and ordered a more vigorous attack on the right. He was promptly obeyed, and a bold dash carried the French position. The Germans did not hold it long, however, for the French by the counter attack, drove them out and reëstablished their line. King William, as soon as informed of the success of the first charge of his men, hastened to the hill back of Gravelotte, which he reached just in

time to see his troops returning from their fruitless effort to hold the captured line. The King, however, ordered a new effort to be made, and an hour later, by which time night had come on, a second charge was made. The Prussians were received with such a withering fire that nothing could stand before it, and they were repulsed with serious loss. Indeed, before they had reached the hill, General Von Moltke had discovered the strength of the French position, and had sent an officer to recall the men, but too late to save them from the bloody repulse with which they met. At this movement the Second German Corps, which had been on the march ever since two o'clock in the morning, came up, and as soon as a sufficient portion of it arrived, the new comers were ordered to take the hill. They were met by the French, who were following up the repulse of the German column with a sharp counter attack, and for a moment it seemed that the German line, new comers and all, would be broken. Some parts of the line, indeed, had begun a disorderly retreat. Von Moltke saw the danger, and rushing forward, placed himself at the head of the Second Corps, and gave the order to charge. The Second Corps followed him with loud cheers, and when it was well up the hill, and hotly engaged with the French, Von Moltke reformed the storming party which had been repulsed, and sent it to support the fresh troops. The attack was made with great steadiness and vigor, and was successful. By half past eight o'clock, the last position of the French was in the hands of the Germans, and the battle was won.

The losses on both sides were severe. Even now they are not known accurately. It is believed that the French lost about 5000 killed and 18,000 wounded; and the Germans about 25,000 killed and wounded. The entire French loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, from the 14th to the 22nd, inclusive, is believed to have been near 60,000, about 10,000 of whom were prisoners. The German loss in killed and wounded during this period, is estimated at from 50,000 to 60,000.

The correspondent of the London *Daily News*, writing from

the field, gives the following account of the battle of Gravelotte, as seen from the Prussian side. It is such a life-like picture of those portions of the great battle which are of necessity passed over in the official reports, that I make no apology for transcribing it here :

“It was now at least evident that the struggle was very serious at the front. At midnight, or a little after (17th–18th), all the trumpets for miles around began to sound. This was the first time we had been startled at that hour by such wild music. Trumpet answered to trumpet through all the bivouacs around the little city (Pont-à-Mousson). For several days previous there had been troops almost perpetually marching through ; but now the tramp through every street and by-way made between midnight and dawn a perpetual roar. Hastily dressing, I ran out into the darkness, and managed to get a seat on a wagon that was going in the direction of the front—now understood to be a mile or two beyond the village of Gorze. Gorze is some twelve miles from Pont-à-Mousson. On our way we met a considerable batch of French prisoners, who were looked upon with great curiosity by the continuous file of German soldiers with whom we advanced ; but only one or two offensive cries towards the prisoners were heard, and these fortunately they could not understand. The way was so blocked with wagons, etc., that I finally concluded that I could go the six or seven miles remaining better on foot. So I got out of my carriage and began to walk and run swiftly ahead. At Novéant-aux-Presses, on the Moselle, about half way to Metz, I found vast bodies of cavalry, Uhlans and Hussars, crossing the river by a pontoon bridge, and hurrying at the top of their speed towards Gorze. Hastening my steps, I soon heard the first thunder of the cannonade, seemingly coming from the heart of a range of hills on the right. Passing through the village and ascending to the high plain beyond, I found myself suddenly on a battle-field, strewn (literally) as far as my eye could reach with dead bodies—the field of the battle of Vionville on the 16th. In one or two parts of the field parties were still

burying the dead, chiefly Prussians. The French, being naturally buried last, were still lying in vast numbers on the ground. A few of these—I saw five—were not dead. As I hurried on, a splendid regiment of cavalry came on behind, and when they came to the brow of the hill, they all broke out with a wild hurrah, and dashed forward. A few more steps, and I gained the summit, and saw the scene which had roused their cry, and even seemed to thrill their horses. It would be difficult to imagine a grander battle-field. From the particular hill to which I had been directed to come by good authority—it was occupied by the Royal Headquarters—the sweep of the Prussian and French centres could be seen, and a considerable part of their wings. The spot where I stood was fearful—it was amid ghastly corpses, and burdened with the stench of dead horses, of which there were a great many. I was standing on the battle-field of the 16th, on the Prussian side. On the left, stretched like a silver thread the road to Verdun, to Paris also, for the possession of which this series of battles had begun. It was between lines of poplars, which stood against the horizon on my left, and on as far as the eye could reach towards Metz, with military regularity. Strung on this road like beads were the pretty villages, each with its church tower, which, although they have separate names, are really only a few hundred yards apart—Mars-le-Tour, Flavigny (a little south of the road), Vionville, Rezonville, Malmaison, Gravelotte. On my right were the thickly-wooded hills, behind which the most important village of the neighborhood, the one I had just left—Gorze. Such was the foreground of this battle, which should, one would say, be called the battle of Gravelotte, for it was mainly over and beyond that devoted little town that it raged. The area I have indicated is about four miles square. Owing to having come on foot rather than along the blocked road, I was fortunate enough to arrive just as the battle waxed warm—that is about noon. The great representatives of Prussia were standing on the same ground watching the conflict. Among them the only ones I recog-

nized were the King, Count Bismarck, General Von Moltke, Prince Karl, Prince Friedrich Karl, Prince Adalbert, and Adjutant Kranski. Lieutenant-General Sheridan, of the United States, was also present.

“At this moment the French were making a most desperate effort to hold on to the last bit of the Verdun road, that between Rezonville and Gravelotte—or that part of Gravelotte which on some maps is called Malmaison. Desperate but unavailing! For every one man in their ranks had two to cope with, and their line, at the place indicated, was already beginning to waver. Soon it was plain that this wing was withdrawing to a new position. This was swiftly taken up, under protection of a continuous blaze of their artillery from heights beyond the village. The movement was made in good order, and the position reached was one that, I believe, nine out of ten military men would have regarded as normally impregnable. My reader will observe that the battle-field was from this time transferred to the regions beyond Gravelotte. The fields in front of that village were completely covered by the Prussian reserves, and over it interminable lines of soldiers were perpetually marching onward—disappearing into the village, emerging on the other side of it with flaming volleys. This second battle-field was less extensive than the first, and brought the combatants into fearfully close quarters. The peculiarity of it is that it consists of two heights, intersected by a deep ravine. This woody ravine is over 100 feet deep, and at the top from 200 to 300 yards wide. The side of the chasm next to Gravelotte, where the Prussians stood, is much lower than the other side, which gradually ascended to a great height. From this their commanding eminence the French held their enemies fairly beneath them, and subjected them to a raking fire. Their artillery was stationed far up by the Metz road, between its trees. There was not an instant's cessation of the roar; and easily distinguishable amid all was the curious grunting roll of the mitrailleuse. The Prussian artillery was to the north and south of the village, the mouths of the guns on the latter side being necessarily raised for an

awkward upward fire. The French stood their ground and died, the Prussians moved ever forward and died—both by hundreds, I had almost said thousands; this for an hour or two that seemed ages, so fearful was the slaughter. The hill where I stood commanded chiefly the conflict behind the village and to the south of it. The Prussian reënforcements on their right filed out of the Bois des Ognons; and it was at that point, as they marched on to the field, that one could perhaps get the best idea of the magnitude of the invading army now in the heart of France. There was no break whatever for four hours in the march of the men out of that wood. It seemed almost as if all the killed and wounded had recovered and came again out of the wood. Birnam Wood advancing to Dunsinane was not a more ominous sight to Macbeth than these men of General Göben's army, shielded by the woods till they were fairly within range of their enemies. So the French must have felt, for between four and five o'clock they concentrated a most furious fire upon that point, and shelled the woods perpetually. Their fire here took effect. The line of the Prussian infantry became less continuous from that direction. About five o'clock, however, an infantry brigade emerged from the same point. As soon as they did so they advanced by double-quick time towards the point where their services were needed. I watched this brigade through a strong glass from the first. It resembled some huge serpent gliding out on the field. But, lo! it left a track behind it—a dark track. Beneath the glass that track is resolved into fallen, struggling men.

“As the horrid significance of that path so traced came upon me I gazed yet more intently. Many of those who had fallen leapt up and ran forward, struggling to catch up with their comrades again. I did not see any running backward, though many fell in their effort to rush on. I do not know whether after that another movement was made from behind the wood; but I do know that half an hour afterwards vast numbers of troops began to march over the southern edge of the hill where I was standing towards the battle-field, and I have an

impression that these were General Göben's men moving by a less dangerous route. The conflict on the Prussian left was so fierce that it soon became nearly lost to us by reason of its smoke. Now and then this would open a little, and drift under the wind, and then we could see the French sorely tried, but maintaining themselves steadily. In order to see this part of the conflict better, I went forward as near as I thought safe. It seemed to me that in the vicinity of Malmaison the French were having the best of it. But it must have been only because they were more visible on their broad height, and fought so obstinately—plainly silencing a battery now and then. But from this northern point also there are more forces to come; and from far behind them—away seemingly in the direction of Verneville—huge bombs are coming and bursting with terrible force upon the French ranks. These were the men and these the guns of Prince Friedrich Karl, who was slowly veering southward to make his connection with Steinmetz' army, completing the investment of Metz.

"The battle raged at this point with indescribable fury. The French Generals must have known the significance of these new guns, and known that, if their right retreated, the result must be that incarceration in Metz which now exists. How long they held out here I do not know. I could hear that the puff of their guns was from a gradually receding line; that the mysterious pillars of cloud from the north as steadily approached; but the last fired on that terrible evening were on that side, and the point must have been yielded at about nine o'clock.

"Perhaps I should here say something of the movements of the King, and those with him. The King's face, as he stood gazing upon the battle-field, had something almost plaintive in it. He hardly said a word; but I observed that his attention was divided between the exciting scenes in the distance and the sad scenes nearer his feet—where they were just beginning (what must yet be a long task) to bury the French who fell on the Tuesday before. On these he gazed silently, and, I thought, sadly. Count Bismarck was intent

only on the battle, and could not conceal his excitement and anxiety; if it had not been for the King, I am pretty sure he would have gone nearer; and, as it was, his towering form was always a little ahead of the rest. When the French completely gave up their hold upon the road up to Gravelotte, the horses of the "Grosshauptquartiers" party were hastily called, and mounting them they all—with the King at their head—rode swiftly down to a point not very far from the village. Then shouts and cheers arose, which I could plainly hear at the point they had left, where, not having a horse, I was compelled to remain a little longer.

"A little after four o'clock a strange episode took place. From the distant woods on the left a splendid regiment of cavalry galloped out. They paused a moment at the point where the Conflans road joins that leading to Metz; then they dashed up the road towards Metz. This road between Gravelotte and St. Hubert is cut through the hill, and there are on each side of it, cliffs from forty to sixty feet high, except at the point where it traverses the deep ravine behind the village. When it is remembered that at this time the culminating point to which this road directly ascends was held by the French, it will not be wondered at that only a moiety of that regiment survived. What the survivors accomplished I do not know, nor could I learn the name and number of the regiment. The situation hardly admits yet of our asking many questions. But their plunge into that deep cut in the hill-side, where next day I saw so many of them and their horses lying dead, was of that brave, unhesitating, unfaltering kind, which is so characteristic of German soldiers, among whom cowards, stragglers, and deserters seem to be absolutely unknown, in whatever rank.

"I must record, also, what seemed an inexplicable thing. The army of Steinmetz was fighting very hard, and evidently suffering heavily. It was in the centre of Gravelotte, though occasionally rallying to one side or the other. Though they had large reserves, these had been diminished to an important extent by the engagements of the 14th and 16th. A consid-

erable portion of his army required rest, and two divisions perhaps, certainly one, reorganization. There seemed at one time—about half-past four—some danger that the intensity of the fighting required on the right and left extremes would produce a kind of atrophy along that very central Verdun road for which the armies were struggling. At that time a vast army came from some region utterly mysterious to us who had been following the army for some miles. They came over the very point which had been the Royal headquarters in the morning. Their march was begun at the time I have mentioned, and did not cease at all—not even after dark—so long as the firing was still going on upon the heights. This new army—whose was it?—whence was it? It did not come from the direction of Göben, nor of Steinmetz, nor of Prince Friedrich Karl. Of course it could not be said that it did not belong to either of these, but the cry and rumor went around that these men were from the army of the Crown Prince. I do not know whether to believe this or not, but it is freely said and believed by many officers here that a detachment of the Crown Prince's army was sent up from Toul to help, if help were needed. To whomsoever or wheresoever this Army Corps (for it was about that in extent) belonged, its presence was nearly all that was required. It was laid along the road, out of immediate danger, so that if the French centre had defeated the troops with which it was contending, it must simply have fallen into the hands of a fresh and prepared corps.

“The advance of this new corps must have been felt by them as a final, a fatal blow for that day. Like the spirits in the ‘Inferno,’ their enemies were consumed only to spring up to full stature again. They must have realized how hopelessly they were outnumbered. From that time the struggle at that part became very weak on the French side, and the Prussians got a decided hold farther up the Metz road—that is on the southern side of it. But there seemed to be a redoubled fury on their left. From seven o'clock to eight there was little firing beyond the village, but a great tour of cloud

and fire at each extremity of the battle field. A little before eight a large white house on the heights beyond Gravelotte caught fire. It seemed through the gloom to be a church; its spire was now a mass of flame, and it sent up a vast cloud of black smoke, which contrasted curiously with the white smoke of battle.

"Darkness was now drawing on, and after eight we could trace the direction of troops by the fiery paths of their bombs, or the long tongue of fire darting from each cannon's mouth. The lurid smoke-clouds of burning houses joined with the night to cast a pall over the scene and hide it forever. At half-past eight o'clock one more terrible attack by the French on the Prussian right—and that is over. At a quarter to nine a fearful volley against the extreme Prussian left, a continuous concert of artillery, and the growling whirr of the mitrailleuse above all—and then that is still. The battle of Gravelotte is ended, and the Prussians hold the heights beyond the Bois de Vaux—heights which command the surrounding country up to the limits of the gun-ranges of Metz. As I went back to the village of Gorze to pass the night, I turned at the last point to look upon the battle-field. It was now a long, earth-bound cloud, with two vast fires—burning houses—at each end of it. The day had been beautiful, and now the stars looked down with splendor, except where the work of agony and death had clouded the glow of heaven."

The night after the battle the King announced his victory to Queen Augusta in the following bulletin :

The French army attacked to-day in a very strong position west of Metz, under my leadership, in nine hours' battle completely beaten, cut off from its communications with Paris, and thrown back on Metz.

On the 19th, he wrote :

That was a new day of victory yesterday, the consequences of which are not yet to be estimated. Early yesterday the Twelfth Guards and Ninth Corps proceeded toward the northern road from Metz to Verdun as far as St. Marcel and Doncourt, followed by the Third and Tenth Corps; while the Seventh and Eighth, and finally the Second, remained opposite Metz. As the former swerved to the right, in thickly-wooded ground, toward Verneville and St. Privat, the latter began the attack

upon Gravelotte, not heavily, in order to wait until the long flank-march upon the strong position, Amanvillers-Chatel, should be accomplished as far as the Metz highway. This column did not get into action until 4 o'clock with the Pivot Corps; the Ninth at 12 o'clock. The enemy put forth stout resistance in the woods, so that ground was gained only slowly. St. Privat was taken by the Guards, Verneville by the Ninth Corps; the Twelfth Corps and artillery of the Third then went into action. Gravelotte and the woods on both sides were taken and held by troops of the Seventh and Eighth Corps, and with great losses. In order to attack again the enemy, who had been driven back by the flank-attack, an advance beyond Gravelotte was undertaken at dusk, which came upon such a terrible fire from behind rifle-pits *en étagé*, and artillery-fire, that the Second Corps, which just then came up, was forced to attack the enemy with the bayonet, and completely took and held the strong position. It was 8.30 o'clock before the firing gradually silenced itself in all quarters. By this last advance the historical shells of Königratz were not wanting near me, from which, *this* time, Minister Von Roon removed me. All troops that I saw greeted me with enthusiastic hurrahs. They did wonders of bravery against an equally brave enemy, who defended every step, and often attempted offensive attacks, which were each time repulsed. What the fate of the enemy will now be, pushed into the intrenched, very strong position of the fortress of Metz, is still impossible to determine. I dread to ask about the losses, and to give names; for only too many acquaintances will be named, and often incorrectly. Your regiment (the Queen's) is said to have fought brilliantly. Waldersee is wounded severely, but not fatally, as I am told. I expected to bivouac here, but found, after some hours, a room where I rested on the royal ambulance which I had brought with me; and since I have not a particle of my baggage from Pont-à-Mousson, I have not been undressed for thirty hours. I thank God that he vouchsafed us the victory.

WILHELM.

On the night of the 18th, Bazaine withdrew his shattered forces towards Metz, from which Von Moltke was resolved he should never pass save as a prisoner of war. He was badly beaten, and although Count De Palikao, the new French Premier, insisted in the Chambers that he had gained a decided advantage over the Germans, Bazaine lost no time in informing the Paris Government that his retreat was definitely cut off. On the 20th he reported that the enemy showed signs of "an intention to invest him." He was not mistaken. Having once driven the Marshal back under the guns of Metz, Von Moltke lost no time in encircling the French posi-

tion with a system of strong works which effectually shut in both Metz and the army from communication with the outside world. By the 22d, Metz was fully invested, and on that day began the memorable siege which we shall be called upon to relate elsewhere in these pages.

The battle of Gravelotte was a great victory for Germany; but it was dearly won. The flower of the German army fell that day, and the Prussian Government shrank from publishing the returns. The Prussian nobility was thinned out as remorselessly as the commons. Both classes paid the heavy price of success. But the victory, though dearly won, was decisive. The first part of the German programme was assured. The best French army was beaten with terrible loss and shut up in Metz, and there was nothing to bar the road to Paris but the new levies assembling at Chalons, under MacMahon.



Gen. Von Steinmetz.

CHAPTER VI.

CONTINUATION OF MACMAHON'S RETREAT—ARRIVAL OF THE MARSHAL AT NANCY—SCENE AT THE CAFE—THE CROWN PRINCE OF PRUSSIA PURSUES THE FRENCH—HALTS TO AWAIT THE RESULT AT METZ—SCENES IN THE CONQUERED PROVINCES—THE GERMAN PLAN FOR AN ADVANCE UPON PARIS—FORMATION OF THE FOURTH ARMY—THE KING AND VON MOLTKE JOIN THE THIRD ARMY—THE MARCH RESUMED—MACMAHON AT CHALONS—HE ORGANIZES A FRESH ARMY—COMPOSITION AND MORALE OF THE NEW ARMY—THE EMPEROR REACHES CHALONS—HIS INABILITY TO RETURN TO PARIS—SECRET DISPATCH FROM THE EMPRESS—POLITICAL EMBARRASMENTS—INTERFERENCE OF THE MINISTERS—MACMAHON'S PROTEST AGAINST THE EFFORT TO RESCUE BAZAINE—THE FRENCH ARMY MOVES TO RHEIMS—ORDERS FROM PARIS—MACMAHON STARTS FOR METZ—THE NEWS AT THE GERMAN HEADQUARTERS—VON MOLTKE'S GAME—THE FORCED MARCH OF THE THIRD AND FOURTH ARMIES—MACMAHON ATTEMPTS TO RETREAT, BUT IS STOPPED BY ORDERS FROM PARIS—THE BATTLE OF BEAUMONT—THE HOSTILE ARMIES ON THE MEUSE—EVENTS OF THE 31ST OF AUGUST—BATTLE OF SEDAN—GENERAL DE WIMPFEN SUCCEEDS TO THE COMMAND OF THE FRENCH ARMY—THE FRENCH DEFEATED—SEDAN INVESTED—THE FLAG OF TRUCE—LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR TO THE KING—THE KING'S REPLY—THE SURRENDER—SCENES IN SEDAN—KING WILLIAM'S LETTER TO THE QUEEN OF PRUSSIA—CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE EMPEROR AND GENERAL DE WIMPFEN—STATEMENT OF THE EMPEROR'S AIDES—EFFECT OF THE SURRENDER UPON THE FRENCH TROOPS—DEMORALIZATION OF THE BEATEN ARMY—MEETING OF VON MOLTKE AND DE WIMPFEN TO ARRANGE THE CAPITULATION—TERMS OF THE SURRENDER—VON MOLTKE'S ORDER—VISIT OF THE EMPEROR TO COUNT BISMARCK—THE INTERVIEW NEAR DONCHERY—THE EMPEROR ESCORTED TO BELLVUE CASTLE—KING WILLIAM'S SPEECH ON THE BATTLE FIELD—VISIT OF THE KING TO THE EMPEROR—THE MEETING OF THE SOVEREIGNS—GENEROSITY OF KING WILLIAM—THE EMPEROR'S JOURNEY TO WILHELMSHOHE—THE CAPITULATION CARRIED OUT—DE WIMPFEN'S FAREWELL ADDRESS TO HIS TROOPS—STATEMENT OF THE OFFICERS, TROOPS, AND MATERIAL OF WAR SURRENDERED AT SEDAN.

WE must now go back to the movements of the Crown Prince and Marshal MacMahon.

Immediately after the reverse at Woerth, MacMahon, as we have seen, retreated upon Saverne, from which place he continued to retire towards Nancy. On the 7th of August, he hastened in person to Nancy in search of provisions for his men. A correspondent who saw him at the time, thus speaks of him :

"On Sunday, August 7th, a special train came into Nancy with some of the wounded. Marshal MacMahon accompanied them. He came precipitately to Nancy in search of subsistence for his troops, the enemy having taken all his provisions. His troops had eaten nothing for twenty-eight hours. The Marshal went on foot from the railway station to the Café Boillot, a well-known rendezvous of the officers of the garrison. He was in such a state as to be hardly recognized. He was covered with mud from head to foot, his hands were black, one of his epaulettes had been carried away by a bullet, the skirts of his uniform were full of bullet-holes, his telescope was broken asunder by a ball, which at the same time slightly wounded him in the hand. He had not had time to take off his Hessian boots and long spurs. Everybody in the café, as soon as he was known, respectfully saluted him. He hastily called for some cold meat, for he had not tasted food for twenty-eight hours. He wrote a letter while he was eating and was very soon joined by an officer, who is believed to be General De Failly. They went into a private room and had a short consultation, after which the Marshal went back by rail with the provisions he had bought for his soldiers. An inhabitant of Nancy, personally acquainted with the Marshal, asked him news of the Cuirassiers. His answer was, 'The Cuirassiers! why, there are none of them left.'"

He then went back to the army, directing its retreat with skill and prudence. His personal exertions during these sad days were enormous, and it may be truly said that to him alone belongs the credit of bringing any part of his command through the retreat in good order. His advanced forces reached Chalons on the 12th of August, and his main body arrived during the next day.

The Crown Prince followed close behind, making no effort to cut MacMahon off from Chalons, as the movements about Metz was still undecided. Detaching the Baden and Würtemberg divisions to lay siege to Strasbourg, and the 2d Bavarian division to invest Marsal, a fortified place on the main road between Sarrebourg and Metz, which latter place

capitulated after a short resistance, he followed the general line of MacMahon's retreat towards Saverne. The little fort of Petite Pierre was taken without loss, by a detachment from his army, and Phalsbourg, a small fortress which guards the direct road through the Vosges, from Saverne to Nancy by way of Luneville, was invested. Bitsche was also invested.

The Cavalry of the Crown Prince entered Nancy on the 12th, and on the 14th cut the railway between Frouard junction and Metz. On the same day Toul was summoned to surrender, and the demand being refused, the fortress was invested. On the 15th the advance of the 3d army was at Commercy, and on the 17th between Bar-le-Duc and Vitry. The headquarters of the army, advancing in the rear of the troops, were at Luneville on the 18th, at Nancy on the 19th, Vaucouleurs on the 21st, and at Ligny on the 24th. Here the march was suspended for a day to await the arrival of the King, who was coming from Metz.

The advance of the conquering army into France is thus described by a writer who accompanied the headquarters of the Crown Prince:

"One must needs pity these conquered provinces. They do not suffer any of what are technically called the horrors of war. Young girls stand at the cottage doors in the villages, or at the street corners in the towns, to see the soldiers pass, and are not injured by them. Shops are open in the towns and are not plundered; peaceable citizens go about their business without fear for life or limb. It is essentially a civilized war in these respects. But fruit and vegetables are taken along the wayside, horses are pressed into the service, soldiers are quartered on the people, and large supplies of food are demanded from the local authorities. . . . The luckless village that lies near the road is eaten up by thousands of unwelcome guests, and the more remote village escapes with a trifling loss. However, there is hope for the world, and progress in even the laws of war. This is a bitter time for the conquered French, and many farmers, horse dealers, and wayside cottagers suffer grievous loss. . . .

"The ancient city of Nancy is sad and gloomy; that is to say, the people of the city are sad. I cannot extend such a description to the mere outward effect of the streets. True, the shutters are closed in many of the shops, the hotels are almost empty, and the cafés in some quarters deserted. Things do not sound cheerful; yet there is plenty of noise and bustle. Soldiers are here, there, and everywhere. Military convoys rumble through the streets, and orderlies with messages go clattering in and out of the gates. There is no lack of movement among the troops. One detachment is succeeded by another with the regularity of clockwork. The railway is to be used as far as practicable to lighten the traffic on the roads, and everything is to be pushed forward as though time were counted by hours and not by days. Well may the citizens stand with folded arms and stare gloomily at the passing regiments. Loud sound the drums and trumpets, heavy and steady is the tramp of the soldiers' feet. You look at them with wonder as part of an inexhaustible conjuring trick. Still more and more of them coming westward. 'Alas!' cry the conquered people of Lorraine, 'it is not an army, but a nation which comes.' Alas, indeed, for the wayside cottages, which will be burdened with constant billeting; alas for the artisans in the towns, who earn so little in these troubled times, and must entertain military lodgers all the same! I know that the French are to blame for the war, but I cannot help being sorry for the individuals who suffer so much loss and discomfort. They say that as mere lodgers apart from the question of feeding them, the German troops behave quietly enough. They behave better to the French than the Turcos and Zouaves would have behaved to them in their German towns. No doubt they do. But what a long way off that other side of the picture seems, now that Germany has struck her blow!

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"The roads are crowded with trains of ammunition wagons, with stores of provisions, and with masses of infantry. Woe to the luckless wayside villages; woe to the farmers who

have crops in wayside fields. There is no danger to life or limb among the peaceable inhabitants, but there is danger of being fairly eaten out of house and home. There is an unavoidable trampling down of crops in the fields where the soldiers pass, and there is such a demand for means of transport as leaves little chance to the farmer of keeping his horses for himself. He gets a receipt* of some sort in most cases. But no amount of paper security will comfort the average French farmer in the present crisis. . . .

"There is a straight and rapid march westward of the 3d army. . . . Three or four columns are marching abreast on some of the roads. Two go by the road itself, and in some cases two more move through the fields to right and left, or at least one other column makes a way which is a little out of order serve the purpose of the moment. Great are the 'blocks' and crushes, tremendous the swearing at critical corners. But, on the whole, it is remarkable how

* "One point which we took the greatest pains to clear up was the oft-asserted and contradicted integrity of the Prussians, in paying for all they took by means of bonds. These, which might more properly be called receipts, were invariably given for every franc's worth exacted; but our suspicions were first aroused by finding that their recipients looked upon them as so much waste paper, and considered themselves robbed. Hence the continual phrase, '*Ils nous ont pillé partout.*' On this doubt, then, the whole question hinged; and in order to remove it we were persevering in addressing our inquiries to every grade of authority, high and low. It would not perhaps be quite fair to mention their names, but in many cases their status was such as to preclude the impossibility of inaccurate information. Our questions usually took the following form: Q. 'As for these bonds, do you look upon them as redeemable in Berlin after the war?' A. (with a laugh). 'Certainly not. Our own national pecuniary losses will be heavy enough as it is, without our burdening ourselves with our enemies' debts.' Q. 'But you will probably obtain an indemnity from the French at the end of the war. Will not this be calculated on a score which may enable you to redeem these bonds?' A. 'Ah, no! We shall want all the money we can get to pay our own bill.' Q. 'Well, then, you will at least make it one of the conditions of peace that the French Government shall take up and honor them?' A. 'I think you misunderstand the whole matter. When these bonds are once signed and delivered, we entirely wash our hands of them; we ignore them completely, and recognize no claim founded on them.' Q. 'Then what is the good of issuing them?' A. (with a shrug). 'Well, it is

well these columns are directed; how carefully they choose their routes through the invaded provinces. Wheels are rumbling and whips are cracking along many a road. The columns are halted to rest in some places, and there may be seen the bright bivouac fire twinkling in the fields, or long lines of horses standing silently at supper. Though many columns are halted, others are moving on. The road is still alive with military preparation. Do not fancy the pomp and circumstance of war as attending the march of the columns of supply. It is a pretty sight to see the Lancers or Dragoons who lead the invasion trotting over hill and dale, with every nerve strained to detect a possible foe. There is an impressive force about the advance of the dusty and tired infantry—the murmur of many voices, and tramp of many feet passing forward like a storm sighing in the woods. Even the weight and slowness of the guns has its own peculiar dignity. They are deadly weapons in charge of determined fighting men. But the innumerable columns of supply, the baggage and ammuni-

more orderly. Besides, when peace is concluded, the French will perhaps make some national effort to relieve the poverty of the North, by calling for the assistance of those departments which have not suffered. In such a case our bonds will enable the maires, sous-préfets, and préfets to distribute their funds equitably.' . . . We think it is indisputable that these French peasants are as completely stripped of their possessions as were the Hamburgers under the rule of Davoust, only, in the present instance, the process is carried on in a more civil way. The medium of communication is the maire. On him the Prussian commandant issues the requisitions for forage, provisions, billets, carts, horses, rations, etc.; and the former distributes the burden as evenly as possible. All that comes under the head of luxuries is supposed to be paid for, though even in this respect the rule does not seem to be very clear. For instance, we noticed at Conflans that, instead of the everlasting big, hanging pipe, every soldier was puffing away at a cigar. On inquiry the Prussian officers told us that they had that day 'obtained' (?) an unexpected supply from the neighborhood of six thousand cigars; which, distributed among two hundred and fifty, gave twenty-four cigars per man. There is also apparently great laxity in conniving at the private soldiers helping themselves, providing there is no theft of money. They laughingly told us that their men were very sharp in discovering the hidden treasures of best wine."—*From Sedan to Saarbruck*. By an Officer of the Royal Artillery. Pp. 176–180

tion, the food and provender, are very prosaic, though very necessary. There are miles of hay wagons—a good omen for cavalry horses. Farther on are other miles of bread wagons, of bacon and beef wagons. Horned cattle are led along by the score to become beef in due time; clothes and equipments, medicines, and blankets, are brought rumbling on into France. If the people were astonished at the earlier stages of the journey, they are now simply bewildered beyond all power of recovery. An avalanche has fallen upon them.

“One cannot see it for one’s self, but the sight of the advancing host, as a wayside village sees it, from first to last, must be something to remember. The people will tell in a dreamy way how they heard that the Prussians were coming. There was news of them four, five, six days ago, as the case may be. Yes, *ma foi*, they heard that they were coming, but did not believe it. Then there was a party of Lancers seen upon the road. The people wondered what would happen. Monsieur le Curé told them that in modern wars they did not kill those who remained quiet, so their confidence was enough to keep them at home. The village shop was shut, and everybody closed his door and peeped from the window. Now the Lancers rode into the street, and a few came forward to the principal house—the Hotel de Ville—if the place ranked as a ‘bourg,’ or small town. The soldiers asked for food and drink, said they would do no harm if they were not molested, and presently got off their horses. With details very slightly varying, I have heard of this first entry in several places, and have heard how infantry soon began to come: one regiment—two, three, a dozen regiments. The bread was eaten, the wine was drunk, and the people were well nigh ruined by feeding their guests. Were they bad fellows in their way? A delicate question this, and one to which a stranger can expect but a guarded answer. What sort of fellows were they, these invading soldiers? ‘O, not very bad, if only they had not such dreadful appetites, and if they could make themselves understood.’ It is hard to be shaken

and growled at in *La Belle France* itself for not speaking the language of the German Fatherland. It is harder still to have a slip of paper, negotiable heaven knows when, instead of a good cart-horse, or fat bullock. But the conquered people suffered far more in olden times. I feel sure that the French will be very angry and apt to magnify their ill-fortune, great as it is, and I think that the best thing which can be done is to state frankly the sort of injury endured by the peasants, the taking of cattle, and eating up of bread, whilst stating as frankly that I have heard no complaint of personal violence, and that the women do not seem at all afraid of the rough, loud-voiced fellows who swarm around them. The columns pour steadily on. We wonder what is being done for defence on the other side, and cannot but admire the little piece of defensive work which the garrison of Toul is doing close to us. Like Phalsbourg, the city of Toul is a point of gallant resistance, but not in any way a rallying point for the surrounding people. The fortress is held, and the enemy passes on without troubling himself to take it. Both at Phalsbourg and at Toul there has been an experimental attack, which has given the garrison an opportunity of distinction. I should add that the French authorities seem disposed to avoid unnecessary destruction of property by merely blowing up and knocking down to hinder the Germans. There are no traces of an attempt at *la petite guerre*, as far as I have yet seen. The French simply retreat clear out of reach when they do not mean to fight in earnest, and leave the open towns and villages to be quietly occupied by the advancing foe.

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“There is such bustle in the streets of Vaucouleurs that the younger portion of the inhabitants are very well amused, in spite of their misgivings about the public safety. Boys and girls who are old enough to run about alone get into snug corners to feast their eyes on the horses and the uniforms. Especially do they like to gather near the quarters of the Prince, and observe from a little distance the Royal standard waving over the entrance, and the two soldiers in spiked

helmets pacing up and down. It is no idle task that mounting guard at the Prince's door, for the number of officers who pass makes the duty one of constant saluting. The Germans neglect nothing on account of the war, but are established here as tranquilly as they might be at Berlin or Munich. I own that the crowd in proportion to the space would be appalling for a city in time of peace. But there is such order and regularity in the whole system, and the different functionaries settle so promptly into their new quarters, that they seem to have been here two months rather than two days."

While a single chance remained to Bazaine at Metz, it was necessary that the Crown Prince should suspend his advance upon Chalons in order to be in readiness to march to the assistance of the other German forces in case of need. As we have seen, affairs on the Moselle were most favorable for the Germans, and by the 22d of August, Marshal Bazaine and his army were shut up within the lines of Metz, and their position surrounded by the lines of the German armies. The German leaders were well aware that this force would give them no further trouble in the field, as a portion of their immense army would enable them to hold it at Metz until its necessities compelled its surrender. They could thus use a large portion of their forces for active operations elsewhere.

General Von Moltke quickly decided on his plan of operations. The only organized forces of the French remaining to oppose him were the garrison of Paris and the army assembling under MacMahon at Chalons; and he determined to advance upon the Marshal and force him to give battle or retreat still farther into the interior of France. A 4th army, consisting of the Guards, the Fourth and the Twelfth Corps, was at once organized, and placed under the command of the Crown Prince of Saxony. This left seven corps, viz:—First, Second, Third, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth—to hold Bazaine at Metz, and conduct the siege. The 4th army was ordered to move by way of Verdun and Menehould to Chalons, and at the same time, the Crown Prince was directed to resume his march towards the same place. It was

confidently expected that MacMahon, having no adequate force to resist this concentration of over two hundred thousand men, would retire upon Paris, to which the German commander was resolved to follow him with all speed. The 4th army began its march on the 22d of August—80,000 strong. The next day the King left the army of Prince Frederick Charles, for Ligny, the headquarters of the Crown Prince, where he arrived on the afternoon of the 24th, accompanied by General Von Moltke and Count Von Bismarck. The next day the royal headquarters were at Bar-le-Duc, where the German commanders received tidings which caused an entire change in their plans.

Immediately upon his arrival at Chalons, Marshal MacMahon devoted himself to the task of getting his army in readiness for resistance to the enemy, whom he knew to be following him. He brought with him the remnants of his own corps, amounting to about 16,000 men, De Failly's corps, 20,000, and Felix Douay's corps, 15,000. To these he was able to add 15,000 troops which had been collected by Canrobert at Chalons, and a new corps, the 12th, which had been collected by General Trochu, 30,000—making in all a force of over 100,000 men, including the artillery and 450 guns. Later still, he was reinforced with about 35,000 of the Garde Mobile, who had just been called out, and who were totally untrained. His army, though respectable in numbers, was sadly lacking in discipline. It was composed, to a very large extent, of troops who were just recovering from the demoralizing effects of a disastrous defeat and retreat. The flower of the whole army—the remnant of MacMahon's First Corps—veterans who had fought in Africa—we are told by their chief, were "discouraged and mutinous," and the Marshal seriously feared the effects of their bad example upon the other troops. De Failly's corps had lost its baggage on the retreat without having been once under fire—Douay's Seventh Corps, "did not show as much solidity as might have been desired." The Twelfth, was a new corps, and was composed of three divisions—the first formed of new regiments, the

second made up of "marching regiments," out of "fourth battalions," and the third of marines. It was to this army, thus constituted, that France looked for the recovery of her lost prestige.

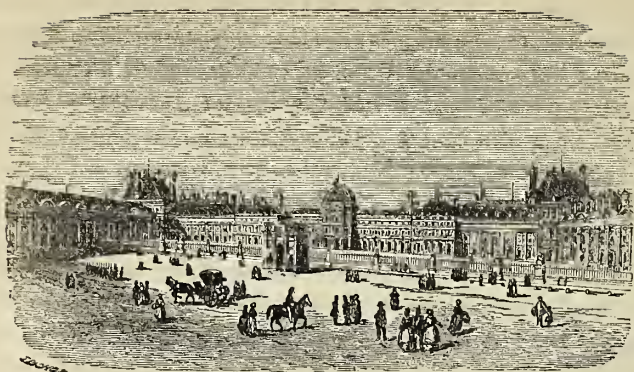
The Emperor, as we have seen, repaired to Chalons from Metz, to lend his efforts to the exertions that were being made by MacMahon. It had been his intention, upon resigning his command, to return to Paris and resume his duties as the chief of the State; but he had been advised by his Ministers to remain with the army, at least until Bazaine was relieved from his unfortunate situation at Metz. On the 10th of August, as soon as his decision was known to the Council of the Regency, he is said to have received the following dispatch from the Empress:

M. Pietri's dispatch has been received. Have you considered the consequences of a return to Paris under the blow of two reverses? I decline the responsibility of advising you. If you have decided, would it not be best to have it stated to the country thus: The Emperor returns to Paris to reorganize the 2d army, provisionally intrusting the command-in chief of the army of the Rhine to Bazaine.

The Emperor, however, differed from his Ministers in his estimate of the state of affairs, having a much clearer and more intelligent conception of the real nature of the situation than any of the latter seemed capable of. Immediately upon his arrival at Chalons a council of war was held, at which it was resolved that General Trochu should be given the command of the army of Paris, that MacMahon should retire with the troops under him from Chalons to Paris, and that the Emperor should return to the Capital. The council of Ministers at Paris, which did nothing during its existence but bring disaster upon France by its ignorant and cowardly interference with the army in the field, offered the most decided objection to this plan. Paris, they said, was thoroughly prepared for defence, and able to take care of itself, and MacMahon's army ought to march at once to the relief of Bazaine. The Emperor, they added, must not think of returning to Paris. His course would be misunderstood by the country.

No opposition was offered to the appointment of General Trochu, and on the 17th of August he was appointed by the Emperor "Governor of Paris and Commander-in-Chief of all the forces charged to provide for the defence of the Capital." In the meantime, however, the near approach of the 3d German army rendered MacMahon's position more insecure every day, and it was necessary to do something at once.

Marshal MacMahon was prompt to remonstrate against the plan of the Ministers. He declared that the movement upon Metz would be a measure of the "greatest imprudence," and pointed out the danger of making such a very perilous flank march with an army so thoroughly unorganized and undisciplined as his own, in the face of an enemy superior to him both in numbers and preparation. He therefore notified the Ministers that he was about to take position with his army at Rheims, from which place he could move either to Sedan or to Paris. He said, "It is only under the walls of the Capital that my army, when rested and reconstituted, will be able to offer the enemy any serious resistance." In accordance with this resolution, he abandoned the entrenched camp at Chalons, setting fire to it as he left it, and marched to Rheims, behind which he took position on the 21st of August. Had he been left to his own guidance, he would at least have averted many of the disasters which the overruling of his plans brought upon his country. But it was not to be. The council of old women at Paris, with which it had pleased heaven to curse France, was wiser in its own conceit in military matters than the hero of the Malakoff and Magenta. "The language of reason," says the Emperor Napoleon, "was not understood in Paris; it was wished, at all hazards, to give public opinion the empty hope that Marshal Bazaine could still be succored, and the Duke of Magenta received from the council of Ministers, to which had been joined the Privy Council and the Presidents of the two Chambers, a most pressing injunction to march to Metz." The die was cast. There was nothing but obedience left to the Marshal. Accordingly he broke up his camp at Rheims on the 23rd of August, and marched for



Place du Carrousel : Paris.

Bethenville, on the Suippe, the Emperor accompanying the army. Upon leaving Rheims the troops became utterly unmanageable, and plundered the provision and other trains of the army in the most open manner. It was impossible, under the circumstances, to punish the disorder as it deserved; but it must have been a terrible sight to a commander whose judgment condemned the whole movement. The result was soon seen. The army had scarcely left Rheims, when a lack of supplies compelled the Marshal to return to the railroad in order to procure them. He reached Rethel on the 24th, and halted there to obtain food.

This was the news that reached the headquarters of King William, at Bar-le-Duc, on the 25th of August—that Mac Mahon, whom the King expected to find at Chalons, had abandoned his camp there, and had moved first to Rheims, from which place he was marching rapidly to the northward, evidently for the purpose of relieving Bazaine. The German commanders were astounded, as well they might have been, and they could scarcely believe that a general whose genius they so readily acknowledged was really engaged in such a foolhardy enterprise. But their reports were positive, and were supported by evidence too clear to be doubted. Once convinced of the fact of MacMahon's movement, Von Moltke

saw his opportunity, and with the decision of genius resolved to profit by it. The Crown Prince of Saxony was moving towards Chalons by Verdun, and orders were at once dispatched to him to throw his army across MacMahon's pathway and hold him in the Argonne; while the Crown Prince of Prussia was ordered to hasten to the northward by forced marches, by way of Clermont-en-Argonne and Grand Pré, and sweep round upon MacMahon's right flank, and drive him back upon the Belgian frontier. The morning of the 26th saw both of these armies in motion, and hurrying toward their destinations.

In the meantime MacMahon had continued his northward movement—but very slowly. Everything depended on his speed, upon his outstripping the Germans in the celerity of his movements. The distance from Rheims to Sedan and Beaumont is fifty miles. With an efficient and disciplined army, the Marshal would have been at the two latter places by the 26th at the latest—before the arrival of the German armies—but with the disorganized, half mutinous, and half starved force under his command, he did not reach Sedan and Beaumont until the 30th, having spent seven days in the march from Rheims. By that time the Crown Prince of Saxony had reached the Meuse and was looking for him, and “Fritz,” with the 3d German army, was hurrying forward, having already passed Grand Pré. MacMahon heard of their approach on the 27th, on which day he reached Le Chêne Populeux. At a glance he saw his danger, and determined to save his army by a prompt and speedy retreat. Orders were given for the movement, and every precaution was taken to secure its success. All to no purpose, however; for after midnight there came a dispatch from Paris, peremptorily ordering MacMahon to push forward to Metz and succor Bazaine. The Emperor was present when these orders were received, and he should have countermanded them at every hazard, and have left the Marshal free to act in accordance with his own convictions; but he says, “he was resolved not to oppose the decision of the Regency, and had resigned him-

self to submit to the consequences of the fatality which attached itself to all the resolutions of the Government." There was no help for it. MacMahon yielded to the command of the old women at Paris, and gave orders to abandon the retrograde movement. The army was then directed towards Stenay, at which point the Marshal intended to cross the Meuse, in his march to Montmedy, but a reconnoissance disclosed the fact that Stenay was already in the hands of the Germans. The Marshal then established his headquarters at Raucourt, intending to pass the Meuse at Mouzon, and on the morning of the 30th of August the left wing crossed the river at that place, but the right was still at Beaumont.

Meanwhile the Germans had been marching hard to come up with the French before they passed the Meuse. The 4th German army had already reached and attacked Verdun when the news of MacMahon's movement was brought to the King's headquarters. The attack was made on the 26th, and, being unsuccessful, the Saxon Crown Prince left a force before Verdun to besiege it, and continued his movement towards Chalons. The Twelfth Corps had already passed the Meuse when the orders to intercept MacMahon were received. General Von Moltke detached the two Bavarian Corps from the Crown Prince's army, and sent them to reënforce the 4th army, by the way of Varennes. These, with the Twelfth Corps of the 4th army, marched up the left or western bank of the Meuse, while the Guards and the Fourth Corps, comprising the rest of the 4th army, moved along the right bank in communication with the others. The remaining corps of the 3d army, which had occupied Rheims, Chalons, and Vitry by the 27th, were ordered to converge in the general direction of Sedan. These movements were executed with vigor and promptness. The cavalry were as usual well thrown out, and on the 27th, the Third Saxon Cavalry, belonging to the 4th army, struck a sharp blow at the cavalry of De Failly's corps near Buzancy, defeating them. On the 30th the 4th army, moving on both banks of the river, reached the vicinity of Beaumont and the point immediately opposite



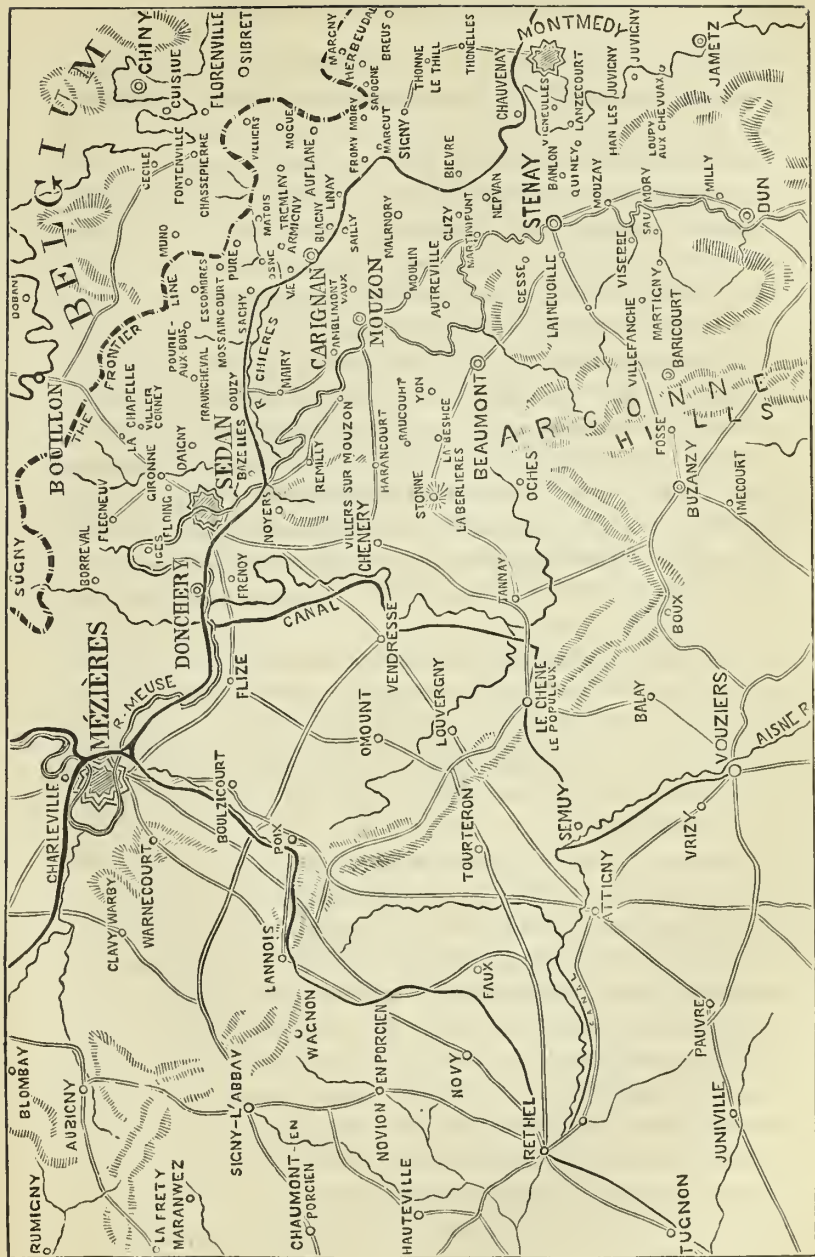
The Attack on the Village of Mouzon by the Prussians, on the day before the
battle of Sedan.

that place on the east bank of the Meuse, while the Fifth and Eleventh Corps of the 3rd army were at Stonne, seven miles west of Beaumont.

On the morning of the 30th the march was continued. The Saxons and Bavarians of the 4th army, advancing through a wooded country from Beaumont, were informed by their cavalry scouts that a strong French force was lying just beyond the town. This was De Failly's corps, constituting the right wing of the French army, which was waiting to cross the Meuse that day at Mouzon. De Failly, with criminal carelessness, had entirely neglected to throw out pickets or to watch the Germans with his cavalry, although he must have been aware of the near approach of the enemy. "Owing to the fine weather," says the Count de la Chappelle, "the general had given orders to clean the chassepots, and to attend to many of the details neglected during the *marche forcée* they had effected from Rheims."* In plain English, the French camp lay entirely exposed to, and its general was in utter ignorance of the advance of the Germans.

The Saxon Crown Prince was prompt to profit by De Failly's blunder. Skilfully concealing his movements under the cover of the woods, he hurled the Fourth Corps, supported by the First Bavarian Corps on its left and the Twelfth Corps on the right, upon the French camp, taking it completely by surprise. "With a dashing raid," says the writer just quoted, "executed simultaneously, they precipitated themselves in masses on the French soldiers, who were completely disarmed. A full brigade was made prisoners before having time to seize their chassepots. Only one battery of the strong artillery of De Failly's had time to take position. The fight was, however, well sustained by the troops who had the chance to handle their weapons. The engagement lasted several hours, amidst a horrible carnage, and at last the French were driven back across the Meuse at Mouzon." Having carried Beaumont so brilliantly, the 4th army

* *The War of 1870.* By Count de la Chappelle. Pp. 88, 89



MAP OF THE COUNTRY AROUND SEDAN, SHOWING THE BATTLE-FIELDS, ETC.

pushed on to occupy the hills which enclose Mouzon, where De Failly's Corps passed the river; and from these heights, as the retreating French went over the stream at dusk, the Germans rained a storm of shells upon the crowded bridges.

The disaster suffered by De Failly made it necessary for MacMahon to put forth a decided effort to hold Mouzon against the attacks of the Guards and Fourth Corps of the 4th army, operating on the east bank of the Meuse. He succeeded in maintaining his position there until De Failly was safely over the river, and then the entire French force withdrew towards Sedan, by the bridge over the Chiers at Douzy, and occupied the strong heights above Bazeilles, covering the approach to Sedan. The loss of the French army on this memorable day footed up thirty guns, 5000 prisoners, and a considerable number killed and wounded. The loss of the Germans was comparatively small. The next day King William sent the following bulletin to the Queen of Prussia:

We had yesterday a victorious action by the Fourth, Twelfth (Saxon), and First Bavarian Corps. MacMahon beaten and pushed back from Beaumont over the Meuse to Mouzon. Twelve guns, some thousands of prisoners, and a great deal of material, in our hands. Losses moderate. I return immediately to the battle-field in order to follow up the fruits of the victory. May God graciously help us further, as thus far.

WILHELM.

The French army now faced about, and took position to cover Sedan. The morning of the 31st saw the entire army of MacMahon over the Meuse, and the Marshal passed the day in establishing his new line and preparing for the great defensive battle, which he saw was inevitable. He had with him a little over 100,000 men. The centre of the French position was the fortress of Sedan, their flanks extending from Floing on the right to Givonne on the left. The position was very strong, and was strengthened by MacMahon with every means at his command. In front of his line lay the Chiers river, and the villages of Balan and Bazeilles, which greatly added to its strength. In front of the French, on the other side of the Chiers, was the 4th army, under the Saxon Crown Prince

and on his right flank, and separated from him by the Meuse, was the 3d army under the Crown Prince of Prussia, in all about 240,000 men, with artillery in proportion.

The Germans spent the greater part of the 31st in getting their armies well into position. During the day the First Bavarian Corps made a sharp attack upon the town of Bazeilles, and were repulsed with severe loss. The rest of the day was spent by the Germans in making such dispositions as would enable them to enclose MacMahon's forces within their advancing lines, and shut them up in Sedan. The position of each part of the German army is thus stated in the official report of General Von Roon, the Minister of War.

"Our line of battle was formed in this wise: On our right we had the army of the Crown Prince of Saxony. His van consisted of the Twelfth Corps d'Armée, next came the Fourth and the Guards, the rear being brought up by the Fourth Division of cavalry, with their back to Remilly. Those troops of the Crown Prince of Saxony still on the left bank of the Meuse, crossed at Douzy. To the left of this army was stationed the First Bavarian Corps, and behind this the Second. The Bavarians threw their bridge opposite the village of Bazeilles. The Eleventh Prussian Corps had placed its pontoons during the night about one thousand paces below Donchery. A little to the left crossed the Fifth Corps on another bridge, and still further in the same direction, near the village of Dom-le-Mesnil, the Würtembergers. The Sixth Corps, as a reserve, was stationed between Attigny and Le Chêne."

It was originally intended by the King to put off the decisive blow until the 2d of September, in order to give a day's rest to the troops who were somewhat fatigued from their long and rapid marches, but at a council of war held at Crown Prince "Fritz's" headquarters about sunset on the 31st of August, it was resolved to make the attack at once lest MacMahon should attempt to escape by way of Mézières; and orders were sent to the Crown Prince of Saxony to advance at one o'clock the next morning, and open fire at five o'clock.

At four o'clock on the morning of the 1st of September,

the Crown Prince of Prussia left his headquarters at Chenery, and proceeded to a hill near Donchery, not far from a small mansion called Château Donchery, from which point the whole array of the German army could be surveyed, and the progress of the battle watched in every direction. About eight o'clock King William took his stand on the heights in the rear of the Bavarian position. A light fog overhung the country as the day opened, and the Prussians took advantage of this to get their troops destined to act against the French right into a better position. About half past seven, the sun broke through the mist, and the day became bright and clear, but hot and sultry.

The scene from the position of the Crown Prince of Prussia is thus described by an eye witness.*

"The whole country as far as the frontier lies spread out like a map before us, Donchery is as clearly to be seen as though a biscuit could be tossed down into it; and when the mist rises still farther, the course of the Meuse may be traced by stunted willows in the great bend northward which it makes hereabouts. There is no better way of realizing the features of the locality than by taking a horseshoe, producing one end straight to your left, and the other end somewhat backward to your right. On the part straight to your left is Donchery, with its line of hills across the back of the shoe. On the part prolonged to your right is Bazeilles, with a railway bridge in excellent condition. Sedan lies on the river to the right hand, where the first nail would be, and the off-side of the horseshoe bend. Cazal and Floing are farther along on the right side, and St. Menges is about at the front of the shoe. The villages of Dasigy and Givonne lie back to the right, or behind the town, where the country is hilly and wooded. The great plain is to the left of the bend, and as the Prussian troops arrive on that side they move quickly forward across the plain to turn round the end of the horseshoe and come back down its right side. The Belgian frontier is

* Correspondent of the London *Daily News*.

a little way beyond the front of the shoe, so that there is ample room for the Fifth and Eleventh Corps to act upon the line of retreat from Sedan in that direction. We can hear a constant rumbling of wagons and clattering of hoofs, as the German left is advanced, whilst there is a louder and louder roll of musketry, and booming of cannon where the Bavarians are holding the French in play to the right. At first there is a line of white smoke puffs, forming less than a semicircle to the south, southwest, and southeast of the French. The battle is hotly maintained near Bazeilles, and the French respond with energy to the attack of the Germans. It is a very sultry day. The smoke-clouds hang lower and lower over the Meuse, as the mist was hanging a few hours earlier."

From the position of the King, the view was not so extensive, but more central, and is thus described by the correspondent of the *New York Tribune*:

"As I rode on to the crest of the hill which rises sharply about 600 or 700 feet above the little hamlet of Chevange, nestled in a grove below, a most glorious panorama burst on my view. As General Forsyth, of the United States Army, remarked to me later in the day, it would have been worth the coming, merely to see so splendid a scene, without 'battle's magnificently stern array.' In the lovely valley below us, from the knoll on which I stood with the King and his staff, we could see not only the whole Valley of the Meuse (or Maas, as the Germans love to call the river that Louis XIV. stole from them), but also beyond the great woods of Bois-de-Loup and Francheval, into Belgium, and as far as the hilly forest of Numo, on the other side of the frontier. Right at our feet lay the little town of Sedan, famous for its fortifications by Vauban, and as the birthplace of Turenne, the great Marshal. It is known, also, as the place where sedan chairs originated. As we were only about two and a quarter miles from the town, we could easily distinguish its principal edifices without the aid of our field-glasses. On the left was a pretty church, its Gothic spire of sandstone offering a conspicuous target for the Prussian guns, had General Moltke

thought fit to bombard the town. To the right, on the south-east of the church, was a large barrack, with the fortifications of the citadel. Behind it and beyond this to the southeast again was the old château of Sedan, with picturesque, round-turreted towers of the sixteenth century, very useless, even against four-pounder Krupp field-pieces. This building, I believe, is now an arsenal. Beyond this was the citadel — the heart of Sedan, on a rising hill above the Meuse to the southeast, but completely commanded by the hills on both sides of the river, which runs in front of the citadel.

“The French had flooded the low meadows in the valley before coming to the railway bridge at Bazeilles, in order to stop the Germans from advancing on the town in that direction. With their usual stupidity (for one can find no other word for it), the French had failed to mine the bridge at Bazeilles, and it was of immense service to the Prussians throughout the battle. The Prussians actually threw up earthworks on the iron bridge itself to protect it from the French, who more than once attempted early in the day to storm the bridge, in the hope of breaking the Bavarian communication between the right and left banks of the Meuse. This they were unable to do; and although their cannon-shot have almost demolished the parapet, the bridge itself was never materially damaged.

“On the projecting spurs of the hill, crowned by the woods of La Marfee, of which I have already spoken, the Bavarians had posted two batteries of six-pounder rifled breech-loading steel Krupp guns, which kept up a duello till the very end of the day with the siege-guns of Sedan across the Meuse. Still further to the right flank, or rather to the east (for our line was a circular one — a crescent at first, with Sedan in the centre, like the star on the Turkish standard), was an undulating plain above the village of Bazeilles. Terminating about a mile and a half from Sedan, at the woods near Rubecourt, midway — that is to say, in a line from Bazeilles north — there is a ravine watered by a tiny brook, which was the scene of the most desperate struggle and of the most frightful slaughter

of the whole battle. This stream, whose name I have forgotten, if it ever had one, runs right behind the town of Sedan.

"From the woods of Fleigreuse on the north, behind the town, rises a hill dotted with cottages and fruit-laden orchards, and crowned by the wood of La Givonne, which runs down to the valley of which I have just spoken. Between this wood and the town were several French camps, their white shelter-tents standing out clear among the dark fruit-trees. In these camps one could see throughout the day huge masses of troops which were never used. Even during the height of the battle they stood as idle as Fitz-John Porter's at the second battle of Bull Run. We imagined that they must have been undisciplined Gardes Mobiles, whom the French Generals dared not bring out against their enemy.

"To the Prussian left of these French camps, separated from them by a wooded ravine, was a long bare hill, something like one of the hills on Long Island. This hill, on which was some of the hardest fighting of the day, formed one of the keys of the position of the French army. When once its crests were covered with Prussian artillery, the whole town of Sedan was completely at the mercy of the German guns, as they were not only above the town, but the town was almost within musket-range of them.

"Still further to the left lay the village of Illy, set on fire early in the day by the French shells. South of this the broken railway-bridge, blown up by the French to protect their right, was a conspicuous object.

"Right above the railway-bridge, on the line to Mézières, was the wooded hill crowded by the new and most hideous 'château,' as he calls it, of one Monsieur Pave. It was here the Crown Prince and his staff stood during the day, having a rather more extensive but less central view, and therefore less desirable than ours, where stood the King, Count Bismarck, Von Roon, the War Minister, General Moltke, and Generals Sheridan and Forsyth — to say nothing of your correspondent."

Shortly after five o'clock the 4th army commenced its

advance, and at half-past six o'clock opened the battle by a sharp attack on the French left, which being strongly posted was able to make a stout resistance. This attack was begun in the direction of Givonne, and was soon followed by an attack upon the French centre, at Bazeilles, in front of Sedan, by the Bavarians. About the same time the Fifth and Eleventh Corps of the 3d army passed the river near Donchery, and prepared, the latter to attack, the former to turn, the works in which MacMahon's right was posted, under Ducrot, in the intrenched heights above Floing. All these movements were executed with the vigor and enthusiasm which the Germans had exhibited during the whole war. They were gallantly met, and for some time the French held their own. At first the fighting was confined chiefly to the artillery, which, towards nine o'clock, was hotly engaged. A little after eleven, the infantry came into action to the northeast of Sedan, the object of the 3d and 4th armies being to drive the French back upon Sedan, and unite their own columns in the vicinity of Givonne and Floing. The French put forth every effort to maintain their position, but they were steadily driven back. In vain the terrible mitrailleuse poured its death-dealing volleys into the German ranks, in vain the French cavalry thundered down upon them. Nothing could stop the onward marching of those miles of men, and the French were gradually driven in towards Sedan.

On the German left, the Crown Prince of Prussia had thrown out the Würtembergers to watch Mézières, and prevent assistance reaching MacMahon from that place, while the Fifth and Eleventh Corps turned and drove in the French right. The key point to the French position here was the Floing hill, a semi-circular bluff which rises sharply above the village of Floing, almost immediately opposite Donchery, and but a mile or two from it in an air line, but distant six or seven miles by the road which follows the winding course of the river. From the plateau of Floing the ground falls toward the Meuse, but retains its elevation and bluff-like formation towards the north, cut by several deep ravines,

running generally north and south. The country is thickly wooded, and affords excellent facilities for defensive operations.

The Crown Prince opened his attack with his artillery, which was posted with the most daring skill, and hurried forward his infantry to storm the French intrenchments on the Floing hill. The French were almost entirely concealed from the view of the Prussians by their intrenchments and by the formation of the hill. They watched the advance of the storming column with a fierce exultation, ready to wither it with their infantry and mitrailleuse fire, and holding a brigade of cavalry in readiness to fall upon its flank. Preceded by their skirmishers, the Prussians advanced until they could see the heads of the French over the breastworks, when they opened fire. Instantly the whole French line blazed with a terrible volley, and the cavalry thundered down on the staggered column. The effect was fearful. The storming party was almost annihilated. Many were forced over into the ravines, and many were sabred by the French troopers as they tried to escape. The charge, however, was as fatal to the French as to the Prussians. The main body of the Crown Prince's forces had by this time occupied the village of Floing, and as the French cavalry swept by on their return from the charge, they were decimated by a terrible infantry fire. A second attempt, with a stronger force, was made to carry the heights. The column was driven back by the severe fire of the French, and the French infantry followed in pursuit, while the cavalry again dashed at the German flank. This time, however, the Prussians rallied, and their supports came hurrying up with all speed. The French horsemen were received with a terrible volley from the Prussian infantry, which broke them in utter ruin. A second column of cavalry now followed the first at a gallop, and again the terrible fire of the Prussian infantry broke forth. The horsemen were literally swept from the face of the earth, and the Prussians, now joined by their supports, made another dash at the breastworks, from which the French infantry for some time maintained a rolling fire

in reply to the Prussian volleys. A Prussian battery now came up at a gallop, and, regardless of the fire of the French riflemen who sought to drive it back, took position on the extreme French right, and began to enfilade their line. The French had no artillery to reply to the Prussians, and in a little while they abandoned their breastworks and retreated to a belt of woods in their rear. They were followed rapidly by the Eleventh German Corps, which repulsed a furious effort to regain the Floing hill. The French artillery now opened on the advancing columns, but was soon driven back by the German guns, and by three o'clock in the afternoon, the right of the French line was in the hands of Crown Prince Fritz. This was the key point to their whole line.

The movements of the Crown Prince of Saxony were also successful. The country through which the 4th army had to advance was an almost unbroken forest, but in spite of the difficulties in their way, the Germans pushed forward, their infantry closing with the French soon after eleven o'clock. By one o'clock, the French position at Givonne was carried, and about the same time the junction of the 3d and 4th armies was effected behind Sedan. Both German columns followed up their successes with vigor, and the French were gradually pressed nearer and nearer to the fortifications of Sedan.

In the centre the fighting was very obstinate. A portion of the Bavarians held the tongue of land to the west of Sedan to close that opening, while the rest passed the Meuse and made a sharp attack on the town of Bazeilles, which lay just two miles to the southeast of Sedan. They suffered enormously in the execution of this movement, being under fire not only from the defenders of the town but from the guns of Sedan. The French Marines particularly distinguished themselves by the gallantry with which they sought to drive back the Bavarian advance. The village was several times taken by the Germans and recaptured by the French, but at length it remained in the possession of the Bavarians, who pressing forward, carried Balan, between Bazeilles and Sedan,

and almost under the walls of the latter place.* Here bringing their artillery into play they cleared the way for the left of the 4th army, which was able to press forward with increased success. Thus, hour by hour, the French lines were contracted beneath the iron pressure of the German columns. Success everywhere greeted the latter, and by three o'clock the French forces were all driven back to the vicinity

* After the close of the battle, the Bavarians returned to Bazeilles and set fire to the town, destroying with it men, women, and children. The Germans declared that they were driven to this severe step because of the barbarous conduct of the villagers, who not only treated the German wounded with the most horrible barbarity, but fired on the Bavarians from the houses after the town had surrendered. A party of English officers, who questioned the German officers in the vicinity and the few remaining villagers three weeks after the battle, give the following as the result of their inquiries:

"So much has been asserted concerning the ferocity of the troops who captured the town, that we made numerous inquiries from every available source, with a view of eliciting the truth. The replies were of course very contradictory; but, after carefully sifting and comparing evidence, there is, we think, little doubt but that, after the town had surrendered, many of the attacking forces were shot down in the streets from the houses by men not in uniform, and even by women. Some of the former, perhaps, were *Francs-Tireurs*; but many were without doubt ordinary working men. Therupon the Bavarians broke into the houses, made prisoners of the villagers found with arms in their hands, and some hours later, by order of the Prussian authorities, burned the town and shot their captives. The number so executed is admitted by the Prussians themselves to have been at least forty, including three, if not more, women.

"I will quote two instances in support of our assertions that this severity was not entirely unprovoked. A Prussian staff officer of the commandant at Sedan assured us it had come to his undoubted knowledge that one old woman was seen to shoot three Bavarian officers in succession with a pistol fired from the window. She was subsequently included in the number of those executed. Again, at Mouzon, near Sedan, a Prussian officer connected with the ambulance corps informed us that he had had under his care a Bavarian officer over whom the inhabitants had poured hot oil as he lay wounded in one of the streets of Bazeilles. On our testifying some incredulity at such monstrous cruelty, our informant added: 'The wounded officer is now lying in a room in this house; he will probably ere long die; but he is at present quite sensible; and you may, if you please, question him as to the truth of my assertion.'

"It need hardly be said that we did not disturb the dying man. Now it must be admitted that retaliation is frequently dangerously akin to butchery;

of Sedan, and completely invested on all sides. Having thus securely hemmed in the French, the German guns ceased firing at about half past three o'clock, to give the French an opportunity of deciding what they would do in their embarrassed position. About four o'clock the Crown Prince arrived at the position of the King, and reported a complete victory for his troops. Other reports of a similar character were coming in from the east of the army, and there was consid-

but, under the above circumstances, it would hardly appear that the Prussians exceeded the strict rules of stern justice."—*From Sedan to Saarbruck*. By an Officer of the Royal Artillery. Pp. 20–22.

The French, on their part, utterly denied the charges of the Germans, and asserted that the burning of the town was an act of wanton cruelty. Their version of the story is best expressed in the following narrative, which was communicated to the correspondent of the *New York World* by the Curé of Bazeilles, in London. Said the Curé:

"It was on the morning of Wednesday, and I was celebrating mass among my people in Bazeilles. I could almost say that we knew nothing of the war beyond the fact that it had been declared and that it was being waged in France. Our village seemed to lie out of the way of all trouble; for though of its kind it was a somewhat considerable place, containing a population of 2000 souls, it had known no other strife than that friendly one engendered by the competition of an industry that held out the prospect of some reward for all. We were but a short half hour's journey from Sedan—our hamlet might almost be said, in fact, to be a distant suburb of that town. Yet none of the city's bustle reached us. The strife, indeed, had not then reached the city itself. Mighty armies, it seems, were all about preparing to enfold us in their black and hateful wings, yet we had no notice of their presence beyond a rumor from some terrified villager, vague enough to occasion no other feeling than one of thankfulness for our own security. The alarmist himself had no sooner breathed the air of our peaceful dwelling than he began to ridicule his own fears, for it was impossible to look at Bazeilles and believe that it could ever by any possibility become the bone of contention between two great nations struggling for the empire of the world. We were completely happy then, because our minds were completely at rest. There were all the soothing influences of religion to intensify this impression, and as I stood at the altar and looked down upon my kneeling flock, I thought I had never beheld a more beautiful exemplification of the peace of holiness. For the war must needs be in our minds at every hour and minute of the day, and our repose was intensified by this striking contrast of what we saw to that of which we thanked heaven we had only heard. The service went on: it was drawing near its close, when on a sudden the low gentle sound of the murmured responses of the congregation was overpowered and lost to the ear

erable speculation as to what the French would do next. An American gentleman, present, suggested to Count Bismarck, who accompanied the King, that the French would probably force their way into Belgium. "I have told the Belgian Minister of War," said Count Bismarck, "that, so long as the Belgian troops do their utmost to disarm any number of French soldiers who may cross the frontier, I will strictly respect the neutrality of Belgium; but if, on the contrary, the Belgians, either through negligence or inability, do not

by the loud report of a single gun. The great battle of Sedan had commenced.

"It was impossible for the worshippers to repress a movement of anguish and of terror. This was but momentary, however, and our supreme obligation to give the first thoughts of our hearts at all times to the solemn observances of our religion was rendered to the full. The service over, I did not even pause to address my parishioners—as I should most assuredly have done had I known the extent of our danger—but I hurried to my dwelling, which commanded a good view of the surrounding country, in order to ascertain the exact condition of affairs.

"I left my aged father and mother in the basement, and I mounted to the roof of the house alone. A spectacle met my eye which will never be effaced from my memory to my dying day. Not alone had the great battle of Sedan commenced, but we were in the very centre of the battle. The strife was raging all around us, and the very horizon seemed to flash with fire on whichever side I turned my gaze. The air trembled with the reports of the guns, and soon the great masses of smoke began to converge towards us till they rested above our heads like some great cloud-omen of doom. Then from out of the cloud, as it seemed, came down an iron hail that crashed through the rafters of houses or the bones of men wherever it fell. The time for contemplation had passed, the hour for action had come. I left my post of observation and descended to the *salle-à-manger*, whither my footsteps were attracted by a confused sound of mingled weeping and praying which told me that the terrified women and children had fled for support and consolation to the shelter of my roof.

"For a moment I hesitated as to what to do. It was evident that in their present mortal danger my first duty was to administer to them the last consolations of religion, and yet such was their intense anguish of terror that I shrank from increasing it by any act which would serve to remind them of their peril. I could not, out of regard for truth, tell them they had nothing to fear, while all around the very place in which we were assembled could be heard very distinctly the rattle of the enemy's shot. I was about to say some few words to put them in a more Christian, because in a more composed, frame of mind, when I was at once relieved of all further difficulty by a spontaneous request

disarm and capture every man in French uniform who sets his foot in their country, we shall at once follow the enemy into neutral territory with our troops, considering that the French have been the first to violate the Belgian soil. I have been down to have a look at the Belgian troops near the frontier," added Count Bismarek, "and I confess they do not inspire me with a very high opinion of their martial ardor or discipline. When they have their great-coats on, one can see a great deal of paletot, but hardly any soldier."

of one woman, which was speedily echoed by the rest, that I should administer final absolution to them at once.

"I was engaged in the performance of this solemn rite when a dreadful uproar was heard at the end of the street, and soon a crowd of our disbanded soldiers rushed past the door, calling out to us to shut ourselves up in the cellars at once if we valued our lives. I hurried the terrified crowd out of sight of the coming tumult as quickly as I could, remaining myself to watch what was passing in the street in a post which I judged to be tolerably secure. Soon on the heels of the fugitive Frenchmen a troop of Bavarians tore along the narrow way, but they had scarcely passed when they came pouring back again at even greater speed, and frantic with rage and disappointment. The retreating French had found time to throw up a barricade, and it was ordained that the stand of the day should be made in the village of Bazcilles.

"Meantime the Prussian shells had set some of our houses on fire, and by the light of the flames, for it was now growing dark, the most fearful conflict I think it could ever have been man's lot to witness was waged for the possession of the barricades. I cannot trust myself to trace correctly the episodes of that inhuman struggle. Desperate and maddened creatures in the uniform of either army by turns passed and repassed my house at one moment as pursuers, at another as pursued. In the momentary intervals of the deadly fusilade and the deadlier bayonet charges, we darted from our hiding place to drag in some wounded brother, never pausing to look at his uniform until we had attended to his bodily, and in some measure to his spiritual wants. Utter darkness at length caused a partial cessation of the strife, and the women, who have been so falsely charged with having participated in the conflict, for the first time appeared on the scene as tender nurses of friend and foe alike. Here, if there had been any disposition to vengeance on the part of my unhappy parishioners, was the time to show it, for the wounded were at the absolute mercy of those in whose houses they lay. And yet, as I unhesitatingly affirm, no unchristian deed disgraced any member of my flock. The occasion was indeed inopportune for that, for mere national hatred seemed puerile beside the awful feelings and emotions of the hour.

"With the dawning morn the battle was renewed, and not alone in our

No message having been received from the French, the King ordered the German batteries to open fire again at half past four. The Bavarian guns were the first to execute the order, and in a quarter of an hour one of their explosive shells set fire to a straw shed, and a thick column of black smoke rose immediately to the sky. A few minutes later a French officer appeared on the walls, waving a white flag. The firing was immediately discontinued.

Within the French lines matters were very bad. We have seen how little hope MacMahon had of accomplishing

streets, but in the plain beyond the village, where one of the main bodies of the enemy was making a determined attempt to gain possession of the place. The fighting centred about a bridge which spanned the swollen river and the possession of which was absolutely necessary to the success of the vast military plan which it seems the Germans had formed. This bridge should have been blown up on the first appearance of danger. It had been undermined for the purpose, and moreover the very powder had been stored in the village some days before. The materials were all in readiness, but alas, the man for the work—the *man* was wanting in Bazailles, as he was wanting everywhere else on that fatal day. The bridge was lost; the enemy poured into the town; the barricades remained in his possession; Bazailles (and in due time Sedan) was won, and on the evening of Thursday the Emperor sent his sword to the King.

"It was then that believing all danger for us was over, I went through the village from one end to the other to make an exact inventory of our losses. Exactly thirty-two houses and no more had been burnt—the majority were therefore left standing. Not a woman or child was injured. This fact is conclusive to my mind as to the no share these defenceless creatures had in the fray, for had they taken part in it, as was afterwards alleged, the enemy would certainly not have scrupled to shoot them with the arms in their hands."

The priest paused here as if from some unconquerable unwillingness to continue. He appeared to be greatly agitated in spite of repeated attempts to maintain his self-possession. I could not fail to guess the cause, and yet I was compelled to urge him to proceed to give the necessary completeness to his narrative. I had observed that the order of his relation was chronological, and that he carried it down to the Thursday night on which the Emperor had sent in the formal offer of his capitulation.

"And what followed the events of the Thursday night, reverend father?" I asked.

The priest made no answer, but he looked straight *towards* me, though not *at* me, for his eyes seemed fixed on vacancy, and as he gazed the color began

the task assigned him by the Ministers. Still, like a brave soldier, he went to his work resolved to do his best. Appreciating the numerical advantage of his enemy, he endeavored to make up for it as far as possible by his personal example. He went everywhere, cheering on his men, and exerting himself with a heroism worthy of the most brilliant Marshal of France. Outwardly he was calm and smiling, but his heart was full of despair, for he saw at the very outset of the battle what the result would be. As his troops began to give way he dashed to the front with an impetuosity which

to fade from his face by patches until his cheeks and forehead were one great stain of deadly white.

I repeated my question.

"My son," said the father, "there are some things which are too dreadful for anger, too mournful for pity, which are, in short, beyond the utmost range of expression permitted to human emotion. Such a thing was that which followed after the announcement of the capitulation of the Emperor on Thursday night, that thing being the burning of Bazeilles and the massacre of its inhabitants. My outline of the barest facts of the atrocity shall be of the briefest possible kind. Let this suffice. In the midst of the profound calm, as of death, which followed the cessation of the fighting all along the line, and while I, with others, was engaged in an equally assiduous attention on the wounded, both friend and foe, I was horrified on leaving one dwelling to pass to another on the opposite side of the street to discover that the whole village was rapidly becoming a mass of newly-kindled flames. The thirty odd houses which had been burned during the struggle for the possession of the village had long since been put out. The fires which were now raging had been deliberately lit since the capitulation of the Emperor, and the consequent cessation of all resistance on the part of the regular armies, to say nothing of the defenseless civil populations whose dwellings happened to lie within the circle of strife.

"The work was begun at night, but the morning was reserved for its completion. House after house was deliberately fired. The villagers were more bent on saving their own lives than on defending their property, but they were not to be permitted to do either. In the middle of the lane of fire formed by the two sides of the burning streets stood the conquering, and as men, women, and children rushed shrieking from the flames —, O, *Monsieur!*" (The priest had broken down.) "*Monsieur*, I cannot, I dare not go further; the story of Bazeilles has yet to be written, in characters of fire and of blood, but the time has not yet come for this supreme trial of duty to the living and devotion to the dead. I cannot, I must not go on."

I understood him, and took my leave in silence, with an affectionate pressure of his hand.

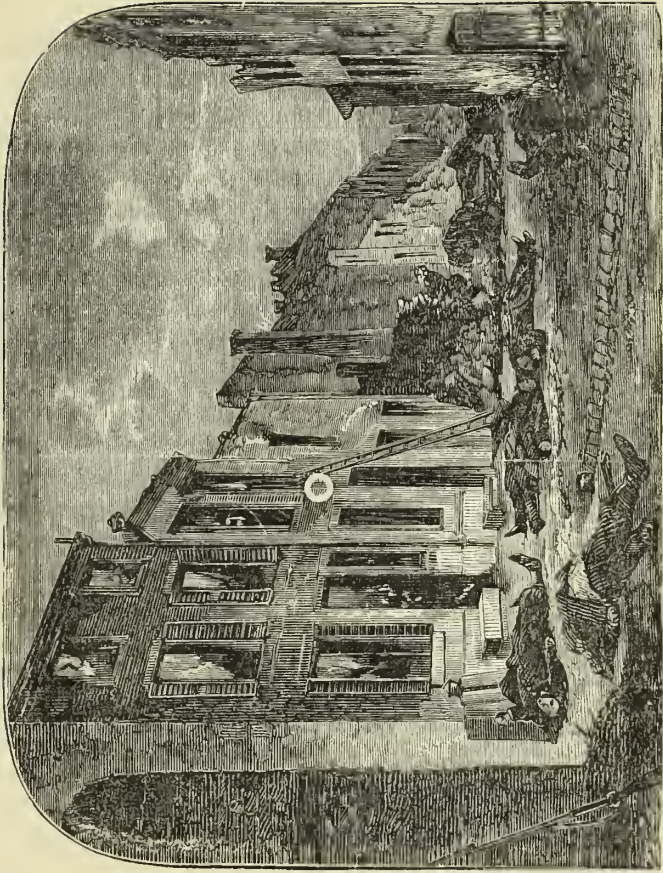
his friends sought in vain to restrain. The truth is the brave old Marshal had but one hope left, to meet with a soldier's death. "Leave me, my friends," he said to his aides who sought to keep him from going forward. "I am going to show those Kings, those Princes, who hide behind their masses of men, that a Marshal of France knows how to fight, and when beaten how to die." A little later he was struck down, terribly wounded by the explosion of a shell.

As soon as it was known that MacMahon was wounded, General Ducrot, as Chief of the Staff, at once assumed the command of the army, but General De Wimpffen claimed the command in virtue of the order of the Emperor, who had given him a sealed letter at the opening of the battle, directing him to assume the command in case of any accident to MacMahon. MacMahon had fallen in an effort to drive the Bavarians out of Bazeilles, and De Wimpffen's first duty was to endeavor to hold Balan against them.

The Emperor went with the column with which De Wimpffen met the Bavarian advance upon Balan, declaring that he was serving only as a private soldier, and not as an officer. Shot and shell fell fast about him, and one of the shells bursting near him enveloped his person in smoke. He was seeking death on the field, and was with difficulty persuaded by his officers to retire just as the Bavarians made their forward movement from Bazeilles, which resulted in the capture of Balan.*

The scene in Sedan after the army commenced to retreat into the town is thus described by Captain Jeannerod, a French officer, in a letter to the *New York Tribune*.

* "The Emperor, since the morning, had been in the thick of the fire, sword in hand, exciting the troops, and braving all dangers. Marching at the head of a column of attack, Napoleon III. was for a few hours exposed to the greatest danger; and as an ocular witness, I can vouch for the truthfulness of the fact. The bullets, the shells, were falling in showers around him. The Emperor sustained the fame of personal bravery of his early years. On the instance of his staff, at last, not finding the glorious death he was looking for, he retreated into the fortress, and presided at the last sorties of the brave troops."—*The War of 1870*. By Count de la Chapelle. Pp. 107–8.



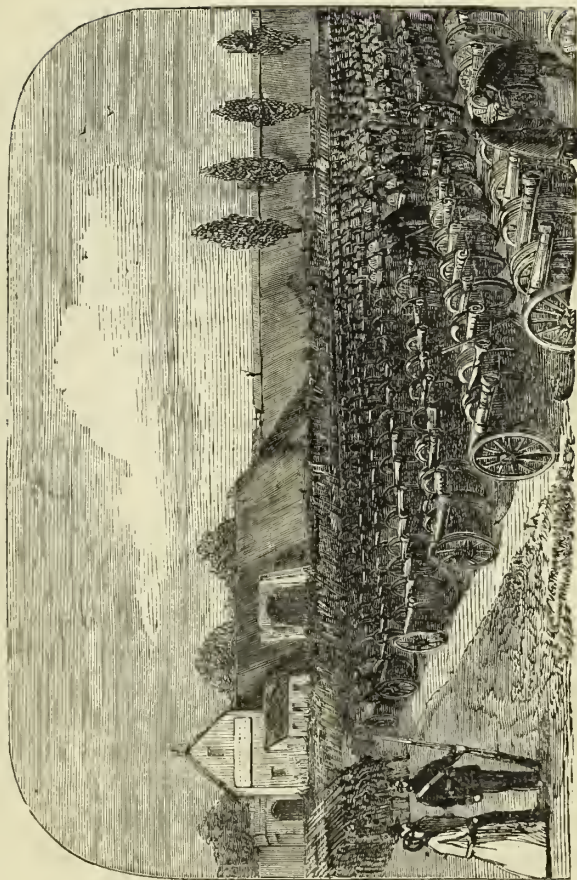
View of the Village of Bazzeilles after the Battle.

“When I reached the suburb of the Porte de Balan, I found it encumbered with soldiers of all corps, hastening, as I was, into the town. It was a defeat, evidently, yet it was not eleven o’clock, and the battle was destined to continue at various points for some time longer, though continuing without any real hope of victory.

“To one entering the town as I did, there was no longer any battle to describe. It was first a retreat, and too soon a rout. I thought myself lucky to get away from the field as I did; for, an hour afterward, the rout of those forces that had been near by me was complete. Already soldiers were crushing against each other in the struggle to get inside the town. Dismounted cavalry were trying to make their way, some even by the ramparts, leaping down from the counterscarp, others forcing their way in by the postern gates. From a nook of the ramparts, where I rested a moment, I saw also cuirassiers jumping—horses and all—into the moat, the horses breaking their legs and ribs. Men were scrambling over each other. There were officers of all ranks—colonels, and even generals, in uniforms which it was impossible to mistake—mixed in this shameful *mêlée*. Behind all came guns, with their heavy carriages and powerful horses, forcing their way into the throng, maiming and crushing the fugitives on foot.

“To add to the confusion and horror, the Prussian batteries had by this time advanced within range, and the Prussian shells began falling among the struggling masses of men. On the ramparts were the National Guards manning the guns of the town, and replying with more or less effect to the nearest Prussian batteries. It was a scene horrible enough to have suited the fancy of Gustave Doré himself. I could form but one idea of our unhappy army—that it was at the bottom of a seething caldron.

“I hurried back as best I could to my hotel, following the narrow streets, where the shells were least likely to reach the ground. Wherever there was a square or open place, I came upon the bodies of horses and men quite dead or still quivering, mown to pieces by bursting shells. Reaching my hotel,



The Field Guns captured from the Army of MacMahon by the Prussians at Sedan.

I found the street in which it stood choked, like the rest, with wagons, guns, horses, and men. Most luckily, at this moment the Prussian fire did not enflade this street; for a train of caissons filled with powder blocked the whole way, itself unable to move backward or forward. There was every chance that these caissons would explode, the town being then on fire in two places; and I began to think Sedan was a place more uncomfortable than even the battle-field over which a victorious enemy was swiftly advancing.

"From friends whom I found at the hotel I learned that the Emperor, who had started early in the morning for the field of battle, had returned about the same time that I did, and passed through the streets with his staff. One of my friends was near him on the Place Turenne, when a shell fell under the Emperor's horse, and, bursting, killed the horse of a general who was behind him. He himself was untouched, and turned around and smiled; though my friend thought he saw tears in his eyes, which he wiped away with his glove. Indeed, he had cause enough for tears on that fatal 1st of September.

"Meantime, shells began to fall in the direction of our street and hotel. We all stood under the vaulted stone entrance, as the safest shelter we could find. I trembled on account of the caissons still standing in the street, and filling all the space from end to end. It was at this time when we waited, watching painfully for the shell which would have sent us all together into another world, that General De Wimpffen came past, making a vain effort to rally and inspirit his flying troops. He shouted, '*Vive la France! En avant!*' But there was no response. He cried out that Bazaine was taking the Prussians in the rear. News which had been current all the morning at intervals, coming now from the mouth of General De Wimpffen, seemed to be believed, and a few thousand men were rallied, and followed him out of the town. People began to have hope, and for one brief moment we believed the day might yet be saved. Need I say that this intelligence was a patriotic falsehood of brave General De Wimp-

ffen? Mad with anguish, and in direct opposition to the Emperor's orders, he had resolved to rally what men he could, and make a stand. He could not have known that he was bound in the grasp of at least 300,000 men.

"The bugle and the trumpet ring out on all sides. A few thousand men harken to the sound. My friend Rene de Guirroye, of the Chasseurs d'Afrique, whom I have just met, after losing sight of him for ten or twelve years, got on horseback again and joined the General. The sortie took place thus: They went out at the Porte de Balan. The houses of the suburb are already full of Prussians, who fire on the French out of every window. The church, especially, is strongly garrisoned, and its heavy doors are closed. The General sent off De Guirroye to bring two pieces of cannon. These soon arrived, and with them the door of the church was blown in, and 200 Prussians were captured and brought back with the French, who, in spite of all efforts, were themselves soon obliged to retire into the town. It was the last incident of the battle—the last struggle.

"While this took place at the Porte de Balan, the Prussian shelling went on, and the shells began to fall into the hotel. Shocking scenes followed. A boy, the son of a tradesman around the corner of the street, came in crying, and asking for a surgeon. His father's leg had been shot off. A woman in front of the house met the same fate. The doctor who went to the tradesman found him dead; and, returning, attempted to carry the woman to an ambulance. He had scarcely made a step, when she was shot dead in his arms. Those of us who stand in the gateway and witness such scenes have got beyond the feeling of personal fear. Any one of us, I will venture to say, would give his life to spare France on this dreadful day. Yet we stand pale and shuddering at the sight of the fate which befalls the poor people of the town.

"I care not to dwell upon horrors, which, nevertheless, I shall never be able to forget. I can mention more than one brave officer who did not fear to own that he shrank from the sight of what had become a mere massacre. Those who were

safely out of the way as prisoners, whether officers or men, needed no pity. When, after a time, it became clear that there was no sign of Bazaine, the hopes of the French again departed. A sullen sort of fight still went on. The guns of the town answered the Prussians. An aid-de-camp of the Emperor went by on foot, and I heard him ask the officers near by to help him in putting an end to the fire. Such being the Emperor's wish, at length the white flag was hoisted on the citadel. The cannonade ceased suddenly about 4.30 o'clock. Eager as we were to know the cause, we cannot leave the house, for the street is impassable, and we have to be content with learning the mere fact of the surrender. As night drew on, the crowd a little diminished, and by some effort it was possible to make one's way about the town. The spectacle it offered was more horrible than war. Dead were lying everywhere; civilians and soldiers mingled in the slaughter. In one suburb I counted more than fifty bodies of peasants and bourgeois—a few women among them, and one child. The ground was strewn with splinters of shells. Starving soldiers were cutting up the dead horses to cook and eat, for provisions had again failed us, as everything has failed since this campaign began."

Meanwhile the firing had begun from the Prussian guns, and their lines had been pressed forward nearer to Sedan. A little before five o'clock, King William, seeing the hopeless situation of the French, ordered the firing to cease, and sent Lieutenant-Colonel Von Bronsart, of the staff, with a white flag, as truce bearer, offering capitulation to the army and fortress. Before the King's orders could be executed, the white flag was seen on the walls of Sedan, and the firing immediately ceased. Colonel Von Bronsart was met by a Bavarian officer, who informed him that a messenger from the French lines was on his way to the German headquarters. He kept on his way to the gates of Sedan, however, and upon his inquiry for the Commander-in-Chief, he was unexpectedly conducted before the Emperor, who informed him that he had written a letter to the King of Prussia, which he desired

him (Bronsart) to convey to his Majesty. The Emperor then asked the Colonel the nature of his orders; and was answered, "To summon the army and fortress to surrender." The Emperor then informed him that he must address himself to General De Wimpffen, who was the commander of the army, and added that he would send his letter to the King by his Adjutant-General Reillé.

Meanwhile, the French officer sent out from Sedan, had made his way to the King's station, escorted by two Uhlans. He stated that he had been sent to ask the terms upon which the King would receive the surrender of the French forces.

A short conversation ensued between the King and General Von Moltke, after which the latter informed the bearer of the flag of truce that, in a matter of such magnitude as the surrender of at least 80,000 men, and an important fortress, it was necessary to send an officer of high rank. "You are, therefore," continued the General, "to return to Sedan and tell the Governor of the town that he must at once repair to the headquarters of the King of Prussia. If he does not arrive within an hour, our guns will immediately open fire. You may tell the commandant that there is no use of his trying to obtain any other terms than unconditional surrender." The messenger at once departed.

The French offer was eagerly discussed by the German commanders and their officers; and when, about half past six, it became known that the Emperor was in Sedan, their exultation was unbounded.

A little before seven, a second flag of truce was seen approaching from Sedan. The royal escort was drawn up in two lines, with the staff in front, and the King took his position ten yards in front of the staff to receive the French envoy, who proved to be General Reillé. As he reached the spot, General Reillé dismounted, and uncovering, and approaching the King, handed him the Emperor's letter, adding that he had no further orders. The King received the missive, but before opening it, said to the General, "I demand as a

first condition, that the army lay down their arms." He then read the Emperor's letter, which was as follows :

SIRE MY BROTHER :—Not having been able to die in the midst of my troops, it only remains for me to place my sword in the hands of your Majesty. I am your Majesty's good brother, NAPOLEON.

General Reillé was kindly received by the King, who had known him in more peaceful times, and was bidden to cover his head. He very readily entered into conversation with the German officers who surrounded him, maintaining all the while an admirable coolness and self-possession in a position which could not be but trying to him. A consultation was promptly held by the King, the Crown Prince, Count Bismarck, General Von Moltke, and General Von Roon, the Minister of War. Its object was to decide upon a suitable reply to the Emperor's note. As the answer was decided upon, the words were written down by Count Hatsfield, long time Attaché to the Prussian Embassy in Paris. Two aides-de-camp then held up a chair to serve as a writing desk, and upon this the King wrote out the following reply to the Emperor :

SIRE MY BROTHER :—Regretting the circumstances under which we meet, I accept the sword of your Majesty, and I invite you to designate one of your officers provided with full powers to treat for the capitulation of the army, which has so bravely fought under your command. On my side, I have named General Moltke for this purpose.—I am your Majesty's good brother, WILHELM.

Before SEDAN, *Sept. 1, 1870.*

General Reillé, upon receiving this letter, departed for Sedan at forty minutes after seven o'clock, and the King, directing Count Bismarck to remain with General Moltke in case political questions should come up, returned to his headquarters at Vendresse. *

* The King's letter to Queen Augusta, describing the events of the day, is as follows :

"VENDRESSE, *September 3d, 1870.*

"You now know from my three telegrams the entire extent of the great historical event that has occurred. It is like a dream, even when one has seen it develop hour by hour.

The news spread rapidly through the German lines, and was received with the wildest enthusiasm. The air rang with the hurrahs of the victors, and on all sides were heard the national hymn and patriotic German songs.

Meanwhile there was nothing but sadness and despair in Sedan. It was very clear to the Emperor that there was no hope of saving the army, and that further resistance would

“When I remember that, after a great, fortunate war, I had nothing more glorious to expect during my reign, and now see this world-historic act completed, I bow myself before God, who alone, my Lord and my Helper, has chosen me to fulfil this work, and has ordained us to be instruments of His will. Only in this sense did I venture to undertake the work—that in humility I might praise God’s guidance and mercy.

“Now for a picture of the battle and its consequences, in condensed terms:

“The army had arrived on the evening of the 31st, and early on the 1st, in the positions before described, round about Sedan. The Bavarians had the left wing at Bazailles on the Meuse; near them the Saxons, toward Moncelles and Daigny; the Guards still on the march toward Givonne; the Fifth and Eleventh Corps toward St. Menges and Fleigneux. The Meuse makes here a sharp curve, and therefore from St. Menges to Donchery there was no corps placed, but in the latter town Wurtembergers, who at the same time covered the rear against attacks from Mézières. The Cavalry Division of Count Stolberg was in the plain of Donchery as right wing; in the front toward Sedan, the rest of the Bavarians.

“The battle began at Bazeilles early on the 1st in spite of a thick fog, and a very heavy fight gradually spread, in which we were obliged to take house by house, which lasted nearly the whole day, and in which Schöler’s Erfurt Division (from the reserve Fourth Corps) had to take part. Just as I arrived on the front before Sedan, at 8 o’clock, the great battery began its fire against the fortifications. A tremendous artillery battle now spread on all sides, continuing for hours, and during which ground was gradually won by our side. The villages named were taken.

“Very deep-cut ravines with woods made the advance of the infantry difficult, and favored the defence. The villages of Illy and Floing were taken, and the ring of fire drew itself gradually closer and closer around Sedan. It was a grand sight from our position on a commanding height behind the before-named battery, before and on the right of Frénois village, above St. Torcy.

“The determined resistance of the enemy began gradually to slacken, as we could discover by the disordered battalions which ran hastily back out of the woods and villages. The cavalry tried an attack against some battalions of our Fifth Corps, which maintained an excellent bearing; the cavalry rushed through the intervals between the battalions, then turned around and

result simply in the massacre of his troops. As the actual situation became known to General De Wimpffen, he sent two of his staff to the Emperor with a letter, in which he proposed to his Majesty that he (the Emperor) should make an attempt to save himself, by placing himself in the midst of a strong column, and endeavoring to reach Carignan, which lies close to the Belgian frontier; but the Emperor refused

back by the same way; which was repeated three times by different regiments, so that the field was strewn with corpses and horses, all of which we could clearly see from our position. I have not yet been able to learn the number of that brave regiment.

"The retreat of the enemy in many places becoming a rout, and all—infantry, cavalry, and artillery—crowding into the town and the nearest surroundings, but still no indication appearing of the disposition of the enemy to save himself from this desperate condition by capitulation, nothing remained but to order the town to be bombarded by the battery before mentioned.

"In less than twenty minutes it was burning in several places; that, together with the many burning villages in the whole radius of the battle, made an appalling impression, and I ordered the firing to cease, and sent Lieutenant-Colonel Von Bronsart, of the staff, with a white flag, as truce-bearer, offering capitulation to the army and fortress. He was met by a Bavarian officer, who reported that a French truce-bearer with a white flag had appeared at the gate. Lieutenant-Colonel Von Bronsart was admitted, and upon his inquiry for the General-in-Chief, he was unexpectedly conducted before the Emperor, who wanted at once to deliver him a letter addressed to me. When upon inquiry by the Emperor what his orders were, the reply was given: To summon army and fortress to surrender.

"The Emperor directed Bronsart to address himself in the matter to General De Wimpffen, who had just assumed command in place of MacMahon, wounded, and stated that he would send his letter to me by Adjutant-General Reillé. It was seven o'clock when Reillé and Bronsart came to me. You can imagine what impression it made upon me especially, and upon all. Reillé dismounted, and delivered to me the letter of his Emperor, adding that he had no further orders. Before opening the letter I said to him: 'But I demand as first condition, that the army lay down their arms.' The letter commences thus: '*N'ayant pas pu mourir à la tête de mes troupes, je dépose mon épée à Votre Majesté*' (not having been able to die at the head of my troops, I lay down my sword before your Majesty),—leaving everything further to my discretion.

"My reply was, that I regretted the manner in which we had met, and requested that a plenipotentiary be sent, when the capitulation could be concluded. I had given the letter to General Reillé. I spoke a few words to

to sacrifice so many soldiers in order to save himself. He added, "Carignan is occupied by the Prussians, but if the General thinks he can save some portion of the army, let him do so." As soon as this answer was conveyed to De Wimpffen, he informed General Lebrun that it was his intention to collect a column of 2000 or 3000 men, place himself at their head, and cut his way through the Prussian lines. "You will cause 3000 more men to be killed," said Lebrun, "and you will not succeed; but if you wish to try, I will willingly go there with you."

A little later, De Wimpffen was convinced that his plan was hopeless. He could not find the men he wished, and had

him as an old acquaintance, and thus ended this act. I gave Moltke full powers to treat, and directed Bismarck to remain behind, in case political questions should come up, and then rode to my carriage, and drove to this place.

"I was everywhere on the road saluted with thundering hurrahs by the trains moving up, and soldiers were singing everywhere the national hymn. It was sublime. Everywhere lights had been lit, so that now and then we drove in the midst of an improvised illumination. I arrived here at 11 o'clock, and drank with my suite the welfare of the army that had accomplished this great result. No report having reached me from Moltke up to the morning of the 2d of the result of the capitulation treaty which was to have been made in Donchery, I drove at 8 o'clock, according to arrangement, to the battle-field, and there met Moltke, who came to get my consent to the capitulation which he presented, and at the same time pointed out that the Emperor had left Sedan at 5 o'clock in the morning, and had also come to Donchery. Since he wished to speak to me, and there was a little castle in the park, I chose this for the meeting. At 10 o'clock I arrived on the height before Sedan. At 12 o'clock Moltke and Bismarck appeared with the completed terms of capitulation. At 1 o'clock I placed myself in motion with Fritz, accompanied by the staff cavalry escort. I alighted before the castle, where the Emperor came to meet me. The visit lasted a quarter of an hour. We were both very much moved at thus seeing each other again. All that I felt, after having seen Napoleon only three years before at the summit of his power, I cannot describe.

"After this meeting I rode from 2.30 to 7.30 o'clock through the entire army around Sedan.

"The reception by the troops, the sight of the decimated Guards—all that, I cannot describe to you to-day. I was profoundly moved by so many proofs of love and fidelity.

"Now, *lebe wohl*. With an agitated heart at the end of such a letter,

"WILHELM."

he been able to do so, he would only have led them to certain death. He was now convinced that there was nothing left but a surrender; but against this course the gallant soldier revolted. He had just arrived a few days previous, and it was hard indeed that his first day of command should close so disastrously. He accordingly sent the following letter to the Emperor:

SIRE:—I shall never forget the marks of kindness which you have accorded to me, and I should have been happy, for the sake of both France and of yourself, to have been able to terminate to-day's engagement with glorious success. I have not been able to bring about the result, and I think I shall do well if I leave to others the duty of leading our armies. Under these circumstances I deem it my duty to resign my post of Commander-in-Chief, and to ask that I may be allowed to retire.

I am etc. etc.,

DE WIMPFEN

To this note the Emperor replied as follows:

GENERAL:—You cannot resign at the moment when the army may be still saved by an honorable capitulation. You have done your duty all day: do it still. You will render a great service to the country. The King has accepted the armistice, and I am waiting for his propositions. Believe in my friendship.

NAPOLÉON.

General De Wimpffen now saw the matter in its true light. He might indeed be able to retire alone, and thus avoid personal captivity and the mortification of a surrender, but he would by so doing abandon to its fate the gallant army that had fought so well under him during the whole day. Fortune had placed the chief command in his hands, and it was his duty to stay with his men to the last. He thereupon decided to perform his painful task to the letter.*

* An officer of General De Wimpffen's staff published in the Paris *Patrie*, after the surrender, an account of the events preceding the capitulation, in which he stated that the Emperor had compelled De Wimpffen to surrender the army when there was a fair chance of escape, of which the General was anxious to avail himself, and that De Wimpffen had been hampered and thwarted by Napoleon during the whole day. These charges drew from the members of the Emperor's staff the following denial:

"The letter which appeared in the *Patrie* of the 11th of September, and which is attributed to an officer of the staff of General Wimpffen, implicates in so grave and so unjust a manner the responsibility of the Emperor in the

The news of the surrender was received by the French army with the most violent rage. They loaded the names of the Emperor and their officers with bitter curses—never reflecting that to the humanity of the Emperor alone they owed their escape from utter annihilation by the Prussians, who held them fast, with every avenue of escape closed. We have seen that at the beginning of the march the men were

catastrophe of Sedan, that the officers who had the honor to remain with His Majesty cannot allow such assertions to be made without stating the true facts of the case. When the different commanders of army corps came to warn the Emperor that their troops were repulsed, dispersed, and in part driven hack into the town, the Emperor sent them to the Commander-in-Chief, in order that he might ascertain from them the actual situation. At the same time the Commander-in-Chief sent to the Emperor two officers of his staff with a letter, in which he proposed to His Majesty not to save the army, but to save his person, by placing him in the midst of a strong column, with which he said an attempt might be made to reach Carignan. The Emperor refused to sacrifice a large number of soldiers in order to save himself; 'hesides,' said he, 'Carignan is occupied by the Prussians; but if the General thinks he can save some portion of the army, let him do so.' At the same time that the reply of the Emperor reached the Commander-in-Chief, the latter imparted to General Lebrun, the commander of the Twelfth Corps, his project to collect 2000 or 3000 men, to put himself at their head, and to make a gap in the Prussian lines. General Lehrun answered him: 'You will cause 3000 more men to be killed, and you will not succeed, but if you wish to try, I will willingly go there with you.' They left each other, indeed, and less than half an hour afterward General Wimpffen was convinced that his attempt was impracticable, and no other course was open to him except laying down arms. General Wimpffen went hack to Sedan, and considering that it was hard for him, who had only taken the command *ad interim*, to affix his signature to a capitulation, he sent his resignation to the Emperor in the following terms:

" 'SIRE: I shall never forget the marks of kindness which you have accorded to me, and I should have been happy, for the sake both of France and of yourself, to have been able to terminate to-day's engagement by a glorious success. I have not been able to bring about the result, and I think I shall do well if I leave to others the duty of leading our armies.

" 'Under these circumstances I deem it my duty to resign my post of Commander-in-Chief, and to ask that I may be allowed to retire.

" 'I am, etc.,

DE WIMPFEN.'

"The Emperor refused to accept the resignation. It was necessary, indeed, that he who had had the honor of the command during the battle should se-

wholly unrestrained by discipline. Their condition after the battle was lost, and they were huddled like sheep in and around Sedan—crowded so thickly that as a rule none of them could have kept their ranks had they tried—was a state of utter demoralization. Their officers had no longer any control over them. The French officer whom we have already quoted in describing the condition of Sedan during the battle, thus speaks of the state of the army after the surrender :

“ On Saturday the whole force laid down their arms. Not a few soldiers, in their rage broke, rather than give up their arms, and the streets were littered with fragments of all kinds of weapons broken : swords, rifles, pistols, lances, helmets, cuirasses, even mitrailleuses covered the ground ; and in one

cure, as far as possible, the safety of what remained of the army. The General understood these reasons, and withdrew his resignation. It was then 9 o'clock in the evening, and the firing had ceased at nightfall. It is entirely false to say that the General was opposed by the Emperor in his ideas and in the orders he was able to give, for His Majesty only met him for a moment on the field of battle between 9 and 10 o'clock. The General was coming from Balan, and the Emperor asked him how the battle was proceeding on that side. The General replied :

“ ‘ Sire, things are going on as well as possible, and we are gaining ground.’ ”

“ To the observation which His Majesty made that an officer had just warned him that a considerable corps of the enemy was outflanking our left, the General replied :

“ ‘ Very well, so much the better. It is necessary to let them do so ; we will drive them into the Meuse and we shall gain the victory.’ ”

“ These are the only relations which the Emperor had with General Wimpffen during the action, and it is equally false to say that there was the slightest altercation between the Emperor and the General. When they separated the Emperor embraced the General most affectionately.

(Signed)

“ PRINCE DE LA MOSKOWA,

“ CASTELNAU,

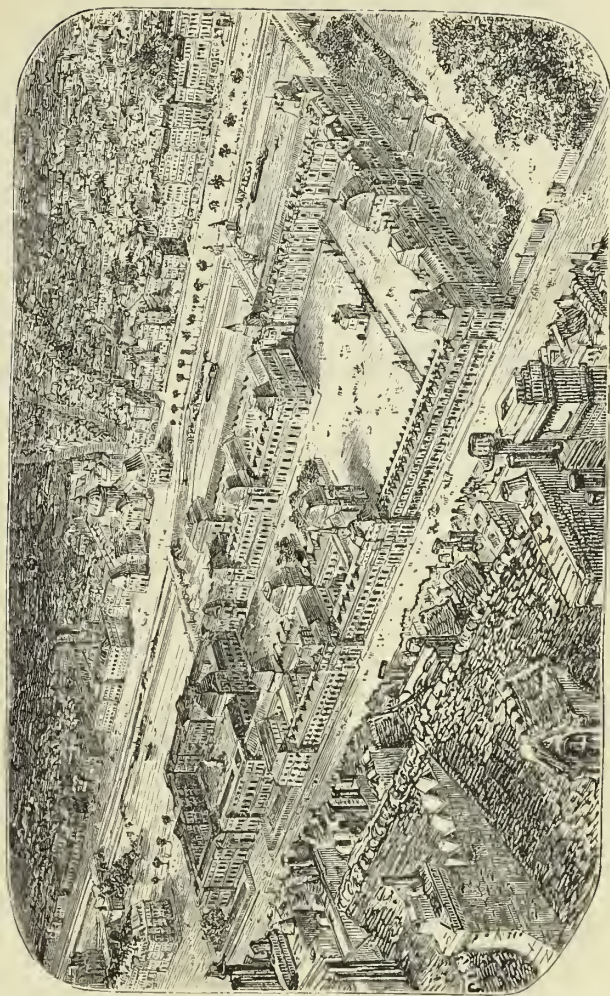
“ DE WAUBERT,

“ COUNT REILLE,

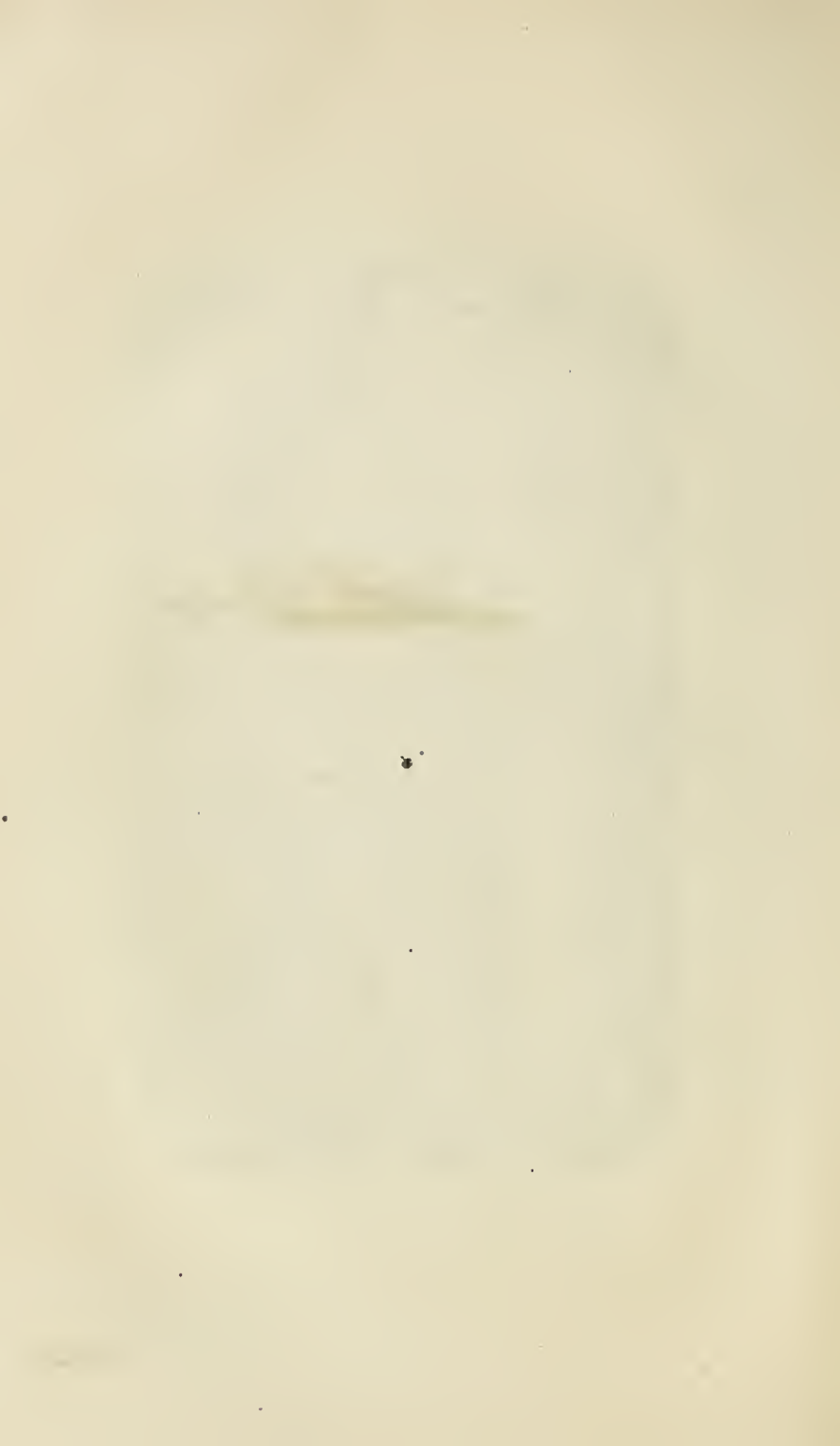
“ VISCOUNT PÂJOL,

“ Generals Aides-de-Camp of the Emperor.’ ”

So far as is known, General De Wimpffen had no share in the writing or publication of the letter to the *Patrie*.



Bird's-eye View of the Louvre and Tuileries : Paris.
Vogelperspective vom Louvre und den Tuileries : Paris.



place, where the Meuse runs through the town, the heaps of such fragments choked the stream and rose above the surface. The mud of the streets was black with gunpowder. The horses had been tied to the houses and gun-carriages, but nobody remembered to feed or water them, and in the frenzy of hunger and thirst they broke loose and ran wild through the town. Whoever liked might have a horse—even officers' horses, which were private property—for the trouble of catching them.

“When the Prussians came into the town they were very sore and angry at the sight of all this destruction and waste. What must have pleased them still less, was the state in which they found the military chest. As soon as the surrender was resolved on, the French officers were told to make out the best accounts they could, present them, and receive payment. Naturally, the statements thus brought in soon proved sufficient to empty the treasury. I know of officers who demanded and received payment for horses that were not killed and baggage which had not been lost. Demoralization showed itself in every way. Even the standards were burned or buried—an act of bad faith, not to be palliated even by the rage of a beaten army.

“Their rage is greater against no one than General De Failly. He had a room in the hotel where I was staying. On Friday a great multitude of soldiers gathered before the house, the doors of which were closed, demanding General De Failly with such shouts and menaces that the landlord thought it prudent to hurry him out of a back window. The soldiers, could they have reached him, would have torn him to pieces. Since then I have heard the report that he was shot by one of his own men; but no such event had happened on Saturday, and could not well happen later.

“It was a relief on Saturday when the Prussians came in and occupied the town, and restored order. I am sorry to have to acknowledge, that all through the campaign the French have acted much more like a conquering army in a hostile country than the Prussians. All the annoyance I

have experienced personally came from my own countrymen from the peasants, who, above all, saw a spy in every stranger. When I fell into the hands of the Prussians, I found them courtesy itself. On leaving Sedan, and thence to the frontier, in passing through the Prussian posts, I was stopped often. I had but to say, 'I am the correspondent of an American journal,' and I was at once sent kindly forward. On the back of my military pass the Prussian staff had endorsed a Prussian safe-conduct. Often I was not obliged even to show my papers: my word was taken; and once out of Sedan I was speedily through.

"When I left Sedan on Sunday morning things were rapidly getting in order. The streets were cleared of dead horses and men. The indescribable filth of the town was swept into the river. The shops were opening again. Discipline had taken the place of disorder. I saw enough of Prussian organization and energy to change, if the grievous defeat of a noble army had not already changed, the opinion I have so often expressed, that ultimate victory for France was sure.

"I have followed MacMahon from the day when I found him reorganizing his army at Chalons to the fatal day at Sedan, when he surrendered the last organized force in France, save the remnant of that which is shut up in Metz. Certainly, when I was at the camp of Chalons, and then at Rheims, I had observed that the number of stragglers was enormous, and I continually met soldiers who did not know where their regiments were. I had seen men and officers disabled by wounds which French soldiers of other days would have despised; I had remarked how untidy and careless the men were allowed to be about their dress and equipments. These things, slight, but significant to a military eye, had caused me, no doubt, some misgivings as to the rapidity of the success we had a right to expect. I saw also how prone French officers were to avoid the fatigues of long marches and the discomfort of bivouacs. I remember how often I have traversed the French lines at dead of night and at early dawn,

and never heard a challenge, never came across a French *vi-dette*, never have fallen in with a party of scouts. On the other hand, I have seen officers spend the time that ought to have been given to their men, in *cafés* or in poor village inns. Often even officers of the staff seemed to neglect their duties for paltry amusements, showing themselves ignorant sometimes even of the name of the Department in which they were; so that I have known a French General obliged to ask his way from peasants at the meeting of two roads. I struggled long against all this kind of evidence, but the end is only too clear. Painful it is to me, but I am bound to declare my belief that any further effort France may make can only cause useless bloodshed, and that a means of escape from her peril must now be sought otherwise than by force of arms."

On the night of the 1st of September, Count Bismarck and General Von Moltke met General De Wimpffen and the officers appointed on the French side, at Donchery. General Von Moltke promptly informed the French commander that no other condition than the laying down of the arms would be accepted, and that the bombardment would begin again at nine o'clock the next morning if the capitulation were not concluded by that time. General De Wimpffen asked for time to consider these terms, which was granted. At one o'clock the conference broke up, the French officers returning to their own lines. The next morning the conference was resumed, the French accepting the terms expressed in the following cartel:

SEDAN, September 2.

By the chief of the staff of His Majesty King William, Commander-in-Chief of the German armies, and the General Commanding-in-Chief of the French armies, both with full powers from His Majesty the King and the Emperor of the French, the following agreement has been concluded:

ARTICLE 1. The French army, under the command of General Wimpffen, surrounded actually by superior forces around Sedan, are prisoners of war.

ARTICLE 2. Owing to the valorous defence of that army, an exception (exemption) is made for all the generals and officers, and for the superior employés having rank of officers in the military list, who will give their word of honor in writing not to take up arms against Germany, nor to

act in any way against the interests of that nation, till the end of the present war. The officers and employés accepting that condition will keep their arms and the effects belonging to them personally.

ARTICLE 3. All the other arms and the army material, consisting of flags, eagles, cannons, horses, war ammunitions, military trains, will be surrendered at Sedan by a military commission named by the commander-in-chief, to be given at once to the German commissary.

ARTICLE 4. The town of Sedan will be given up at once, in its present state, and not later than the evening of the 2d of September, to be put at the disposal of the King of Prussia.

ARTICLE 5. The officers who will not undertake the engagement mentioned in Article 2, and the troops of the armies, will be conducted with their regiments, in their corps, and in military order.

This measure will commence on the 2d of September, and will terminate on the 3d; the soldiers will be brought up by the Meuse, near D'Yzes, and put in the hands of the German commissary by their officers, who will then give their commands to their non-commissioned officers. The military surgeons will remain, without exception, at the rear to take care of the wounded.

(Signed,)

DE WIMPFEN.
VON MOLTKE.

Immediately upon the ratification of this agreement, General Von Moltke issued the following order for carrying out the capitulation :

HEADQUARTERS, FRENCH, *September 2, 1870.*

The French army lying in and about Sedan has capitulated. Officers will be liberated on their word of honor; the under officers and common soldiers are prisoners of war. Arms and army material will be given up.

The prisoners of war, whose number is not yet ascertained, will be assembled in the bend of the Meuse, near Villette and Iges, and afterward conducted away in *échelons*. The Eleventh and Twelfth Royal Bavarian Army Corps, under the general command of General Von der Tann, are appointed to the first guard. The supplying of the prisoners, for which, according to the promise of the French general commanding, stores are to be brought from Mézières to near Donchery by railroad, will also be regulated by General Von der Tann. That no difficulty in the approach of trains is laid in the way, is carefully to be observed. An infantry regiment from the Eleventh Corps will be placed in the fortress as garrison to-morrow after Sedan shall have been evacuated.

The withdrawal of the prisoners in two lines by way of Stenay, Etain, and Gorze to Reims, and Buzancy, Clermont, and St. Mihiel to Pont-à-Mousson, will be conducted by the army under his Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Saxony and the royal commander-in-chief of the

3d army, according to the order of this morning. In order to avoid every doubt, it is to be remarked that the French officers captured yesterday in battle, and to-day before the close of the capitulation at 11 o'clock, are to be treated in accordance with the rules previously in force.

Officers and officials who give their parole must themselves prepare the proper notification. Both classes must report as soon as possible to the quartermaster-general of the army. The horses to be delivered on the part of the French army, shall, in accordance with the orders of His Majesty the King, be distributed for the benefit of all the active German forces, and the army commanders will be hereafter informed upon their respective quotas.

The clearing up of the battle-field is the duty of the General of Dépôt-Inspection of the army of his Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Saxony. The burial of the dead is to be hastened by means of the civil authorities.

VON MOLTKE.

"The bearing of General De Wimpffen, as well as that of the other French generals, on the night before," says Count Bismarck, in describing to the King the close of the negotiations, "was very dignified; and this brave officer could not restrain himself from expressing to me his deep pain that he should be just the one to be called, forty-eight hours after his arrival from Africa, and half a day after assuming the command, to place his name under a capitulation, so ominous to French arms; nevertheless, the lack of provisions and munitions, and the absolute impossibility of any further defence, laid upon him the duty, as a general, of restraining his personal feelings, since, in the existing situation, a further shedding of blood could alter nothing. The acquiescence in the dismissal of the officers upon their word of honor was recognized with great thankfulness, as an expression of your Majesty's intention not to trample upon the feelings of an army which had fought bravely, beyond the line which, in view of our political and military interests, was necessarily drawn. General De Wimpffen has also subsequently given expression to this feeling, in a letter in which he spoke his thanks to General Von Moltke for the considerate forms in which the negotiations have been carried on from his side."

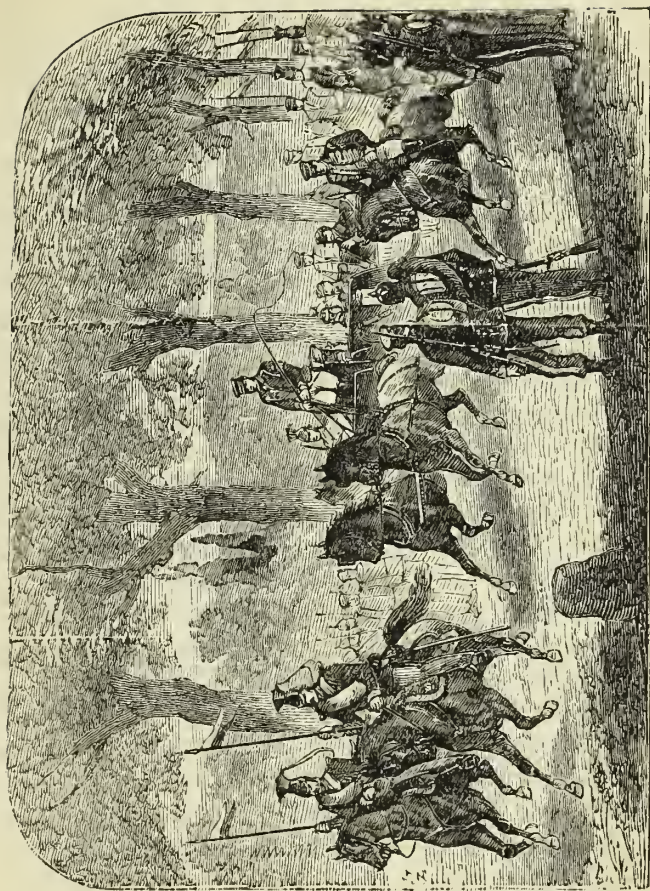
Meanwhile the Emperor Napoleon had exerted himself to gain better terms for his army. At daylight on the morning

of the 2d of September, he left Sedan, in his carriage, accompanied by his aides, and drove into the German lines. Hastening to Donchery, he drove to the headquarters of Count Von Bismarck, sending forward General Reillé to announce his approach. Reillé reached the Count's headquarters at six o'clock, and delivered his message, and the Count requested him to return to the Emperor and inform him that he (Bismarck) would immediately hasten to meet him. Dressing hastily, the Count mounted his horse and rode after General Reillé. About half way between Sedan and Donchery, he met the Emperor in an open carriage, with three general officers, and three more in attendance on horseback. "Of the latter," says the Count, "Generals Castelnau, Reillé, Vaubert, and Moskowa, were personally known to me, the last named appearing to be wounded in the foot."

Upon reaching the carriage, Bismarck dismounted, and removing his cap, saluted the Emperor. Napoleon requested him at once to cover his head, whereupon the Count remarked with respect, "Sire, I receive your Majesty as I would my own royal master." Then approaching the side of the carriage on which Napoleon sat, he mounted on the step, and desired to know the Emperor's wishes.

The Emperor replied that he wished to see King William, whom he supposed to be in Donchery, and was informed by Bismarck that the King's headquarters were at Vendresse, fifteen miles distant. He then asked if the King had fixed upon a place to which he should go at once, and asked the Count what he should do in the matter. The Count replied that he had come to the neighborhood in the night, and was totally ignorant of the country, but that he would place at the disposal of the Emperor the house which he had himself occupied in Donchery on the previous night, and which he would instantly vacate. The Emperor accepted his offer, and the party rode slowly towards Donchery.

Upon reaching a point near the bridge over the Meuse leading into the town, the Emperor drew up in front of a laborer's house standing by itself, and asked Count Bismarck to descend with



The Emperor Napoleon on his way to Bellvue Castle.

him there. The Count first caused the house to be examined, and finding that there were no wounded in it, and that it was clean, though humble, followed the Emperor into the principal room, in which were a table and two chairs.

"Here," says the Count, in his report to the King, "I had a conversation of about an hour with the Emperor. His Majesty expressed chiefly the wish to obtain more favorable terms of capitulation for the army. I declined absolutely to consider this project with His Majesty, as this purely military question was to be settled between General Von Moltke and General De Wimpffen. In return I asked the Emperor if His Majesty was inclined to negotiations for peace. The Emperor replied that, as a prisoner, he was not now in a condition to treat for peace; and to my further question to whom, according to his views, the Government of France would not revert, His Majesty referred me to the existing Government in Paris. After explanation of this point, which was not to be decided with certainty from yesterday's letter of the Emperor to your Majesty, I perceived that the situation to-day, as yesterday, offered no other practical question than the military one; nor did I conceal this from the Emperor, but expressed the necessity which resulted therefrom to us of obtaining before all things, by the capitulation, a substantial means of securing the military results which we had won. I had already, yesterday evening, weighed the question in every direction with General Von Moltke, whether it would be possible, without injury to German interests, to offer better terms than those fixed upon to the members of an army that had fought well. After due consideration, we were both forced to hold the negative of this question. When, therefore, General Von Moltke, who meanwhile had approached from the city (Donchery), went to your Majesty in order to lay before your Majesty the wish of the Emperor, this was done, as your Majesty knows, not with the purpose of supporting the same."

The day being warm, the Emperor then went out into the open air; Count Bismarck followed him with the chairs from

the cottage, and they seated themselves near the doorway. "The Emperor," says an eye witness, "wore the undress uniform of a general, but with one decoration on his breast, and with the usual *kepi* of the French service. Count Bismarck was in his white cuirassier uniform undress, with a flat cap and long boots. If you picture them sitting outside the small house, with the staff officers present lying on the patch of grass not far off, and the tall poplar trees flanking the *chaussée* as far as it can be seen, you will realize this striking episode. Napoleon looked better in health than last year, but anxious and care worn."

The Emperor now asked the Count if it were not possible to allow the French army to go over the Belgian frontier, in order to have it disarmed and disposed there; "but," says the Count, "I had also discussed this possibility with General Von Moltke the evening before, and quoting the motives indicated above, I declined to go into the discussion of this method. In regard to the political situation, I took, for my part, no initiative, and the Emperor only in so far as he bewailed the misfortunes of the war, and declared that he himself had not desired the war, but had been forced to it by the pressure of public opinion in France."

It was now made known to the Count by the officers of the staff, who had been sent to examine it, that Bellvue Castle, near Frénois, was suited to the reception of the Emperor, and that there were no wounded there. Count Bismarck at once notified the Emperor that he would propose this castle to the King as the most fitting place for the interview between the sovereigns, and requested the Emperor to repair thither at once, as he would be more comfortable there than in the laborer's cottage. The Emperor willingly agreed to the proposal, and was escorted by the Count to Bellvue Castle, the party being preceded by an escort of honor from the King of Prussia's body-guard of cuirassiers, and to that place the carriages and suite of the Emperor also repaired.

The King declined to see the Emperor until after the treaty was signed. This act was performed on the morning of the

2d, and was reported to the King about noon. The King was standing on a hill near Donchery, surrounded by his staff and the principal commanders of his army, when a copy of the terms of the capitulation was brought to him. At the royal command, Adjutant-General Treskow read it aloud to the assembled princes and officers. When the reading of the memorable document was ended, the King turned to his companions, and said :

You now know, gentlemen, what a great historical event has taken place. I owe this to the distinguished deeds of the allied armies, to whom I feel bound on this occasion to express my kingly thanks, especially as this success is well adapted to knit more firmly the chain which unites the friends of the North German Confederacy and my other allies, whose princely representatives I see numerously assembled round me at this moment. We may hope, therefore, for a happy future. Our task, however, is not completed with what has happened under our eyes, for we do not know how the rest of France will accept and judge it. We must, therefore, remain ready for blows ; but I already give my thanks to every one who has contributed a leaf to the laurel crown of fame of our fatherland.

As he spoke of his allies, the King glanced significantly at Prince Leopold of Bavaria and Prince William of Würtemberg, to whom he subsequently gave his hand. He then mounted his horse, and rode through the various bivouacs of the army. He was engaged in this inspection for several hours, and was every where received with enthusiasm.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, the King reached Bellevue Castle, where the Emperor awaited him. The Emperor met him in the principal room of the mansion, and received him with grave courtesy. The sovereigns shook hands, and after a few moments conversation withdrew to the conservatory, which was close at hand. The Crown Prince, who had accompanied his father, stepped to the door, and closed it.*

* Several reports of the conversation between the sovereigns have been published. The following is the version given by the London *Times* :

"King William. God has given our arms victory in the war you have precipitated.

Emperor Napóleon. The war was not sought by me, but was imposed upon me by public opinion.

In a short while the sovereigns returned, and the King and the Prince took their leave. It was then announced that the King had assigned the Emperor the Palace or Castle of Wilhelmshöhe, in Germany, for a residence during his captivity.

The King was greatly moved by the misfortunes of the Emperor, and his bearing towards him during their interview was marked by the profoundest courtesy and consideration. The Emperor was much affected by the King's conduct, and feelingly expressed to the Crown Prince his sense of the generous manner in which he had been treated. During his captivity he has been treated more like a guest than a prisoner, by the King.*

King (assenting emphatically). Your ministers created that opinion. Your army, however, certainly fought bravely.

Emperor. But the Prussians had the discipline that mine has recently lacked.

King. Before and since 1866 we studied carefully the experience and the invention of other nations.

Emperor. Your artillery won everything. It is the finest in the world.

King. In the matter of artillery particularly, we have utilized the experience of other nations.

Emperor. Prince Frederiek Charles decided the event of the last battle, his army carrying our last position.

King. You err. It was my son who fought at Sedan.

Emperor. Where, then, was Prince Frederiek Charles?

King. His army corps is before Metz.

The Emperor's self-possession apparently deserted him momentarily on receiving this intelligence. The King continued:

King. Have you anything to propose?

Emperor. Nothing whatever. I am a prisoner.

King. With whom, then, have I to treat?

Emperor. With the Empress. With the Government at Paris. I am powerless; can make no terms; give no orders.

King. Will Wilhelmshöhe suit you as a residence?

Emperor. Yes.

The conversation was continued for a short time, the King expressing condolence for the Emperor's misfortune. He at length withdrew with every mark of respect."

* After the interview the King sent the following bulletin to the Queen:

"What a thrilling moment, that of the meeting with Napoleon! He was bowed, but dignified and resigned. I have given him Wilhelmshöhe, near Cassel, for a residence. Our meeting took place in a little castle before the

The Emperor was given the choice by the King of travelling to Wilhelmshöhe through either France, Belgium, or Germany. He chose the route through Belgium, and sent a telegram to King Leopold requesting to be allowed to make the journey through his kingdom. After consulting with the Great Powers, the King of Belgium accorded the desired permission, and appointed Lieutenant-General Baron Chazal, the commander of the Belgian army on the frontier, to attend the Imperial captive through Belgium.

On the morning of the 3d of September, the Emperor and his suite drove rapidly out of Donchery, in the Imperial carriages, which the King of Prussia had allowed him to retain. He was very pale, and his face was firm-set, but with no overwhelming depression upon it. He scrupulously returned the salutations of the few who raised their hats to him as he passed by. His journey to Wilhelmshöhe is thus described in the journals of the day :

On leaving Sedan, Napoleon's first halt was at the Château de Burr, near Bouillon, the headquarters of Lieutenant-General Chazal. Breakfast was offered to the Emperor at the Belgian quarters, where his presence excited mournful interest. An hour afterwards Napoleon entered a carriage proceeding towards Libramont, the nearest station of the Luxembourg railway. Lieutenant-General Chazal, followed by his aide-de-camp, M. Sterx, had to escort the Emperor over the Belgian territory. Thirty mounted Belgian chasseurs formed the escort to Libramont. The Imperial cortège arrived at this station at about 1.45. There they had to wait three-quarters of an hour for the plain *berlines* of the Brussels Court which were to convey Napoleon the Third and his suite to the Prussian frontier. At a quarter to three o'clock the special train left Libramont, stopping for a few minutes at Jumelle, whence it proceeded by the Ourthe line, arriving at Liege precisely at 4 o'clock P. M.

The Emperor was seated with his aide-de-camp on a *fauteuil* of green velvet in the centre compartment of the State *berline*. He wore a red kepi, a gray cloak, and the uniform of a general officer, the Cross of the

western glacis of Sedan. From there I rodé through the army about Sedan. You can imagine the reception by the troops—indescribable! At dusk—7.30 o'clock—I had finished the five hours' ride, but returned here only at 1 o'clock. God help further!

WILHELM."



A Prussian Officer receiving the parole of French Officers included in the
Capitulation of Sedan.

Legion of Honor and several other decorations. He had expressed a wish to read some newspapers, and he was supplied with several numbers of *L'Indépendance*, *L'Etoile*, and *La Meuse*. The time for the arrival of the imperial cortège at Guillemins had been kept secret, to avoid a large concourse of spectators. Only about a hundred witnessed its entry into the station. After a stay of ten minutes the train went on its way, Napoleon several times saluting those who came near his carriage. The imperial train was to be followed in a few seconds by the train carrying the Germans. These trains took the same route, but what very different thoughts occupied the minds of the travellers they carried!

On leaving the train at Verviers, Napoleon III. entered one of the shabby *fiacres* waiting at the station, and was surrounded by his suite and some other persons, who, on seeing the Emperor, raised a cry of "*Vive la France!*" Immediately on his arrival at the hotel Napoleon asked for pens and paper, and commenced writing. An immense crowd quickly gathered under the windows of the hotel where the Emperor passed the night. But the people observed a quiet demeanor.

September 3, 1870.

At two o'clock to-day the Emperor passed through Cologne without stopping, the engines having been changed outside the city. The train consisted of ten cars. It left Verviers this morning at eleven o'clock, and Aix-la-Chapelle at noon. Another long train with the Imperial household had preceded it. The various railway stations were thronged with people who were curious to catch a glimpse of the Emperor. By order of King William, two Chamberlains of the Court of Prussia are in attendance on the Emperor.

WILHELMSHOHE, *September 5.*

The Imperial train reached this station at thirty-five minutes past nine P. M., where the garrison officers, General Plonske and resident officials of the province had assembled. The Emperor on alighting passed to Plonske's carriage, saluting the officers of the corps, who were drawn up with presented arms. He wore the undress uniform of a general, with a riding cape of the Garibaldian pattern. The crowd was silent, respectful and sympathetic.

Meanwhile the capitulation was being carried out at Sedan.* The anger and mortification of the French were extreme;

* General De Wimpffen issued the following order to his troops, announcing the true state of affairs:

"SEDAN, September 3, 1870.

"SOLDIERS:—On Thursday you fought against a force greatly superior in numbers, from daybreak until dark. You resisted the enemy with the utmost bravery. When you had fired your last cartridge, were worn out with fight-

but there was no help for it. Many of the officers refused to give their paroles and went into captivity with their men. The majority, however, were released on parole, and the non-commissioned officers and privates were collected in detachments, and sent off to Germany as prisoners of war, under a strong guard. A correspondent, writing from Sedan on the 3d of September, says: "I hear that the same angry despairing astonishment at what has happened, makes it hard to manage the eighty thousand prisoners, or more, who have been taken first and last about Sedan. There was actual danger of bloodshed this morning when the prisoners began to move out of the town. Happily the officers in command showed admirable tact and firmness. The French kept their old authority by not straining the cord too tight, the Germans by not showing themselves too much on the scene. Thousands of men have been coaxed out of the camp to-day, thousands will come out to-morrow. Sedan is presenting the

ing, and not being able to respond to the call of generals and officers to attempt to rejoin Marshal Bazaine on the road to Montmedy, you were forced to retreat on Sedan. In this desperate effort but 2000 men could be got together, and your General deemed the attempt utterly hopeless and impracticable. Your General found, with deep regret, when the army was reunited within the walls of the town, that it had supplies neither of food nor ammunition; could neither leave the place nor defend it, means of existence being alike wanting for the population. I was therefore reduced to the sad alternative of treating with the enemy. I sent, yesterday, to the Prussian headquarters, with full powers from the Emperor, but could not at first bring myself to accept the conditions imposed by the enemy. This morning, however, menaced by a bombardment to which we could not reply, I decided to make a fresh attempt to get honorable terms. I have obtained conditions by which we are saved much of the possible annoying and insulting formalities which the usages of war generally impose.

"Under the circumstances in which we find ourselves, it only remains for us, officers and soldiers, to accept with resignation the consequences of this surrender. We have at least the consolation of knowing a useless massacre has been avoided, and we yield only under circumstances against which no army could fight, namely, want of food and ammunition. Now, soldiers, in conclusion, let me say, that you are still able to render brilliant services to your country, without being needlessly slaughtered.

"DE WIMPFEN,

"General Commanding-in-Chief."

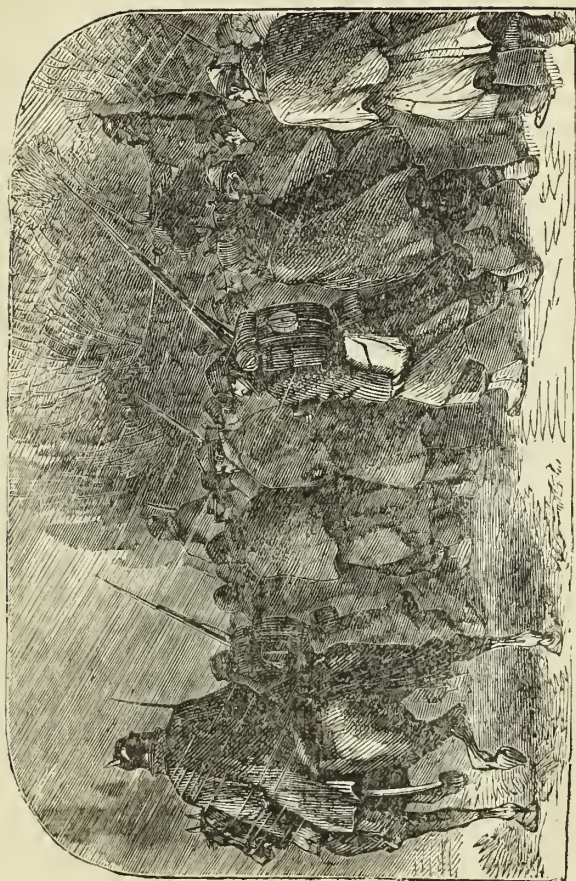
wildest scene of confusion which you can imagine. Narrow streets deep in mud—for we have had heavy rain to-day—the soldiers half-drunk with the stores of liquor, the houses half-burnt, and dead bodies lying everywhere.

“The evacuation of the town has gone on in earnest to-day. Already there is a great camp on the peninsula within the bend of the Meuse. The prisoners taken in the battle have gone away in strong detachments, guarded by German troops, and those who were upon the rainy, muddy road to the rear last night, as was the present writer, saw columns of Frenchmen tramping briskly along, with the German escort marching by their side in the worst of humors at being so employed, and with blankets muffled over the men’s heads to keep off the rain. Well might the villagers stare at so novel a sight—their own countrymen blocking the way, but blocking it as prisoners—their own uniform dragged to prison, as if it were a capital crime to be a Frenchman. The poor folks seemed chiefly anxious to avoid further loss, and chiefly suspicious of soldiers of any kind. But it was clear that amid all their terror and all their fear of downright starvation, they had a warm corner in their hearts for the lads of their own language and nation.”

By the surrender of Sedan, the whole of MacMahon’s army fell into the hands of the Prussians. A number of prisoners had been taken during the battle, and the losses on both sides were heavy in killed and wounded. By the surrender the Germans made prisoners of the following troops :

First Corps.....	32,400
Fifth Corps.....	11,106
Seventh Corps.....	15,618
Twelfth Corps	25,309
Total.....	<hr/> 84,433

Of these 4000 were officers, and 14,000 were wounded. About 3000 French soldiers and officers succeeded in escaping through the Prussian lines, and in making their way across the frontier into Belgium, where they were arrested and imprisoned by the Belgian authorities. The Prussians took



French Prisoners of War on the March, at Night, after the Battle of Sedan.

25,000 prisoners at Beaumont and Sedan. More than 400 field-pieces, 70 mitrailleuses, 150 fortress guns, 10,000 horses, and an enormous amount of war materials were also surrendered by the French.

The following is a list of the Generals who were included in the capitulation :

First Army Corps :—Gen. Ducrot,* commander of Corps ; Brig-Gen. Joly Frigola, commanding artillery ; Gen. Pelle, commanding Second Division ; Gen. L'Heviller, commanding Third Division ; Gen. Lartignes, commanding Fourth Division ; Gen. Michel (now dead), commanding cavalry ; Brig-Gen. De Montmarie, First Brigade ; Brig-Gen. Grandil, Second Brigade ; and Brig.-Gens. Léfèvre, Pateret-Court, Fra-boulet de Kerledec, De Belle Mare, and Leforestier de Vaudœuvre, commanding cavalry brigade.

Fifth Army Corps :—Division-Gen. Göze ; Gen. De l'Abadie d'Agdrin, commanding Second Division ; Brig-Gen. Abbattucci, commanding Second Division ; De Mauzières, Chief of Staff ; Brig.-Gens. Saurin and Baron Nicolas-Nicolas.

Seventh Corps :—Division Gen. Felix Douay, commanding Corps ; Gen. Renon, Chief of Staff ; Gen. Louis Doutrelaine ; Brig-Gen. De St. Hilaire, commanding First Division ; Gen. Lieberd, commanding Second Division ; Gen. Brodas, commanding Third Division ; Division-Gen. Baron Ameil, commanding cavalry, and Brig.-Gens. De la Bastide and De Liegard.

Twelfth Corps :—Gen. Lebrun, commanding Corps ; Brig.-Gens. Gresley, Chief of Staff ; Gen. Grandchamp, commanding First Division ; Gen. Lacrosette, Second Division ; Gen. De Vassoigne, Third Division ; Gen. D'Ouvrier de Villegly, commanding artillery ; Division-Gen. Bucapè ; Brig.-Gens. Cambriels, Marquiseau, Reboul, Cadart, Labaske, and Bertrand. Gen. Winpffen, with his Staff, is not included, because he was accorded the privilege to leave before the surrender was consummated ; and Marshal MacMahon is not mentioned, because he, when the capitulation took place, lay wounded in a village near Sedan.

The capitulation of Sedan was the most important event of its kind in history. An Emperor of France, and an army of over 80,000 men were made prisoners. It was indeed a great victory for Germany. It not only secured the German States absolute immunity from French interference for many

* General Ducrot refused to sign his parole, and made his escape from Sedan during the 3d, and succeeded in reaching Paris.

years to come, but it made certain the union of those States in one great Empire. It was hailed with rejoicings in all parts of Germany. Every city, town, and village was ablaze with patriotic excitement, and even the mourning for the brave fellows who had paid for the accomplishment with their lives, was suspended for awhile in the presence of the grandest triumph German valor had ever won.



Prince Frederick Charles.

CHAPTER VII.

MATTERS IN PARIS—CITY BECOMES CALMER—EFFORTS OF THE OPPOSITION TO EMBARRASS THE GOVERNMENT—DEMAND FOR ARMS—THREATS OF THE LEFT—A CHANGE OF MINISTRY—THE NEW MINISTERS—STORMY SCENES IN THE CORPS LEGISLATIF—M. THIERS DECLARES THE EMPIRE DEAD—ENERGETIC EFFORTS OF THE NEW MINISTERS—THE CITY BECOMES MORE EXCITED—OMINOUS SIGNS—EXPULSION OF THE GERMANS FROM FRANCE—SUCCESS OF THE FINANCIAL POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT—RED REPUBLICAN DEMONSTRATIONS IN PARIS—THE RIOT AT LA VILLETTE—GENERAL TROCHU APPOINTED GOVERNOR OF PARIS—FORMATION OF THE COMMITTEE OF DEFENCE—CRITICAL STATE OF AFFAIRS—TIMOROUS AND DECEPTIVE POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT—UNTRUTHFUL STATEMENTS OF THE MINISTER OF WAR—THE NATIONAL GUARD OF PARIS ORGANIZED AND ARMED—ANXIETY TO HEAR FROM MACMAHON—THE NEWS FROM SEDAN—PALIKAO'S STATEMENT TO THE CHAMBER—MOVEMENTS OF THE OPPOSITION—PROCLAMATION OF THE MINISTERS—EXCITEMENT IN THE CITY—THE MIDNIGHT SESSION OF THE CHAMBER—PALIKAO TELLS THE TRUTH—JULES FAVRE PROPOSES THE DECHEANCE—PARIS ON THE 4TH OF SEPTEMBER—THE REVOLUTION BEGUN—SCENES IN THE CITY—A PEACEFUL REVOLUTION—LAST MEETING OF THE SENATE—THE MOB OCCUPY THE PLACE DE LA CONCORDE—THE NATIONAL GUARD PASS THE RIVER AND REACH THE HALL OF THE CORPS LEGISLATIF—THE HALL INVADDED BY THE MOB—EFFORTS OF THE DEPUTIES OF THE LEFT TO CALM THE PEOPLE—LAST MEETING OF THE CORPS LEGISLATIF—THE THREE PROPOSITIONS—THE HALL INVADDED BY THE "SOVEREIGN PEOPLE"—THE SITTING BROKEN UP—GAMBETTA PROCLAIMS THE OVERTHROW OF THE EMPIRE—"TO THE HOTEL DE VILLE"—FORMATION OF THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT—CHARACTERISTIC SCENES—LAST MEETING OF THE DEPUTIES—THEY ARE TOO LATE—THE "SOVEREIGN PEOPLE" FORCE THE GATES OF THE TUILERIES, AND OCCUPY THEIR PALACE—SCENES IN THE TUILERIES—THE EMPRESS ALONE—HER DISPATCH TO HER MOTHER—HER APPEAL TO PALIKAO—HIS PROMISE—PALIKAO BREAKS HIS WORD—FLIGHT OF THE COURTIER—THE THREE HEROINES—ARRIVAL OF M. LESSEPS AT THE TUILERIES—FLIGHT OF THE EMPRESS—HER DEPARTURE FROM PARIS—ARRIVAL OF THE FUGITIVES AT DEAUVILLE—DE LESSEPS FINDS A FRIEND—THE FUGITIVES LEAVE FRANCE—ARRIVAL OF THE EMPRESS IN ENGLAND—DEPUTY GAMBETTA'S PROCLAMATIONS—THE "GOVERNMENT OF THE NATIONAL DEFENCE"—JULES FAVRE'S FOREIGN CIRCULAR—BISMARCK'S

REPLY—RED REPUBLICAN DISTURBANCES IN LYONS AND MARSEILLES—HOW THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED ITS AUTHORITY THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY—CLAIMS OF THE GOVERNMENT EXAMINED—THE UNITED STATES RECOGNIZES THE REPUBLIC—ELECTIONS ORDERED—THE ORDER RESCINDED—DIVISION OF THE GOVERNMENT—THREE MEMBERS SENT TO TOURS—DEPARTURE OF THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS FOR TOURS—INTERVIEW BETWEEN JULES FAVRE AND BISMARCK—FAILURE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS—FAVRE'S VERSION OF THE INTERVIEW—BISMARCK'S DENIAL—PROCLAMATION OF THE GOVERNMENT—BISMARCK'S COMMENTS—GENERAL BURNSIDE'S NEGOTIATIONS—M. THIERS, DIPLOMATIC TOUR—ITS FAILURE—HIS RETURN TO TOURS.

WE must now return to Paris, which we left profoundly agitated over the news of the disasters of the 6th of August. The city became calmer after the extent of the reverses was fully known, for it was hoped that Bazaine would be able to hold the Germans in check until MacMahon could organize a new army at Chalons.

The excitement in the Corps Legislatif, however, continued to increase. On the 9th of August a resolution was offered in that body by Deputy Clement Duvernois, declaring that the ministry did not possess the confidence of the nation or Chamber. It was adopted by a large majority, notwithstanding M. Ollivier's request to suspend the sitting for awhile. In the evening of the same day, the session was resumed. M. Jules Favre demanded the immediate and complete armament of the National Guard in Paris and the departments on the basis of the law of 1831; and after denouncing the General-in-Chief as responsible for the reverses of the campaign, by reason of his utter incapacity, demanded that the Emperor should relinquish the command, and that the direction of affairs should be vested in the Legislative Body. His remarks were greeted with applause by the members of the Left or Opposition, but with emphatic protest from the Right, or supporters of the Government, one of whom, Granier de Cassagnac declared that such a motion was the beginning of Revolution. In the midst of the confusion, M. Picard declared that if arms were refused to the people of Paris, they would procure them by all possible means. He demanded a

change of ministry. Count Kéràtry followed him, demanding the abdication of the Emperor, but was called to order. The President immediately closed the session.

The hall of the Corps Legislatif during this sitting was surrounded with a vast and anxious crowd, and it was necessary to keep the approaches clear by armed guards.

That night an order was received by the Government from the Emperor to yield to the popular wish, and form a new Ministry. The next day, the 10th, the names of the new Ministers were announced to the Chamber by Count De Palikao, who succeeded M. Ollivier as Premier. They were as follows:

General Cousin-Montauban (Count De Palikao). *Minister of War.*

M. Chevreau, *Minister of the Interior.*

M. Magne, *Minister of Finance.*

M. Clement-Duvernois, *Minister of Commerce and Agriculture.*

Admiral Rigault de Genouilly, *Minister of Marine.*

Baron Jérôme David, *Minister of Public Works.*

Prince De la Tour d'Auvergne, *Minister of Foreign Affairs.*

M. Grandperret, *Minister of Justice.*

M. Jules Brame, *Minister of Public Instruction.*

M. Busson-Billault, *President of the Council of State.*

The session of the 10th of August was a stormy one. The only thing of real practical importance that was done, was the adoption by the Chamber of Count Kéràtry's project for calling under arms all unmarried men of the classes of 1859 to 1864 inclusive, which call was also extended to all unmarried men between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five, not already enrolled in the Garde Mobile.

The new Ministry did not command the confidence of the Chamber, though the appointments were received without objection. It was evident that the choice of these men was a mere expedient to gain time.

M. Thiers took a prominent part in the debate in the Corps Legislatif on the state of the country. He said: "The Empire is henceforth out of the question. There can be no Empire without an Emperor. The Republic is inevitable." Jules Favre proposed that the Chambers should assume full power to save the country, declaring that since the

incapacity of the Emperor to command the army had been too conclusively proved, he should be recalled. This brought on a storm of excitement and confusion. The President declared M. Favre's proposition unconstitutional. In the midst of the uproar, Count Kérâtry proposed that "the Chamber should treat Napoleon III. as a Chamber treated Napoleon I. in 1815." The excitement now became so intense that the Government and Opposition deputies, in one or two instances, actually came to blows.

The new Ministry began its career by a commendable display of energy. Reënforcements were hurried to MacMahon at Chalons; the new levies were brought forward as rapidly as possible, and efforts were made to provide supplies and equipments with promptness to the troops already in the field. The Minister of the Interior, on the 11th, addressed a communication to the Prefects of communes throughout the Empire, urging them to organize corps of free soldiers, who were to receive one franc per day. These bands afterwards became famous as the *Frances-Tireurs*. Efforts were made to place the city of Paris in a state of defence. On the 24th of August, all the old soldiers, married or unmarried, in the Empire, between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five, were called out, to the number of 300,000 men. Officers under sixty years of age, and generals capable of service under seventy, were ordered to report for duty. It was hoped by this measure to be able to put in the field a body of veteran troops in a short time. On the 26th measures were taken to render the conscription more vigorous and effective.

Meanwhile the excitement in Paris grew more intense. The opponents of the Empire became bolder every day, and their numbers were augmented daily by accessions from all classes of the people of Paris, even from those who had been staunch Imperialists when the Emperor had favors to bestow. It became well understood in Paris, and in some of the large cities, that the Empire was on its last trial. The people seemed entirely to forget that they had done their best to make war inevitable, and to hurry the Government on to open hostili-

ties, and denounced the Emperor as the author of all their woes. Still, while they blamed the Emperor, there was no voice raised for peace. The whole of France demanded the prosecution of the struggle to the bitter end. The Republican Deputies and their allies, were quick to perceive the popularity of the war, and adroitly changed their programme. They no longer assailed the Emperor for making war, but confined their attacks to the errors and shortcomings of the Government in the conduct of the campaign.

In Paris and other large cities of France, there were many German residents. At an early period of the war, it was proposed to expel these from France, but the measure was not carried into effect until about the last of August, when they were formally sent out of the Empire. Four hundred families were expelled from Paris alone. In consequence of their enforced departure they suffered much loss and many hardships. Their expulsion was an act of unnecessary cruelty on the part of the French Government. Up to this time, they had been confided by the German States to the protection of the Minister from the United States of America, who had discharged his difficult task with a humane zeal which did honor to his high position.

Meanwhile the financial measures of the Government were crowned with success. On the 13th of August, the Minister of Finance introduced a bill into the Chamber to enable the Bank of France to increase its issue of notes to 2,400,000,000 francs, which measure was subsequently adopted by a unanimous vote. The war credits were also increased from 500,000,000 francs to 1,000,000,000 francs. On the 23d, the first war loan, amounting to 750,000,000 francs, was opened at the Hotel de Ville, the Ministry of the Interior, the various Mairies, and other public offices in Paris. Before five o'clock, 620,000,000 francs were subscribed, and the next morning the papers announced the loan at 2 premium. The next day, the remainder was promptly subscribed. The majority of the subscribers belonged to the working classes—a striking proof of the popularity of the war and of the determination of the

people to carry it through to the end. Money was abundant, as, indeed, were recruits—but the great need of France was a disciplined army.

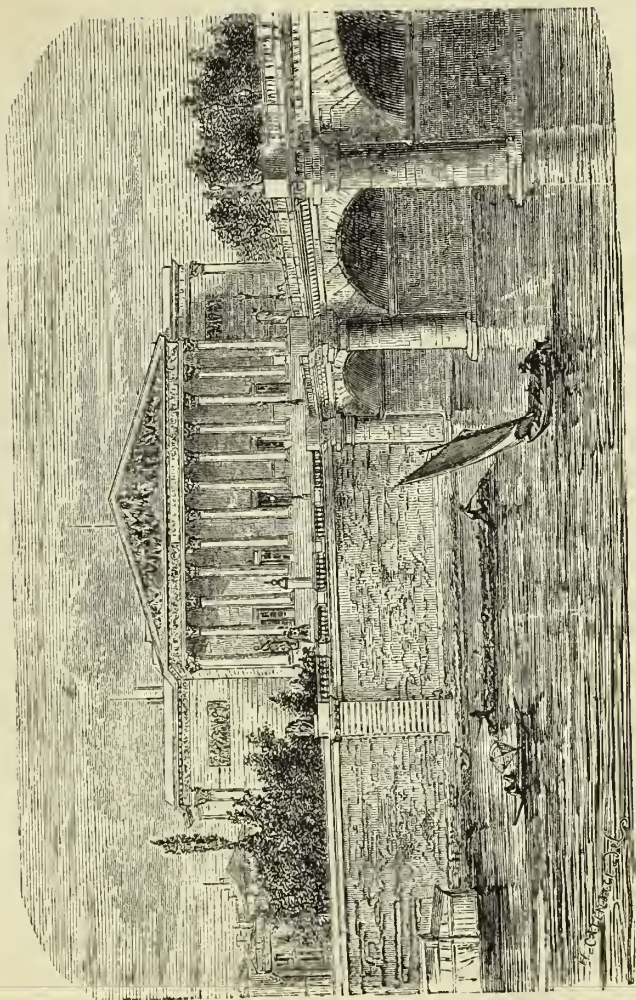
There were ominous signs of approaching trouble. The Red Republican element became more daring in proportion as it was seen that the Government was afraid to adopt repressive measures. The police were constantly receiving proofs of the determination of the Reds to give trouble. On the 14th of August, a band of nearly 100 men, armed with revolvers and daggers, made an attack upon a barracks belonging to the fire brigade at La Villette, one of the northern suburbs of Paris; the building was in charge of a lieutenant and about a dozen privates, two of whom were badly wounded before aid could be received. The police dispersed the mob, losing three of their own men, and made a number of captures. The rioters made their attack with cries of "*Vive la République.*" Many citizens joined the police in their efforts to put down the disturbance. The next day an attack was made upon some sentinels of the National Guard, but was quickly repulsed.

On the 17th of August, as has been seen, the Emperor appointed General Trochu Governor of Paris and Commander-in-Chief of the forces assembled for the defence of the Capital. On the 19th, the Government, driven to the measure by the attacks of the Opposition, consented to the formation of a Committee of Defence, with the most ample powers for conducting the military operations. It consisted of General Trochu, as President, Marshal Vaillant, Admiral Rigault de Genouilly, Baron Jérôme David, General De la Tour, General Guiod, General D'Autemarre d'Erville, and General Tournain. M. Thiers was afterwards added to this committee. An effort was made to add to the committee certain deputies elected by the Chamber, but Count De Palikao resisted the movement, which was defeated, but he at length so far yielded to the evident wish of the committee as to declare that he would name three deputies as members.

This was the state of affairs at this critical period. Mac-

Mahon was endeavoring to form a new army at Chalons. Bazaine was struggling in the vain attempt to escape from Metz; Paris was excited so deeply that it needed but little to produce an uproar; the deputies were wrangling in the Chamber; and the Government was afraid to let the real condition of affairs at Metz be known; concealed arms and ammunition had been discovered in Paris; and Republican demonstrations had taken place at Toulouse, Marseilles, Limoges and Lyons.

The Government was promptly and accurately informed of the progress of affairs at Metz, but it rigidly withheld the news from the people, not daring to make it public. In the Chamber, the Opposition questioned the Ministers of War upon every possible occasion, but Count Palikao either replied that the news was favorable, or that the Government was not in receipt of dispatches from the army. On the 16th of August—the day of the battle of Vionville—he declared in the Chamber that the Prussians had been obliged to abandon their effort to disturb the retreat of the French army. On the 19th, the day after Gravelotte, he informed the Chamber that Bazaine had been successful in his movements, that the Prussian centre had been badly crippled, and had failed in its efforts to form a junction with the Crown Prince. His statement was received by the Chamber with cheers. He added that the famous regiment of white cuirassiers, of which Count Von Bismarck was the colonel, had been entirely destroyed. “Not a single one remains.” On the 20th, he stated that the Prussian claim to a victory (at Gravelotte) on the 18th, was not true. He said: “The Prussians assert that they were victorious on the 18th. I affirm the contrary. I have communicated a dispatch to several of the deputies, showing that three Prussian army corps united and attacked Marshal Bazaine. They were repulsed and driven into the quarries of Jaumont. My reserve about this dispatch will be understood. I need not mention the small advantage gained at Bar-le-Duc. We are now actively completing the fortifications of Paris. In a few



Palace of the Corps Législatif : showing the Pont de la Concorde.

days all will be assured." The statement of the Minister produced the greatest joy in Paris; but after a lapse of twenty-four hours, no confirmation of it appearing, the people began to regard it as false, and their joy was succeeded by a profound despondency. Again, on the 22d, one of the Ministers asserted that Bazaine had telegraphed the Government that he had maintained every part of his line in the battle of the 18th. The suspicions of the people were aroused, however, and the feeling of uneasiness in Paris increased. The Government exerted itself to keep the real state of affairs secret until MacMahon could go to Bazaine's assistance. Then, they hoped, amidst the rejoicings over a brilliant success, they could confess and would be pardoned their deception. We have seen upon what a flimsy foundation their hopes rested, and how their lack of moral courage and common sense cost the country MacMahon's army. By degrees, however, the truth leaked out, and the country came at last to know that the great Army of the Rhine was locked up in Metz. Before the shock occasioned by this discovery was fairly over, the tidings of the fall of Sedan broke upon the people with terrible force.

In the meantime, however, the Government had begun to arm the people, and to organize the National Guard of Paris. This had been one of the first cares of General Trochu, upon taking command at Paris. Count Palikao was obliged, much against his will, to lend an energetic assistance to General Trochu in these measures, and such progress was made in the Capital that on the 20th of August, the Minister of the Interior was able to inform the Chamber that the National Guard of Paris already consisted of 51,000 men, armed and equipped, and would soon number 80,000. Orders were issued to the proper officials throughout France to distribute the arms from the arsenals to the people, and to spare no effort to put their communities in a state of defence.

As it became known that the Government was keeping back the news from the army, the opposition deputies increased their attacks in the Chamber. The Ministry, with

the hope of obtaining a respite from them, implored the deputies to be patient. The situation of affairs at the front, they said, demanded absolute silence on the part of the Government for a few days. They had good reason, they intimated, to believe that matters were progressing favorably, and that the country would soon be gratified with a substantial success. Meanwhile, the Government, with fatal blindness, hurried MacMahon's army onward to its doom.

As the advance of MacMahon became known in Paris, the greatest anxiety was manifested to obtain news of his progress; but still the Government maintained its ominous silence. It was broken for the first time on the 2d of September, by Count Palikao, who, in reply to a demand for information, said, that from unofficial news he had received, "he concluded that Marshal Bazaine, after a vigorous sortie, had been obliged to retire again near Metz. Subsequently a battle occurred between Mézières and Sedan, in which MacMahon was at first victorious, and at last obliged to retire before overwhelming numbers. The junction of the armies was, consequently, not accomplished." He concluded by saying that "the situation was grave, but not desperate." The Government was very well satisfied, if not officially informed of the actual state of affairs, but it dared not confess the truth.

The next day, September 3d, however, it was no longer possible to keep silence. The city was full of the most distressing rumors from the army, and it was very certain that the truth would be known immediately. At half past three in the afternoon, Count Palikao appeared in the hall of the Corps Legislatif. His entrance was followed by an anxious silence, every one being eager to hear his tidings. After a short pause, he addressed the Chamber as follows:

GENTLEMEN:—I have already said that I would in every circumstance always tell you the truth, however sad it might be for us. I now come to-day to fulfil my promise. My first news is that Marshal Bazaine, after a vigorous sortie and a combat of eight hours, being overwhelmed by numbers, was forced to fall back under Metz, so that his junction

with MacMahon is for the present prevented. On the other hand, the intelligence which we have received from Marshal MacMahon shows that at first he overthrew the Prussian army, but on the following day, after a combat of several hours' duration, he was obliged to retire on Sedan and Mézières; some of our soldiers were even forced on the Belgian territory. As to the rumor of MacMahon being wounded, I cannot say anything, in the absence of official documents, and the assertion may prove untrue. Homage is unanimously paid to the heroism of the French soldiers. The situation is grave, and we have decided to call out the whole living forces of the nation. Already, in the prevision of adverse circumstances, our grand anxiety was to organize the men who had already served, but, unfortunately, they were not in sufficient numbers; we therefore rapidly prepared the Garde Mobile, who, to the number of 200,000 men, will co-operate in the defence of the capital. The other military forces are being actively got ready, and we will fight with firmness until the enemy be driven from the soil. (Loud marks of assent.)

As the Minister left the tribune, the greatest agitation prevailed amongst the deputies, one of whom proposed to go into secret session for the consideration of the news, but his proposition was rejected. M. Jules Favre then said that, "Every member present must desire to aid in taking all possible steps for the defence of the country, and the first point of importance was to make the situation exactly known. Nothing could be more heroic than Marshal Bazaine's defence, but he could not act properly because he was trammelled." Here, the speaker being interrupted by loud cries of "No! No!" from the Right, turned to Count Palikao, and asked, "Do not the Ministers at present receive the orders of the Emperor?" "They do not," replied Palikao. "Then," said M. Favre, "in that case the Government *de facto* has ceased to exist. I now propose that the whole power shall be placed in the hands of General Trochu." The Minister of War entered an emphatic protest against such a proceeding, and no one was found willing to second the measure. The sitting soon after came to an end.

All day, the city had been painfully agitated. The Place de la Concorde was thronged with an excited crowd which pressed eagerly up to the gates of the hall of the Corps Legis-

latif, and demanded news from the army. At ten o'clock at night the whole truth was made known in the following proclamation from the Ministers:

TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE:

A great misfortune has come upon the country. After three days of heroic struggles sustained by the army of Marshal MacMahon against 300,000 of the enemy, 40,000 men have been made prisoners. General De Wimpffen, who took command of the army in place of Marshal MacMahon, badly wounded, has signed a capitulation. This cruel reverse will not shake our courage. Paris is to-day in a complete state of defence. The military forces of the country will be organized in a few days. A new army will be under the walls of Paris. Another army is forming on the banks of the Loire. Your patriotism, your union, your energy, will save France. The Emperor has been made a prisoner in the struggle. The Government, in accord with the public powers, will take all measures required by the gravity of events.

(Signed.)

COUNT DE PALIKAO,

H. CHEVREAU,

RIGAULT DE GENOUILLY,

JULES BRAME,

DE LA TOUR D'Auvergne.

GRANDPERRET,

CLEMENT DUVERNOIS,

P. MAGNE,

BUSSON BILLAULT,

JEROME-DAVID.

Of the Council of Ministers.

At midnight the Corps Legislatif met in obedience to the summons of M. Schneider, the President. Previous to this it had been necessary for the public to procure tickets of admission to the galleries, but upon this occasion no effort was made to exclude them. Vast crowds thronged the approaches to the hall, excited, and anxious to learn the result of the sitting. The business of the session was not fairly opened, until after one o'clock. Then M. Schneider stated that the intelligence received by the Government during the day was of so grave a character that he felt it to be his duty to summon the deputies to assemble even at that late hour. He then requested the Minister of War, who was present, to announce the facts. Count de Palikao at once ascended the tribune, and said:

GENTLEMEN:—I have the painful mission to announce to you what my words of this morning might have foreshadowed, but what I still hoped was only doubtful news; but unfortunately, however, it is now official.

The army, after heroic efforts, was driven into Sedan and surrounded by such a superior force that resistance was impossible. The troops capitulated, and the Emperor was made prisoner. Such is the sad intelligence I have to give you. In the face of such grave events, we, Ministers, cannot possibly enter at the present moment on a discussion relative to the serious consequences which must ensue. We, therefore, demand the postponement of the debate until to-morrow. You will easily understand that we have not been able to confer together, as I had to leave my bed on the announcement of a meeting of the Chamber to-night.

The announcement of the Minister was received by the deputies with visible consternation. As the Count left the tribune, the following colloquy took place:

The President. "The Chamber has heard the Minister of War's proposition. The gravity of an exceptional crisis in which afflictions of every kind accumulate, and the important duties which the Chamber has to perform, added to the immense responsibility of its situation, evidently require well-weighed deliberations. In this state of affairs it behooves honorable deputies, in their wisdom, to consider whether or not they ought not to postpone the debate until to-morrow."

Numerous voices. "Yes! Yes!"

The President. "I proceed to consult the Chamber."

M. Gambetta. "Oh, pardon, Monsieur."

The President. "I do not ask for any vote, but merely to inquire whether the best plan may not be to postpone the deliberation, as asked for."

A member on the Right. "Yes, and the more so that several of our colleagues were not aware of the night sitting."

Numerous voices. "To-morrow! to-morrow!"

Jules Favre now ascended the tribune, and instantly the assembly became silent. M. Favre said:

I ask to submit a proposition. If you think that, in the present grave and painful situation, sufficiently indicated by the honorable Minister's communication, it would be wise to postpone the discussion until noon, I have no objection; but as the debate will be engaged on the resolution to be taken in the absence of all the powers, we ask permission to present a proposition which I shall have the honor of reading without for the moment adding any observation. We ask the Chamber to be pleased to take into consideration the following motion:

ARTICLE 1. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte and his dynasty are declared to be deprived of the powers conferred on them by the constitution.

ARTICLE 2. The Corps Legislatif shall nominate a government com-

mission composed of . . . (you will fix the number of members you think fit) . . . who shall be invested with full powers to carry on the government, and whose express mission shall be to resist the invasion to the very last, and to drive the enemy from the territory.

ARTICLE 3. General Trochu is maintained in his office of Governor-General of the City of Paris.

Signed : Jules Favre, Cremieux, Barthelemy Saint-Hilaire, Desseaux, Garnier-Pages, Larrieu, Gagneur, Steenacker, Magnin, Dorian, Ordinaire, Emmanuel Arago, Jules Simon, Eugene Pelletan, Wilson, Ernest Picard, Gambetta, Count de Kérâtry, Guyot-Montpayroux, Tachard, Le Cesne, Rampont, Girault, Marion, Leopold Javel, Jules Ferry, Paul Bathmont.

I do not add a word. I submit this proposition, gentlemen, to your wise meditation, and to-morrow, or rather to-day (Sunday), at noon, we shall have the honor of declaring the imperative reasons which, we think, must compel every good patriot to adopt it.

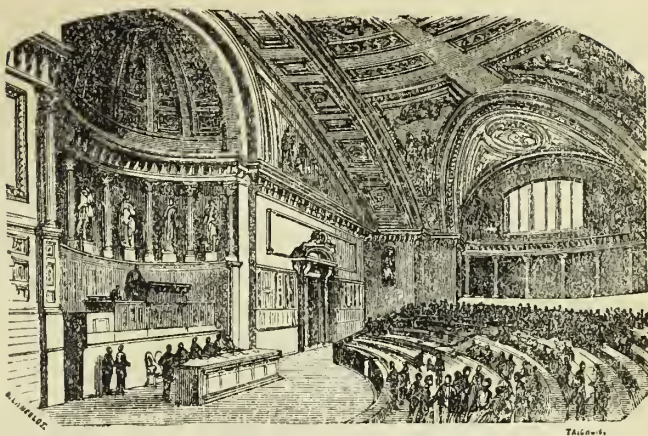
A dead silence ensued as the speaker went back to his place. His bold proposition seemed to frighten the whole Chamber. Even the Minister of War offered no protest. At length one voice broke the silence. It was that of Deputy Pinard, who said, "*We have no power to declare a forfeiture of authority.*" The sitting immediately came to an end.

The next morning the city was in an uproar. The proclamation of the Ministers had been posted all over Paris during the night, and wherever it was seen it was at once surrounded by crowds of people eager to read it for themselves or to hear it read. "At eleven o'clock," says an English resident of Paris, "I went to the Place de la Concorde. It was full of people, and from all the streets leading to it armed bands of National Guards were marching. A double line of mounted Gardes de Paris was drawn up before the bridge. Behind them I got. The first band of National Guards which tried to pass the bridge were forbidden to do so by the officer commanding the Gardes de Paris. He ordered his soldiers to draw their swords, and the National Guards on their side shouted, '*En avant.*' I began to feel somewhat uncomfortable; but, after a short parley, the soldiers sheathed their swords, and the National Guards passed over the bridge, shouting, '*Vive la République.*' This band was followed by

many others, until I suppose about 20,000 National Guards had passed the bridge and stood round the Assembly, the flag of which was now flying to show that the *séance* had commenced. By this time there must have been 100,000 men and women in the Place de la Concorde. This crowd was composed of working men, loungers, women, children, and soldiers.

"Every now and then there was a panic and a rush, but as every one seemed to be of one mind, there was no danger of blood being shed. The following expression I heard about a hundred times, and it sums up the feeling of the Parisians—'An Emperor dies, but does not surrender.' On all sides I heard abuse lavished on the Emperor. Every now and then some wiry working man got upon the shoulder of a friend, and shouted '*Vive la République !*' '*A bas l'Empereur !*' when the cry was repeated all round him. Round the gate of the gardens of the Tuileries, which were closed, there was a large crowd. At one time I thought they were going to force open the gate, and attack the few soldiers who were on guard within. Indeed, the garden was only saved by a Zouave inside, who knew his countrymen, dancing the *cancan*.

"After remaining about two hours on the Place de la Concorde, I went to the Boulevards; they were occupied by a pacific crowd waiting for news. Suddenly a cry was raised, '*La République est déclarée.*' A regiment, the only one which I had seen that day, was marching down. At that moment it was met by a detachment of the National Guard coming from the Chamber. Guard, regiment, and people immediately fraternized, the soldiers all reversed their arms, the Marseillaise was sung, and the soldiers disappeared into the neighboring cafés, where they were treated to drink. From the aspect of Paris, one would suppose, that news of a great victory had been received. Such perfect unanimity I never witnessed. It is Sunday, the people are walking about with their wives and children in holiday dress. The Gardes Nationales are marching home along the Boulevards as though



Hall of the French Senate.

they had come from a review. The windows and pavements are lined with people cheering them." *

* Another account of the scenes in the city is furnished by the Paris correspondent of the London *Daily News*. It is as follows :

"Knowing that the Corps Legislatif was to hold an extraordinary sitting at one o'clock, I got into a carriage at two, and told the driver to go to the Champs Elysées, hang about the Place de la Concorde, and get over one of the bridges to the Faubourg St. Germain. He objected that there were great crowds in the route I had marked out for him, and doubted whether he could get along. 'Try,' said I, and so he did, and we succeeded. On the Place de la Concorde there were many groups of people and several companies of National Guards, but still carriages could circulate. I observed that the National Guards carried laurels on their bayonets, and that numbers of citizens had sprigs of green (meant to represent laurels) in their hats. The laurels could not mean victory over the foreign enemy; but they were worn as emblems of victory over the internal enemy—the Emperor. My attention was attracted to one of the colossal allegorical statues at the northeast corner of the Place, representing the city of Strasbourg. This statue was decked out with flowers, and an enormous placard was hung round the neck bearing the words, 'Honor and glory to General Uhlrich.' A succession of democratic orators mounted the parapet at the foot of the statue and harangued a vast crowd with great success. I could not get near enough to hear their eloquence, but it was about the Republic, and the certain victory which the Republic could bring. I then turned my carriage and went towards the Place de la Concorde. The approaches were occupied

The Senate, which had borne an inconspicuous part in the events which preceded the fall of the Empire, met for the last time on the morning of the 4th of September, in its hall in the Luxembourg Palace. M. Rouher, the President, opened the session by referring to the importance of the events transpiring around them. M. De Chabriat said that some of the deputies of the lower House, forgetting their oath, had proposed to remove the Emperor. They had no right to do this. Though vanquished and a prisoner, the Emperor was still the Sovereign of France, and he, the speaker, would pay him a last homage, and cry "*Vive l'Empereur.*" M. Rouher declared that any such vote as their colleagues of the Corps Legislatif had mentioned as likely to be sent up to them from that body, would be firmly repudiated. A recess of two hours was then voted. At two o'clock the Senate reassembled. M. Rouher alluded to the proposal of Jules Favre for the Emperor's removal, and declared that as the mob had

by troops, and it was impossible to cross. I observed the steps of the Corps Legislatif on the other side of the river covered with people, and saw that the quays, right and left, were closely studded with infantry, cavalry, National Guards, and people, all mixed up together. At this moment the weather was beautiful—it was one of the most glorious early September days ever seen. I drove slowly along the quay parallel with the orangerie of the Tuileries toward the palace. The Tuileries gardens were full of people. I learned that in the morning orders had been given to close the gates, but that half an hour before I passed the people had forced them open, and that neither the troops nor the police made any resistance. My coachman, who, I dare say, was an Imperialist yesterday, but was a very strong Republican to-day, pointed out to me several groups of people bearing red flags. I told him that the tricolor betokening the presence of the Empress still floated from the central tower of the Tuileries. While I was speaking, and exactly at twenty minutes past three, I saw that flag taken down. That is an event in a man's life not to be forgotten. Crossing over the Pont de Solferino to the Quai d'Orsay, I witnessed an extraordinary sight indeed. From the windows of those great barracks, formerly peopled with troops every man of whom was supposed to be ready to die for his Emperor, I saw soldiers smiling, waving handkerchiefs, and responding to the cries of '*Vive la République,*' raised by gendarmes, cavalry, soldiers of the line, National Guards, and people below. Well-dressed ladies in open carriages shook hands with private soldiers and men in blouses, all crying '*Vive la République.*' Nay, strangers fell on each other's necks and kissed each other with 'effusion.'

broken into the Chamber, the vote amounted to nothing. Soon after this the Senate adjourned, and thus it passed into history.

During the 3d. crowds had paraded the streets of the city, shouting "*La Déchéance !*" (the "forfeiture" of the throne). They had been fired upon by the police, and had been dispersed. On the morning of the 4th they reassembled, the greater number making their way to the Place de la Concorde, immediately opposite to the hall of the Corps Legislatif, and separated from it by the bridge of Concord, which was held on the morning of the 4th by a detachment of Gardes de Paris and a number of Sergents de Ville. These prevented the crowd in the square from crossing the river to the Chamber. About one o'clock, two battalions of National Guards, with fixed bayonets, arrived through the Rue Royale, and crossing the square amidst cries of "*Déchéance !*" "*Vive la France !*" "*Vive la République !*" reached the head of the bridge. The troops on duty there refused to allow them to pass. A con-

In the neighborhood of the Pont Neuf I saw people on the tops of ladders busily pulling down the Emperor's bust, which the late loyalty of the people induced them to stick about in all possible and impossible places. I saw the busts carried in mock procession to the parapet of the Pont Neuf and thrown into the Seine; clapping of hands and hearty laughter greeting the splash which the graven image of the mighty monarch made in the water. I went as far as the Hotel de Ville, and found it in possession of His Majesty the Sovereign People. Blouses were in every one of M. Haussmann's balconies. How they got there I do not know. I presume that M. Chevreau did not invite them. But they got in somehow without violence. The great square in front of the Hotel de Ville was full of the National Guards, most of them without uniform. They carried the butts of their muskets in the air, in token that they were fraternizing with the people. The most perfect good humor prevailed. Portraits of the Emperor and Empress, which many of your readers must have seen in the Hotel de Ville ball-rooms, were thrown out of the window, and the people trod and danced upon the canvas. On leaving the Hotel de Ville, I saw in the Avenue Victoria M. Henri Rochefort, let out of prison, as a logical consequence of events, but half an hour before. He was on a triumphal car, and wore a scarlet scarf. He was escorted by an immense mob, crying '*Vive Rochefort.*' He looked in far better health than I expected to see him after his long imprisonment, and his countenance beamed with delight. He has seen his desire on his enemy."

siderable crowd had assembled on the other side of the Seine, on the steps of the Palace of the Corps Legislatif, and these made signs to the National Guards and the people in the Place de la Concorde to cross the bridge; but the troops of the line stood firm, and barred the way. Fresh battalions of National Guards now arrived, and a determined effort was made to force a passage of the bridge. The troops of the line made a show of resistance, and then opened their ranks. The National Guards then passed the bridge, followed by a large part of the crowd, shouting "*Vive la République!*" and singing the "*Chant du Départ.*" The new comers were received on the steps of the peristyle of the Legislative Palace by MM. Etienne Arago, Pascal Dupret, and others, who welcomed the National Guards. The iron gates, which, up to this moment had been closed, were now thrown open to allow a deputation of National Guards to enter. Instantly a rush was made by the vast throng of citizens and National Guards, and they passed into the court-yard of the Palace. The regular troops on duty there made a show of resistance, but ended by raising the butts of their rifles in the air, and joined their voices to the shouts of the crowd. Meeting with no further resistance, the mob rushed into the building, and soon filled up its corridors and ante-rooms.

The Chamber met at twenty minutes past one o'clock. Immediately after the reading of the minutes of the previous session, M. Jules Favre's motion for the deposition of the Emperor was called up. Count De Kérâtry demanded to know, before transacting any business, if the Minister of War had given orders contrary to those of General Trochu, who had ordered the National Guard to protect the sitting of the Chamber. Count De Palikao replied that he had only sought to protect the Chamber in causing the building to be guarded by regular troops. He then offered as a substitute for Favre's proposition, the following plan for a Council of Defence. He said :

The Council of Ministers has considered it necessary to introduce certain modifications into the conditions of the Government, and therefore propose to you the following bill :

ARTICLE 1. A Council of National Defence is constituted, composed of five members named by the majority of the Legislative Body.

ARTICLE 2. The nomination of the Ministers is countersigned by the members of the Council.

ARTICLE 3. General Count De Palikao is named Lieutenant-General of the Council.

A voice on the left—Urgency was demanded. What does that mean? (Laughter and noise.)

M. Jules Favre begged to point out to the Chamber the state of things to which the Government bill would give rise. If the Chamber adopted urgency for the measure, he must claim it for his, and for two reasons: first, because he had presented it first; and secondly, because it conferred larger powers on the Chamber than that of the Government.

M. Thiers: All my personal preference is in favor of M. Jules Favre's bill; but as I place the good of the country above my personal impressions, I have submitted the following project to several members belonging to all the parts of the Chamber:

In consequence of the vacancy of the throne, a commission of five members, named by the Legislative Body, is entrusted with the Government and the National Defence. A Constituent Assembly shall be convoked as soon as circumstances will permit.

The honorable gentleman then read the names of the deputies who had signed that proposition, to show that they belonged to all shades of opinion.

The President considered it his duty to consult the Chamber as to the question of urgency for these three propositions.

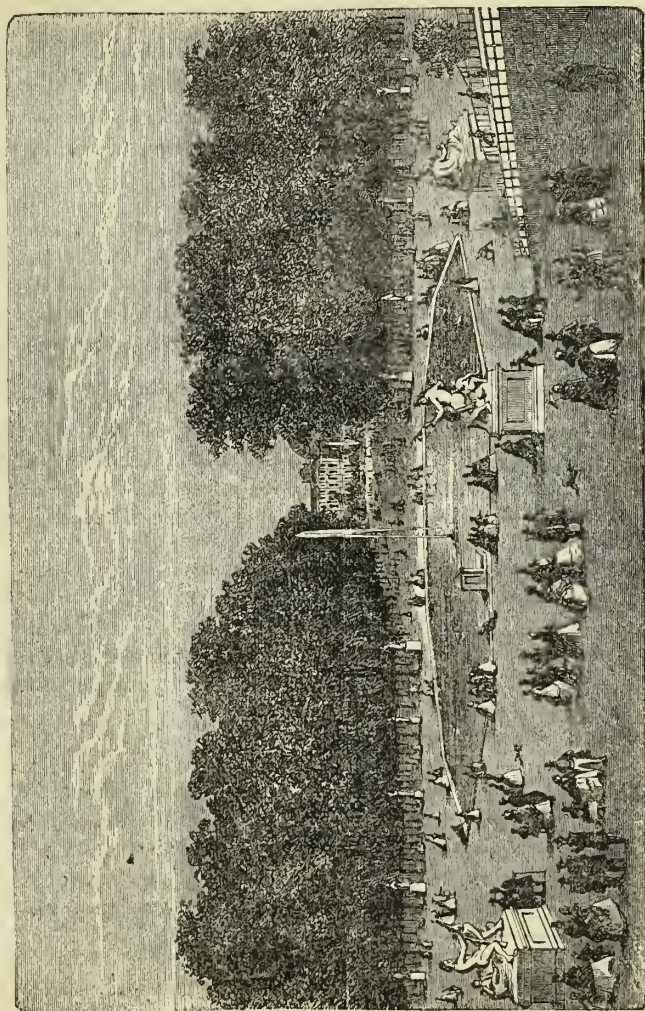
M. Gambetta was of opinion that the Chamber should declare the urgency on all three at once.

The Minister of War, who plainly perceived that but a desperate chance remained for saving the Empire, and that the best he could do would be to gain time for future action, said he was willing to waive his own proposal in favor of that brought forward by M. Thiers; but eventually all three propositions were referred to the Bureau, and the Chamber having declared in favor of their urgency, took a short recess to enable the Committee to report.

By this time the crowd from without had thronged into the building, and filled the corridors and the Salles des Pas Perdus, des Quatres Colonnes, and De la Paix. In the last named hall, M. Jules Ferry mounted on a bench to address the crowd. He was received with cries of "*Vive la République!*"

"*Vive Ferry!*" He said that he had pledged his word to Count De Palikao that the people would not enter the actual hall where the deputies held their sittings, and which he declared ought to be held sacred ; and he appealed to the people to respect the pledge he had given. At his request, sentinels from the National Guard took the place of the troops of the line guarding the entry to the hall. The mob continued to call for the overthrow of the Emperor, and shouted that the Chamber ought to lose no time in pronouncing it. M. Ernest Picard then addressed them, telling them that the Chamber was about to declare its intentions on this very question, and begged them to have patience and await the decision of the deputies, which could not be otherwise than favorable to the unanimous wish of the people. M. Schneider, the President of the Chamber, now appeared, and though pale and agitated, addressed the throng. He said he had always been devoted to the Empire and his country, and he begged the crowd to be calm and allow the deputies to discharge their duties, and not to let it appear that their deliberations were influenced by popular pressure. "Above all," he said, "one must save France!" He was answered with cries of "Yes! yes!" "*Vive la République!*" in the midst of which he went back to the hall. In the other halls into which the mob had penetrated, efforts were made by leading deputies to persuade them to be calm, but the excitement grew greater momentarily, and the crowd surging onward pressed into the Salle des Séances. Here the noisy patriots began to discuss the members that ought to be chosen to form a provisional Government. The names of seven of the most prominent deputies of the Left were written on a paper, and this was hung to the statue of Minerva. The pillars and walls were soon covered with writings in chalk and crayon, demanding the dethronement of the Emperor and the establishment of a Republic ; similar demands being shouted incessantly by the mob.

The Chamber resumed its sitting at half past two o'clock, to hear the report of the committee. The members of the



The Gardens of the Tuileries.

Opposition were all in their places, but the administration deputies had disappeared in considerable numbers. The galleries were crowded with citizens and soldiers, who were so noisy that it was impossible for the business of the Chamber to go on. M Crémieux mounted the tribune to appeal to the crowd, but could not make himself heard. Deputy Gambetta was more successful. He succeeded in quieting the noise to a certain extent, and then appealing to the mob in the galleries, he said :

CITIZENS :—It is in your power to present a great spectacle, that of a people uniting order and liberty. (Cries of "Yes ! Yes !") Well then, I implore you, let a group in each compartment undertake to insure order ; then wait in silence. The Left has pledged itself to the Chamber to cause the freedom of its deliberations to be respected. (Applause.)

The President. (Also addressing the galleries.)

You have just heard the patriotic exhortations of M. Gambetta, to which I join my own. At this moment, believe me, the Chamber is called on to deliberate on a situation of extreme gravity in a spirit of absolute devotedness to the country. (Applause on some benches ; murmurs on others.)

M. Glais-Bizoin. Citizens, the deposition is about to be pronounced by the Chamber ; wait till the committee is ready to propose it.

M. Girault (du Cher). Citizens, I also make an appeal to your patriotism. So that the country and the Chamber may be united against the enemy, now approaching. (The proceedings were interrupted for some moments in the midst of general agitation.)

M. Gambetta. Citizens, one word more. It is necessary that all the deputies in the bureaux or elsewhere should be present in order to have the dethronement voted. Wait for them in an attitude of moderation and dignity ; they will soon be here. (Applause.) Preserve the solemn silence suitable to the inhabitants of this great city, now menaced. You will presently hear proclaimed the result of the deliberations of the Chamber, which will, doubtless, be affirmative in the sense you desire. (Approbation ; noise outside.)

M. Gambetta might have succeeded in calming the noisy patriots in the galleries, but a new element of disorder now appeared on the scene which he was powerless to control. At three o'clock the mob which had been waiting impatiently outside for news, burst open the doors of the hall, and rushed

in. The floor of the apartment was quickly filled. The door at the back of the speaker's tribune was broken open, and the rioters poured in through it. Several deputies endeavored to oppose their entrance, but without avail. The confusion was frightful. Gambetta and others endeavored to obtain a hearing, but in vain. President Schneider seeing no chance of restoring order, put on his hat and left his chair, declaring the sitting at an end. A man from the crowd placed himself in the President's chair, and rang the bell. A roar of laughter and a shout of "*Vive la République !*" followed. A less fortunate patriot ascended the speaker's tribune, doubtless intending to harangue the mob, but was seized and tossed over into the crowd. The deputies left the hall as rapidly as possible, and a body of National Guards was sent in to drive out the mob. Deputy Gambetta, followed by a number of members of the Left, hastened to the steps of the Palace, in front of which an immense throng had collected, and announced that the Empire had ceased to exist. Shouts of applause hailed his announcement, and the cry was raised, "To the Hotel de Ville!" The deputies of the Left at once formed themselves in procession, and set off on foot for the Hotel de Ville, escorted by the National Guard and the crowd of good patriots. Crossing the Pont de la Concorde, they marched along the river shore by the Tuileries, rending the air with their shouts and songs.

"Meanwhile, outside the Chamber men climbed up to the Statue of Law, over the portal, and destroyed the eagle which adorns the baton in the hands of the image. Then it is itself destroyed—head first, then the arms. Gambetta and the procession pass down the Quai des Tuileries. Soldiers applaud and shout with the crowd. A lieutenant-colonel cries '*Vive la République !*' The procession stops and fraternizes. The Turcos and Spahis at the barracks of the Quai d'Orsay wave their turbans. The flag over the pavilion of the Tuileries is hauled down. In front of the Préfecture there are cries of 'Down with Pietri!' The Préfecture is closely shut.

"Arrived in front of the Hotel de Ville, the crowd forces

its way in. Jules Favre and Jules Ferry go to the further end of the great hall. Two Gardes Mobiles, with drawn swords, clamber up the ornamental chimneys and seat themselves in the lap of a marble nymph. Gambetta, Crémieux, and Kérâtry press in and take a place beside Favre, followed by Picard, Etienne Arago, Glais-Bizoin, Schoelcher, and others. Gambetta, Crémieux, and Kérâtry are by themselves at the Mayor's table.

"Amid the tumult, Gambetta declares the Republic a fact, and that Emmanuel Arago is appointed Mayor of Paris. The people shouted approval. The Bureau is constituted. Kérâtry is appointed Prefect of Police. The Bureau retires to constitute a Provisional Government and Ministry. At four o'clock the Bureau returns, and Gambetta declares the Provisional Government, constituted under the title of Government for the National Defence, consisting of Arago, Crémieux, Favre, Simon, Gambetta, Ferry, Glais-Bizoin, and Garnier-Pagés. The people shout Rochefort's name. It is added amid acclamation. The members of Government again retire. There is a discussion whether the tri-color or the red flag is to be adopted. Schoelcher says 'tri-color,' and it is adopted.

"The Rochefort episode was as follows: A hundred of Rochefort's constituents met, by appointment, at 3 P. M., at the Great Market Hall. At a given signal the leader raised a cane with a flag attached to it, and, with a shout, 'To Sainte Pélagie!' the band set off. The group was joined by other men who up to that time had been lurking in the immediate vicinity, making in all about 300 when they reached the prison. There were three marines acting as sentries outside. One of them made believe to lower his bayonet. It was raised by his comrade. The crowd took the guns and broke them, but fraternized with the marines. There was no opposition from the wardens. Rochefort's cell-doors were burst in, and he was taken out.

"There was no coach at the door. A lady passing in one got out of it, and made Rochefort get in. He was driven to the Hotel de Ville, arriving there at five o'clock, and was car-



Prison of Sainte-Pélagie : Paris.

ried in triumph to the throne-room, where, amid the shouts and congratulations of friends, he learns that he is a member of the new Republican Government."

The deputies, who had left the Chamber at the time of its invasion by the mob, with the exception of those who followed Gambetta to the Hotel de Ville, met in the afternoon at the residence of the President, and agreed to the proposal for the establishment of a Government, which was carried by a deputation to the Hotel de Ville, where the Republican Government had already installed itself. The bearers of the proposal were informed that it was now too late for it to be entertained, as the Republic had already been proclaimed and accepted by the Parisians. It was promised, however, that some of the members of the Provisional Government should attend an evening meeting of the deputies. This evening session was presided over by M. Thiers, and attended by nearly 200 members of the Corps Législatif. MM. Jules Favre and Jules Simon appeared on behalf of the Provisional Government. They stated that the new Government sincerely desired to have the support of the deputies; but added that it was thought they (the deputies) could render better service to the country in the departments. Jules Favre was asked if Rochefort were not a member of the new Government. He admitted that he was, and added that it comprised all the deputies from Paris, "except the most illustrious"—referring

to M. Thiers, who had refused to form part of it. The interview resulted in nothing. The deputies entered their protest against the action of the Provisional Government, and then quietly separated.

While the mob was escorting Deputy Gambetta and his friends to the Hotel de Ville, a portion of the throng, gathered in the Place de la Concorde, forced the great gates of the Tuileries Gardens, which were guarded by a detachment of the Zouaves of the Guard. The eagles which ornamented the railings had already been broken down, without opposition from the sentinels, who now suffered the mob to pass into the gardens unresisted. The column was headed by detachments of the Garde Mobile and the National Guard. It passed up the main avenue as far as the great basin, where a halt was commanded as the Voltigeurs of the Guard were seen drawn up in the private garden. M. Louis Ravenez, of the National Guard, was desired to come to an understanding with the commander of these troops, and tying his handkerchief to his bayonet, as a flag of truce, he advanced towards the railing behind which the troops were posted. General Mellinet, the officer in command, advanced to meet him. "General," said M. Ravenez, "the Republic is proclaimed. I come in the name of the people and the National Guard to demand an entrance into the palace, which is our property. We will cause it to be respected." During this speech, the crowd surged up to the garden railing. General Mellinet, mounting a chair so that he might be heard, replied, "Gentlemen, I ask nothing more than to march out my troops, on condition that the post shall be confided to the National Guard on duty here. In addition, I declare that if one of my men is molested, I am a General, and I shall do my duty." The mob shouted, "Down with the Emperor!" "We will enter," and it seemed as if they were about to carry the Palace by force, but an arrangement was effected by which the National Guard took the place of the Voltigeurs, who retired. This accomplished, the National Guard lined the main entrance, and allowed the sovereign people to enter the

Palace. One of the journals of the day, thus describes the scenes which followed :

The Palace was absolutely empty ; the people of the kitchen had alone not deserted. A gentleman, who said he was Sub-Conservator of the Palace of St. Cloud, and secretary to General Lepic, also remained. He handed a key to M. Ravenez, wherewith the latter penetrated into the reserved apartments, going by himself. The General's secretary was deeply moved. " Ah ! sir," said he to M. Ravenez, "*it is frightful ! The poor Empress ! how basely they abandoned her ! All those persons whom she pampered left her.*" The reception rooms on the first story preserved their usual aspect, but from the Place de Carrousel one could see that the curtains had been removed from the windows. On the ground-floor the disorder was inexpressible. M. Ravenez's impression was that the Empress had just left ; everything bore witness to that precipitate departure. Let us return to the Imperial apartments, encumbered with empty trunks, work-boxes, and open bonnet-cases. In the Empress's chamber a bed was still unmade. M. Ravenez, when traversing the suite of apartments which had been occupied by the Emperor and his son, found : on a sofa, a child's sword, half unsheathed ; on the floor, in the midst of a heap of copies of Paris newspapers, lay a revolver-case ; here and there, slippers and chairs. In all the cupboards, empty cigar-boxes ; and, strange enough, a great number of phials of phosphate of iron.

In the Prince Imperial's study, little leaden soldiers, put in motion by turning a handle, were lying on the carpet. An exercise-book for writing historical themes was open on the table. One leaf was entirely covered with a small and correct handwriting. It begins thus :—

Louis XV., Bourbon, Fleury (1723–1741). Regency resumed. Bourbon. 1723–1726. Bourbon.—Madame de Prie, Paris, *Duvernois* (*Duvernay* was intended). At home, corruption, stock-jobbing, frivolity, intolerance. Abroad, marriage of the King with Marie Leczynska. Rupture with Spain, which country displays Austrian tendencies, etc., etc.

In one of the Empress's rooms, the book for the palace service was found. In the passages, generally lit even in the day time, there was a vague odor of burning oil proceeding from the lamps but shortly before extinguished. In another room a breakfast had been interrupted. It was of a most simple character, consisting of a boiled egg, a little cheese, and some bread. In the Emperor's apartment, several maps of Prussia, busts and statuettes of the Imperial Prince, a great number of little painted figures, representing Prussian soldiers and officers in uniform ; also, volumes with annotations. Let us also mention, along with other objects abandoned to their fate, a Greek cap with a peacock's

feather, and inside the letters C. L. N., embroidered in gold. No damage whatever has been done in the interior of the Tuileries. Besides, Gardes Mobiles, as well as National Guards, were posted within to prevent entrance. A repast was ordered in the kitchen for the irregulars. What its worth might be we do not know, but *the wine served was execrable*.

Some of the Emperor's enemies have taken a characteristically French revenge in scrawling about the walls facetious sallies at him. The Tuileries are covered with such notices as: "*Ce logement à louer ;*" "*Louer, à cause d'expulsion.*" One satirist has taken the trouble to chalk down a stanza, which may be new to some of your readers:—

Les deux Napoleons les gloires sont egales,
Quoiqu' ayant pris les chemins inegaux ;
L'un de l'Europe a pris les capitales,
L'autre au pays a prix les capitaux.

Others have amused themselves by scratching out the "m" in "l'Empereur," and leaving what is intended for a play on the word "*peur*." No pun is too bad for Paris. The most fastidious wit, however, will probably prefer this method of wreaking vengeance upon imperialism, to those usually employed in moments of political excitement.

Meanwhile all Paris was wondering what had become of the Empress. On the evening of the 3d of September, Her Majesty was informed of the capitulation of Sedan and the captivity of the Emperor. The next morning she sent the following telegram to her mother, in Spain:

PARIS, Sept. 4, 1870.

MA CHERE MERE:—General Wimpffen, who had taken command after MacMahon had been wounded, has capitulated, and the Emperor has been made prisoner. Alone and without command he has submitted to that which he could not avert. All day he was under fire. Courage, dear mother; if France will, she can defend herself. I will do my duty.

Your unhappy daughter,

Madame la Comtesse DE MONTIJO, Madrid.

EUGENIE.

These were brave words, and they were the words of a brave woman. In all the Council of the Regency, the Empress was the only one undaunted by the situation. It does not detract from the credit which is her due, that she was not fully informed of the temper of the Parisians, for when the truth was told her, her courage did not fail.

On the morning of the 3d of September, Her Majesty had a long and somewhat painful interview with the Count de Pa-

likao, in which she exerted all her influence to induce the Minister not to communicate the news of the surrender of the Emperor and army to the Chamber or the public until the receipt of further details, which might perhaps be more favorable. The Count yielded to her entreaties, and consented to inform the Chamber of the disaster only in general terms. He understood the temper of the Chamber better than the Empress, and was fully aware that he was involving himself in trouble with that body by withholding the intelligence. This is said to have been the secret of his agitation when he made his statement in the Chamber on the afternoon of the 3d. The suspicious manner in which his communication was received by the deputies determined him upon his course, and he resolved to tell the whole truth at the session which had been fixed for midnight of the 3d. Having come to this conclusion, he carefully avoided the presence of the Empress, though she sent for him on two separate occasions, intending, doubtless, to exert herself to keep him faithful to his promise, the fulfilment of which she regarded as essential to the safety of the dynasty. A gentleman of the Imperial household was present at the midnight session of the Corps Législatif, and heard the statement of the Minister of War. Hastening back to the Tuileries, he informed Her Majesty that Palikao had broken faith with her. The Empress heard him with unshaken composure, and then retired to a small private chapel attached to her apartments. In a quarter of an hour she came out, and summoning an attendant, dispatched him to Count Palikao with a ring, which she took from her own hand—a mute but eloquent reproach to her faithless Minister. She did not retire during the night, and made no effort to seek counsel of her Ministers.

The messenger who took the ring to Palikao never returned. He followed the example of the Minister of War, and devoted himself to preparing for his own safety. Palikao must have felt the reproach conveyed by the present of the Empress, for he of all men had most to be grateful for to her. Her favor had raised Cousin Montauban to his high position,

and that too in the face of a fierce opposition from the Chamber, in days past, and he owed her at least the duty of remaining by her side in the hour of her need, and making sure of her personal safety. He turned his back on her, however, and left her exposed to the violence of a hostile mob, with not one arm, so far as he knew, to defend her from it. His confession of the truth as to the surrender at Sedan, was an act of pure selfishness. He had not hesitated to deceive the Chamber with regard to affairs at Metz, and it would have done little harm to have yielded to the Sovereign to whom he owed everything, and have delayed his statement a few hours longer in the hope that something more favorable might be learned. Unquestionably, the truth should have been told promptly. The Chamber should have been informed from the beginning of the exact state of affairs at any cost to the Napoleon dynasty, for the safety of France was at stake; but we can hardly credit the Minister who had marked his whole course by a systematic deception of the Chamber with an honest desire to tell the truth upon this one occasion. Selfishness was at the bottom of it. And, after all, having stated the plain facts to the Chamber, and seeing the Revolution inevitable, why did not this man hasten to the Tuileries to make sure of the safety of the woman who had been his best friend in the day of her power? Cousin Montauban was not lacking in personal courage. It was the higher, nobler element of gratitude that he failed to display in this emergency.

Nor was he the only ingrate. When the morning of the 4th of September came, when all Paris was in an uproar, and when, judging by the lessons of past revolutions, there was reason to believe that the mob would attack the Palace, the Empress found herself alone—deserted by all whom she had heaped favors upon in better days—by all save three heroic women. They were Madame Le Breton, wife of General Le Breton, and two other ladies, whose names, unfortunately, have not been made known. These three heroines, indignant at the cowardice of the other attendants, who had fled, or

who were rifling the apartments of their valuable movable contents, remained by their Sovereign, resolved to share her fate whatever it might be. They were fully aware of the danger to which they were all exposed, and endeavored by all means in their power to urge the Empress to some effort to secure her safety. Towards the afternoon, the unhappy lady, worn out with anxiety, grief and loss of rest, sank into a sort of stupor, from which her ladies were powerless to rouse her. The mob had already invaded the gardens of the Tuileries at this moment, and the ladies could hear their shouts coming nearer and nearer. They were in an agony of alarm. The Empress seemed deaf to them, and the danger was becoming more imminent every moment.

Suddenly the door of the apartment was thrown open, and a man rushed in pale and agitated. It was Ferdinand de Lesseps, the illustrious designer and builder of the Suez Canal, and an old and tried friend of the Empress. He had put his life in his hand, and had come resolved to save his sovereign and benefactor or to die with her. He entered the Palace from the Ruc de Rivoli, and hastened to the apartments of the Empress. Not a single person opposed his passage, not one was to be seen save a few of the lackeys who were engaged in plundering the apartments. All the attendants, all those who should have been on duty to protect the Imperial apartments from the intrusion of persons unattached to them, had deserted their posts and fled. As he saw the servants plundering the rooms, M. De Lesseps made a rush at one of them to seize him and hand him over to the police, but he checked himself as Madame Le Breton implored him to assist the Empress to escape.

His arrival was most opportune. The mob had already reached the private garden, where they were engaged in parleying with the troops on duty, as we have seen; and as M. De Lesseps offered his services to the Empress, a loud shout announced their occupation of the grounds just under the windows of the room. This shout and the arrival of De Lesseps aroused the Empress to a sense of her situation. She

still appeared to think, however, that the deliberations of the Chamber would bring the troubles to a happy solution. Turning to M. De Lesseps she requested him to cause the Ministers to be at once informed of the indignities to which she was exposed.

"I have come," said M. De Lesseps, "not to risk your Majesty's safety by an appeal to men who cannot provide for their own, but to ask you to confide in me."

"But the Assembly?" said one of the ladies.

"The Assembly, madame," said De Lesseps gravely, though not without a touch of irony, "is at this moment the nation. The rabble of Paris, by one successful rush, have elected themselves to the Chamber, and they are now probably voting the new constitution by *acclamation de pied* from the benches of the Right."

His words convinced the Empress that all was indeed lost for the Empire. Rising, she motioned to one of the ladies for her bonnet, gloves, and a walking jacket, which her ladies aided her in putting on. Then turning to M. De Lesseps, she asked quietly, and with a sad smile, "Which way?"

De Lesseps led the way from the chamber, followed by the Empress and the four ladies, the shouts of the crowd warning them that they had no time to lose. They traversed the Tuileries, and passing through the great hall in which the Emperor had always opened the Legislature in person, entered the famous long gallery of the Louvre, which runs parallel with the river, and soon reached the door at the lower end which communicates with the stairway and the street. To their dismay, the door was locked, and the key was missing. The custodians of the Louvre had deserted their posts, and there was no one at hand who could be asked for the key. The hopes of De Lesseps nearly forsook him at this juncture, and he stood silent, trying in vain to find some way out of the dilemma. The Empress, cool and collected, seated herself on one of the fauteuils opposite Reubens' great picture of the arrival of Marie de Medicis. The shouts of the mob, as they approached the entrance to the Tuileries, now grew louder. Not a second was to be lost.



The Louvre Gallery : Paris.

“There is but one thing to do,” said De Lesseps, suddenly. “I will step out on the terrace, and address the crowd, while your Majesty and the ladies—”

He was interrupted by a noise at the upper end of the gallery. Glancing in the direction of the sound, he beheld, to his relief, Madame Le Breton, holding in her hand the key of the door which had stayed their progress. She had recollected that the door was always locked on the side nearest the Tuileries, and had hastily left the long gallery and had descended by means of a private stairway close by, to the porter's lodge, where she had found the key on the labelled hook.

De Lesseps at once unlocked the door, and the fugitives gained the stairway and the street, and at the same moment, the mob rushed into the Tuileries which the Empress had just quitted. At the foot of the stairway, the Empress and her companions paused to decide upon their future movements. The Empress expressed her intention to go to England, and Madame Le Breton said she would accompany her. This Her Majesty at first refused to allow, but, at the urgent prayer of her friend, at length agreed to. The other two ladies, being unable to accompany her from France, decided to go to the house of a friend in the Faubourg St. Germain.

Upon reaching the street, M. De Lesseps hailed two cabs that were passing. Placing the two ladies in one, he directed the driver to conduct them to their friend's residence in the Faubourg St. Germain. He handed the Empress and Madame Le Breton into the other, and entered himself. As he was closing the window, a *gamin*, or street boy, passed the carriage, and glancing in, recognized the Empress, and exclaimed, "*Voilà Madame Bonaparte!*" Fortunately no one heard him, and the next instant the carriage was driven away to the residence of M. De Lesseps, in the Boulevard Malesherbes, which was reached without further incident. There the fugitives remained until the evening, when, accompanied by M. De Lesseps, they proceeded in a cab to the Northwestern railway station in the Place du Havre, and left Paris on the train for Havre. Early the next day they reached the little town of Deauville on the northern coast, and took lodgings at a second-class hotel, avoiding the principal hotel where the Empress might have been recognized by some one of the guests—the place being a fashionable summer resort, although comparatively deserted at that season.

M. De Lesseps at once began his search for a vessel in which the Empress could take passage to England, distant about 100 miles across the channel. At the same time, through the agency of a friend in Paris, he was enabled to procure intelligence of the Prince Imperial, and to assure the Empress of his safety. The prospect of finding a ship in which he could trust his illustrious companion, however, was discouraging, and almost in despair he entered a small local yachting club house in Deauville, to look over the papers, hoping to gain some intelligence which would assist him from them. He had scarcely entered when some one called his name. Looking up he recognized an old friend in the speaker, Sir John Montague Burgoyne, who had served in the English army in the Crimea. Sir John explained his presence there by saying that he was awaiting the arrival of Lady Burgoyne from Switzerland, and that his yacht was then lying in the harbor, and would sail for England on Wednesday.

This was a providential meeting for De Lesseps, and he determined to ask the assistance of his friend. Lowering his voice, in order that he might not be overheard, he said :

"Sir John, will you do me the very greatest service I ever demanded of any human being ?"

"Name it," said his friend, laughing.

"Will you find me three places on your yacht for the passage to England on Wednesday ?"

"Is that all?" asked his friend. "The places will be ready for you."

"Do you know," said the great engineer, speaking still more cautiously—"do you know whom you will carry with you as my *compagnon du voyage* ?"

Sir John shook his head, smiling

"Her Imperial Majesty, the Empress of the French," said De Lesseps, quietly.

Sir John rose to his feet, held out his hand, without speaking, and a load was lifted from the heart of the great engineer.

The Empress gladly availed herself of the kindness of the generous Englishman ; and on Tuesday evening, accompanied by Madame Le Breton and De Lesseps, went on board the yacht, where Sir John and Lady Burgoyne were waiting to receive her. Sir John had told his mate that two English ladies would make the home passage with them, and the fugitives had scarcely come on board when the mate, approaching Madame Le Breton, asked her some question about her berth, which had been hastily prepared for her. The lady could not speak a word of English, but fortunately the Empress spoke the language fluently, and at Madame Le Breton's suggestion, she told the mate that her maid could not speak English, and answered his question herself.

At daybreak, on Wednesday morning, September 7th, the French pilot came on board, and the little vessel soon after set sail for England, making direct for the Isle of Wight. M. De Lesseps remained on deck during the whole voyage, fearing all the while lest their escape should be discovered in France and a vessel sent to overhaul them. Fortunately they

pursued their voyage in peace, and early on the morning of the 8th, the little vessel cast anchor in the harbor of Ryde. Then taking an affectionate leave of their generous English friends, the Empress and her companions hastened to Portsmouth, from which place they took the cars for Hastings, where the Prince Imperial awaited them, reaching the latter town at nine o'clock that night.*

During the 5th the mob continued to parade the streets of the city of Paris, tearing down the Imperial symbols wherever they could see them, and giving vent to many childish evidences of rage.

The new Government of the Republic—the Government of the National Defence, as it styled itself—went at once to work. Gambetta issued the following proclamations to the Prefects of the Departments :

République Française. Ministère de L'Intérieur.

The *déchéance* has been pronounced in the Corps Législatif. The Republic has been proclaimed at the Hotel de Ville. A government of national defence, composed of eleven members, and all the deputies of Paris, has been constituted and ratified by popular acclamation. Their names are :

Emmanuel Arago, Crémieux, Jules Favre, Jules Ferry, Gambetta, Garnier-Pagés, Glais-Bizoin, Pelletan, Ernest Picard, Rochefort, Jules Simon.

Gen. Trochu will at the same time continue in the exercise of the powers of Governor of Paris, and is appointed Minister of War in place of Gen. Palikao.

Please placard immediately, and, if necessary, have proclaimed by the public crier this declaration.

For the Government of National Defence, LEON GAMBETTA,
The Minister of the Interior.

PARIS, the 4th day of September, 1870, at six o'clock P. M.

PARIS, *Sept. 4, 1870*

Gen. Trochu, Governor of Paris, has been appointed member of the Government of National Defence, installed at the Hotel de Ville. He

* The above account of the flight of the Empress is based upon the narrative published in the *New York World* of September 25th, 1870. The writer of that narrative was furnished with the facts he states by the companions of the Empress.

takes the portfolio of War, and his colleagues have conferred upon him the Presidency.

LEON GAMBETTA.

The offices of the Provisional Government are distributed as follows :

Jules Favre, *Minister of Foreign Affairs.*

Isaac Crémieux, *Minister of Justice.*

Leon Gambetta, *Minister of the Interior.*

Ernest Picard, *Minister of Finance.*

Pierre Dorian, *Superintendent of Public Works.*

Joseph Magnin, *Minister of Commerce.*

Jules Simon, *Superintendent of Public Instruction.*

Martin Fourichon, *Minister of Marine.*

Louis Jules Trochu, *Minister of War*; also, Pres. of the Committee.

Seals have been placed on the doors of the Corps Législatif.

Etienne Arago was appointed Mayor of Paris, and Count de Kérâtry was made Prefect of Police.

On the 6th of September the following proclamation to the army was issued :

TO THE ARMY :—When a general has compromised his command, it is withdrawn from him. When a Government has placed the weal of the fatherland in danger by its mistakes, it is set aside. That is what France has just done. In displacing a dynasty which is responsible for our misfortunes, it has at one stroke completed a great act of justice in the eyes of the world. France has executed the judgment which had long been secretly expected of her by all. France has at the same time performed an act of salvation. The nation has for its preservation only the necessity of raising itself, and, besides that, to hold to two things : its determination, which is unconquerable ; and its heroism, which has not its equal, and which has aroused the astonishment of the world during undeserved disasters. Soldiers, in the terrible crisis through which we are hastening, we have seized the helm, but with it we have not in any way sought party ends. We find ourselves not at the helm, but in battle. We are the Government of no party, but we are a Government of the National Defence. We have only one object, only one desire : the good of the fatherland by the army and the nation, which gathers around the glorious symbol which eighty years ago drove back Europe. To-day, as then, the name Republic means : Thorough concord between army and people for the defence of the fatherland.

GENERAL TROCHU,
EMMANUEL ARAGO,
CRÉMIEUX,
JULES FAVRE,
JULES FERRY,
GAMBETTA,

GARNIER-PAGES,
GLAIS-BIZOIN,
PELLETAN,
E. PICARD,
ROCHEFORT,
JULES SIMON.

On the same day Jules Favre addressed the following circular to the diplomatic representatives of France in foreign countries:

SIR :—The events which have just taken place in Paris explain themselves so well by the inexorable logic of facts that it is useless to insist at length on their meaning and bearing. In ceding to an irresistible impulse which had been but too long restrained, the population of Paris has obeyed a necessity superior to that of its own safety. It did not wish to perish with the criminal Government which was leading France to her ruin; it has not pronounced the deposition of Napoleon III. and of his dynasty; it has registered it in the name of right, justice, and public safety, and the sentence was so well ratified beforehand by the conscience of all, that no one, even among the most noisy defenders of the power that was falling, raised his voice to uphold it. *It collapsed of itself under the weight of its faults, and amid the acclamations of an immense people, without a single drop of blood being shed*—without any one individual being deprived of his personal liberty: and we have been able to see—a thing unheard of in history!—the citizens upon whom the popular voice conferred the perilous mandate to fight and to conquer, not thinking for a moment of their political adversaries, who but the day before threatened them with execution. It is by refusing to their adversaries the honor of being subject to any sort of repression that they have shown them their blindness and their impotence. *Order has not been disturbed for a single moment.* Our confidence in the wisdom and patriotism of the National Guard and of the whole population permits us to affirm that it will not be disturbed. Rescued from the shame and the danger of a Government which has proved itself a traitor to all its duties, each one now comprehends that the first act of the National Sovereignty at last reconquered must be one of self-control—the seeking for strength in respect for right. Moreover, time must not be lost. The enemies are at our gates; we have but one thought, namely, their expulsion from our territory. But this obligation, which we resolutely accept, we did not impose upon France. She would not be in her present position if our voice had been listened to. We have energetically defended, even at the cost of our popularity, the policy of peace.

We still maintain the same opinion with increasing conviction. Our heart breaks at the sight of those human massacres, wherein is sacrificed the flower of two nations, that a little good sense and a great deal of liberty would have preserved from such frightful catastrophes. We cannot find an expression capable of rendering our admiration for our heroic army, *sacrificed by the incapacity of the supreme commander, but showing itself greater in its defeats than in the most brilliant victory*; for, in spite of the knowledge of faults which comprised its safety, the

army has immolated itself with sublime heroism in the face of certain death, redeeming thus the honor of France from the stain cast upon her by her Government. All honor to the army! The nation looks towards it with open arms.

The Imperial Power wished to divide them; misfortune and duty join them in a solemn embrace sealed by patriotism and liberty. This alliance renders us invincible. Ready for every emergency, we look with calmness on the position of affairs, made what it is not by us, but by others. This position I will explain in a few words, and I submit it to the judgment of my country and of Europe. We loudly condemned the war, and, while protesting our respect for the rights of peoples, we asked that Germany should be mistress of her own destinies. We wished that liberty should be at the same time our common tie and our common shield. We were convinced that these moral forces would forever ensure peace, but as a sanction, we claimed an arm for every citizen, a civil organization, and the election of leaders. *Then we should have remained invincible on our own soil.* The Government of the Emperor, which had long since separated its interests from those of the country, opposed that policy. We take it up with the hope that, taught by experience, France will have the wisdom to put it into practice. On his side, the King of Prussia declared that he made war, not against France, but against the Imperial dynasty. *The dynasty has fallen to the ground, France raises herself free.* Does the King of Prussia wish to continue an impious struggle, which will be at least as fatal to him as to us? Does he wish to give to the world of the nineteenth century the cruel spectacle of two nations destroying one another, and, in forgetfulness of humanity, reason, and science, heaping corpse upon corpse, and ruin upon ruin? He is free to assume this responsibility in the face of the world and of history. If it is a challenge, we accept it.

We will not cede either one inch of our territory or a stone of our fortresses. A shameful peace would mean a war of extermination at an early date. We will only treat for a durable peace. In this our interest is that of the whole of Europe, and we have reason to hope that, freed from all dynastic considerations, the question will thus present itself before the Cabinets of Europe. But, should we be alone, we shall not yield. *We have a resolute army, well provisioned forts, a well established enciente, and, above all, the breasts of 300,000 combatants, determined to hold out to the last.* When they piously lay crowns at the feet of the statue of Strasbourg they do not obey merely an enthusiastic sentiment of admiration; they adopt their heroic *mot d'ordre*; they swear to be worthy of their brethren of Alsace, and to die as they have done. After the forts we have the ramparts; after the ramparts we have the barricades. Paris can hold out for three months and conquer. If she succumbs, France will start up at her appeal and avenge her. France would continue the struggle, and the aggressor would perish.

Such is, sir, what Europe must know. We have not accepted power with any other object; we will not keep it a moment if we should not find the population of Paris and the whole of France decided to share our resolution. I sum up these resolves briefly in the presence of God, who hears me—in the face of posterity, which shall judge us. We wish only for peace; but if this disastrous war, which we have condemned, is continued against us, we shall do our duty to the last, and I have the firm confidence that our cause, which is that of right and justice, will triumph in the end. It is in this manner that I invite you to explain the situation to the Minister of the court to which you are accredited, and in whose hands you will place a copy of this document.

Accept, sir, the expression of my high consideration.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs,

(Signed,)

JULES FAVRE.

September 6, 1870.*

* Count Bismarck, as soon as he was able to procure a copy of this circular, addressed the following reply to it to the German Diplomatic Representatives abroad:

“MEUX, Friday, *September 16, 1870.*

“Your Excellency is familiar with the circular which M. Jules Favre has addressed to the foreign representatives of France in the name of the men at present holding power in Paris, and who call themselves ‘Le Gouvernement de la Défense Nationale.’

“I have learned simultaneously that M. Thiers has entered upon a confidential mission to Foreign Courts, and I may presume that he will endeavor on the one side to create a belief in the love for peace of the present Parisian Government, and on the other side will request the intervention of the Neutral Powers in favor of a peace which shall deprive Germany of the fruits of her victories, and for the purpose of preventing every basis of peace which should make the next attack of France on Germany more difficult.

“We cannot believe in the sincerity of the desire of the present Parisian Government to make peace, so long as it continues by its language and its acts at home to excite the passions of the people.

“We are far from any inclination to mix in the internal affairs of France. It is immaterial to us what kind of a Government the French people shall formally establish for themselves. The Government of the Emperor Napoleon has hitherto been the only one recognized by us. Our conditions of peace, with whatever Government, legislating for the purpose we may have to negotiate with, are wholly independent of the question how or by whom the French nation is governed. They are prescribed to us by the nature of things, and by the law of self-defence against a violent and hostile neighbor.

“The unanimous voice of the Germanic Governments and the German people demands that Germany shall be protected by better boundaries than we

The city of Lyons, always a stronghold of ultra socialism, had not waited to hear from Paris. As soon as the news of the excitement in the Capital reached Lyons, on the 4th of September, the mob rose and took matters into their own hands. They took possession of the Hotel de Ville, and organized a committee of public safety, which assumed the sovereign power, ordering arrests, decreeing the suspension of octroi duties, and ordering the director of the savings bank to hand over to them the funds in his possession — an order which he had the firmness to disregard. The tri-color was set aside by this committee and the red flag raised in its place. At first the authority of the Provisional Government organized at Paris was openly repudiated, and it was only with

have hitherto had, against the dangers and violence we have experienced from all French Governments for centuries. So long as France remains in possession of Strasbourg and Metz, so long is its offensive strategically stronger than our defensive, so far as all South Germany and North Germany on the left bank of the Rhine are concerned. Strasbourg in the possession of France is a gate wide open for attack on South Germany. In the hands of Germany, Strasbourg and Metz obtain a defensive character.

“In more than twenty wars we have never been the aggressors on France; and we demand of the latter nothing else than our safety in our own land, so often threatened by it. France, on the other hand, will regard any peace that may be made now as an armistice only, and, in order to avenge the present defeat, will attack us in the same quarrelsome and wanton manner as this year, as soon as it feels strong enough in its own resources or in foreign alliances.

“In rendering it difficult for France, from whose initiative alone hitherto the disturbances of Europe have resulted, to resume the offensive, we at the same time act in the interest of Europe, which is that of peace.

“From Germany no disturbance of the European peace is to be feared. Although France had been trying to force the war upon us for four years, we, by our care, and by restraining the feelings of our national self-respect, so incessantly outraged by France, had prevented its occurrence.

“We mean now for our future safety to demand the price of our mighty efforts. We shall demand only that which we must have for our defence. Nobody will be able to accuse us of want of moderation if we insist upon this just and equitable demand.

“Your Excellency will make these views your own, and advocate them in discussions,

BISMARCK.”

extreme difficulty that the Prefect appointed by Gambetta could make his authority respected in the city. Even then the city officials were compelled to yield to the popular pressure, and to agree to many of the extreme demands of the Red Republicans.

In Marseilles matters were nearly as bad. The authority of the Provisional Government was acknowledged, it is true, but a strong pressure was brought to bear upon the officials, to compel them to yield to the demands of the mob. M. Esquiros, the Prefect appointed by Gambetta, was made prisoner by the Garde Civile, and only released by the National Guard, who compelled the mob to maintain an outward show of submission ; but the Reds forced the Prefect to sequester the property of the Jesuits and expel the members of that Order from the city. He was also compelled to suspend the publication of one of the oldest and most influential newspapers in the city, merely because it was a clerical organ. In both Lyons and Marseilles there was great danger of a return to the scenes of terror which had marked the days of the great Revolution, and in both these places the better classes—especially in the clergy—felt that their safety was far from being as sure as M. Jules Favre declared.

The new Government was finally accepted in the principal cities and towns of France, and the rest of the country followed the example of the larger communities. The mode of operations pursued by the new authorities was as follows :

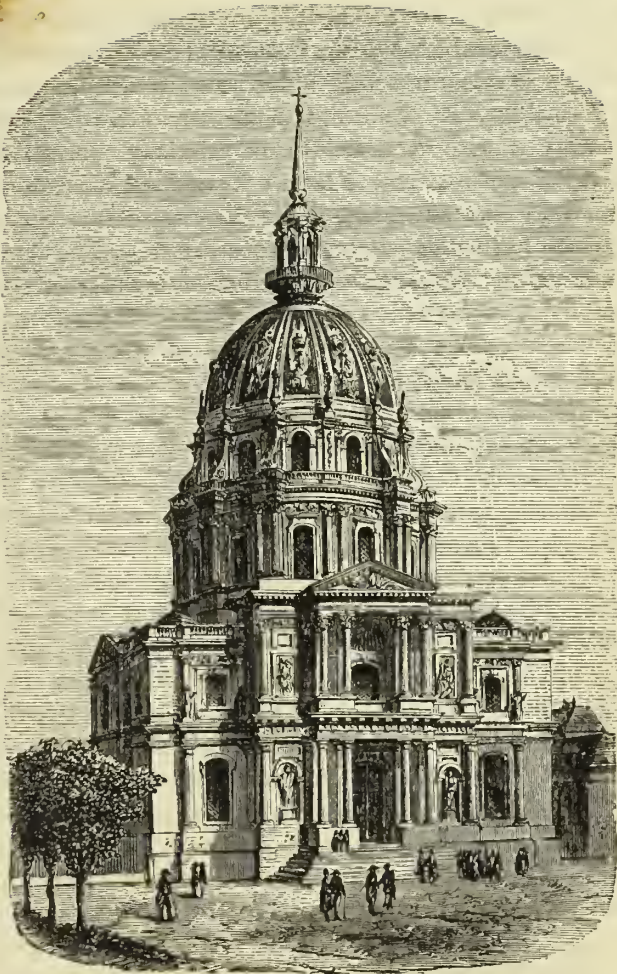
Immediately upon entering upon the duties of his office of Minister of the Interior, M. Gambetta inaugurated a system of distributing the patronage of the Government similar to that which has for so long been the curse of the civil service of our own country. "To the victors belong the spoils" was his motto. The rapid advance of the German armies made it impossible to make the distributing process very thorough, but he carried it out as far as lay in his power. Selecting the principal leader of the Republican party in each of the various towns of France, he addressed him a circular appointing him Prefect. This personage was usually a journalist or a

lawyer, and was chosen entirely because of his devotion to the Republican ideas. In order to make the distribution as thorough as possible, and to secure the support of the immense body of officials employed by the Government, M. Gambetta, in his circular to the new Prefects, instructed them to remove all officials subordinate to them who could not be relied upon as Republicans, and to fill their places with trustworthy men. The new Prefects promptly accepted the offices tendered them, and, having secured the power, as a matter of course, gave a vigorous support to the Government to which they owed their official existence. They took good care to obey the instructions of the Minister of the Interior, and as far as was possible, the civil offices throughout the country were taken from the Imperialists and confided to "good patriots," or, in other words, to men who were willing to obey M. Gambetta and his self-appointed colleagues. The people of France, wiser and more patriotic than the new rulers, decided to support the Provisional Government. It was the only Government in existence, and the Prussians were advancing. Therefore they agreed to leave the question of the *form* of Government to the future, and for the present to support any man or men who could place France in a position to resist the enemy.

Thus we see that the Republic, which was heralded as the work of the people of France, was in reality not their work. The Corps Législatif had been elected by the whole people of the Empire, who but a short time previous, by a vote of seven millions, had also confirmed the Napoleonic system. On the 4th of September, a mob composed of only a part of the people of Paris, overthrew the Imperial Government and dissolved the Legislative Body. A small fraction of the French people accomplished this, and at a time when the country was almost paralyzed by its reverses in the field. Yet MM. Gambetta and Favre and their colleagues proclaimed it the work of the nation. By what means they were authorized to speak for the nation is best known to themselves. The best proof, however, that their work was not in accordance with the will

of the nation is the notorious fact that the French, as a people, are peculiarly averse to a Republican form of Government. In a few of the large cities Republicanism is popular, but to the great mass of the nation it is utterly unacceptable. Even if the French nation was tired of the Empire, even if it desired the overthrow of the Napoleon dynasty in those sad September days — of which we have no substantial proof — it is very certain that it did not desire the formation of a Republic. Paris is not France; Lyons is not France; and it is not fair to take the sentiment of either city as an indication of the feelings of the nation. The Republican deputies who formed the September Government claimed to be acting upon the impulse of a pure principle; yet they began their work by a false assertion. They were but a handful of the people, and they had no right to act for the whole nation. They undid the work of the nation in overthrowing the Corps Législatif, and every act which followed the inauguration of their Government showed their distrust of the people. M. Gambetta, by his adroitness, succeeded in filling the offices necessary to the administration of order in France with his own friends, taking care to appoint none but members of his own party, even in districts in which the Republicans were but a feeble minority of the people. That the people of France consented to sustain the Provisional Government is no proof of its popularity with them. France was compelled to support it, or to resort to civil war in the face of the enemy.

It will be well for the reader to remember the course pursued by the Left from the beginning of the war to the 4th of September. We have already shown how the Moderate party in the Chamber, and their representatives in the Press, goaded the Emperor on to a war with Germany. We have also seen how, having driven him into war, they refused him their support, save in those measures in which they dared not thwart him, in consequence of their fear of the people. True patriotism would have induced these gentlemen, at the outset of the war, to lay aside their political animosity to the Empire, and to carry the country through the struggle as a



Dome of the Invalides : Paris.

united people. It would have raised their love for France above their hatred of Napoleon, and have induced them to make strong even the hands of their enemy since he represented France in the conflict. But, alas for their country! they were incapable of this. From the commencement of the war they exerted themselves, not to quiet discord, to unite France in one solid front, but to embarrass the Government, to harass it with a puerile and criminal opposition; to thwart its measures, and to terrify it with the conviction that they would take advantage of the first opportunity to overthrow it. Let us blame the Emperor and his Ministers, the Regent and her Council, for their timorous, hesitating policy, as we may, but let us try to consider how far they were hindered in their designs and efforts by the criminal conduct of the deputies of the Left.

However much the Empire may have blundered, there is no doubt that it was as vigorous and as wise a Government as the Provisional Government proved. Its bitterest enemy could not charge it with disloyalty to France. It was obeyed and respected throughout the country; the vast body of officials necessary to the conduct of the Government in all parts of France looked to it for direction; it was acknowledged and obeyed by the army, and it was carried on by men used to the duties of their various positions. Furthermore, it was sustained by the great mass of the people. The Republican element constituted but a minority of the people of France—but it was a bold and unscrupulous minority. Its leaders were determined that France should accept their ideas and submit to their rule, whether it wished to do so or not. They would overthrow the Emperor, and then—what? Call on the people to select his successor? No; they would seize the power of the State for their own benefit, and fill the public offices themselves. They would revolutionize France, they would drive out Napoleon, but they would make sure of the spoils for themselves. They were sure of the worst classes of Paris. The army was away. The nation was in dismay at the rapid approach of the enemy, and there was no

one to prevent them from thrusting themselves into the places which their unpatriotic ambition coveted.

Are we unjust? Was it not a strange kind of patriotism which prevented these moderate gentlemen from rallying to the support of the only Government the country possessed in the hour of her extreme peril? Was it not a strange kind of patriotism that induced them to strike down the only Government to which all France looked for aid, with the enemy but a few days' march from Paris? Was it not a strange kind of patriotism that induced them to incur the risk of having their authority disputed in the Provinces, of inaugurating civil war in the face of the enemy? Was it not a strange kind of patriotism that induced them to sweep away a system already in operation, and to replace it with one which had never been tried; to dismiss officials trained to their duties, and to fill their places with new men utterly ignorant of the tasks confided to them, in the face of the enemy? Was it not a strange kind of patriotism that caused them to confide the conduct of affairs to none but their own followers, regardless of the fact that these men did not in many cases possess the confidence of the people over whom they were placed, and thus incur the risk of dividing France, with the enemy at their gates? Was it such patriotism as sent the gallant old Changarnier to Metz to offer his sword to the Emperor who had sent him to prison and into exile? Was it such patriotism as induced the French people—Imperialists, Legitimists, Orleanists, Republicans—to forget all differences, and to give to the new Government a hearty support for the sake of France? It will be well for the reader to consider these questions fairly, for a proper understanding of them will shed a flood of light upon the subsequent course of Deputy Gambetta and his colleagues.

On the 8th of September, the Government of the United States of America, formally recognized the French Republic, and a day or two later, Italy, Switzerland, Spain and Portugal did likewise.

On the same day a proclamation was issued appointing the

16th of October for the election by the people of Deputies to a National Constituent Assembly. After the interview between Jules Favre and Count Bismarck, now to be narrated, it was found impossible to hold elections in all the Departments, many of which were overrun by the German armies, and the Provisional Government decided to postpone them. Indeed this postponement was probably a great relief to the Ministers, as they were very apprehensive of losing the power they had so unworthily assumed in case of an appeal to the country.* Thus they were continued in the places they so greatly coveted.

The advance of the Germans towards Paris, with the avowed intention of investing the city, made it necessary for the Government of the National Defence to take some measures for making its authority secure in the Provinces. It was decided that a portion of the Government should be removed to the city of Tours, and that M. Crémieux, the Minister of Justice and Admiral Fourichon, the Minister of Marine, and M. Glais-Bizoin, should repair to Tours for the purpose of organizing the defence of the country. The Minister of Marine was also made Minister of War. The rest of the Government was to remain in Paris. The movable portion left Paris for Tours about the 16th of September, and was followed by the Foreign Ministers (with the exception of Mr. Washburne, the Minister from the United States) on the 16th; Washburne continued in Paris during the siege.

Meanwhile M. Favre determined to seek an interview with Count Bismarck, for the purpose of ascertaining the terms

* "A correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* lately had an interview with General Burnside, and describes him as stating very strongly his belief that the existing Government are not very anxious to see a National Assembly convoked—their chief reason for not wishing it being their conviction that, whatever might be the form of Government adopted by the representatives of the nation, they themselves would no longer have the administration of it. . . . General Burnside attributes to them an apprehension that the country, if left to itself, might, under the pressure of existing circumstances, drift into anything—even back again into Imperialism."—*The Saturday Review*. London, November 26, 1870. P. 675.

upon which Germany was willing to make peace. The King of Prussia, in view of the necessity of recognizing some chief authority in France, recognized the Republic as a Government *de facto*, but declined to recognize it as a Government *de jure*. When, therefore, M. Favre made known, through the English Minister, his request to be allowed in the name of the Provisional Government, to make overtures for peace, Count Bismarck replied that he would first wish to be informed whether M. Favre could give any security that his engagements would be ratified by the nation. As the reader will understand, it was simply impossible for M. Favre to give any such guarantees, and so an answer to the embarrassing question was evaded, by the inquiry whether he would be received in his official capacity at the royal headquarters. The King and his Minister returned an affirmative answer, and on the 18th, M. Favre arrived at the royal headquarters, at Ferrières. The military movements were not interrupted by this proceeding.

M. Favre has given the following account of his interview and his reasons for seeking it. His letter is addressed to his colleagues in Paris :

I considered that it would be my duty to go to the headquarters of the enemy. I went there, and I have rendered you an account of the self-imposed mission. I now recount to my country the reasons which prevailed with me, the object I proposed, and what I believe I have attained. I have no need to recall the policy inaugurated by us, which the Minister of Foreign Affairs was particularly charged to formulate. We are, before all things, men of peace and liberty. Down to the very last moment we opposed the war which the Imperial Government was about to undertake in an exclusively dynastic interest ; and when the Government fell, we declared that we should persevere more energetically than ever in a policy of peace. That declaration we made when, by the criminal folly of one man and his counsellors, our armies were destroyed ; our glorious Bazaine and his valiant soldiers blockaded behind Metz ; Strasbourg, Toul, Phalsbourg, crushed by bombshells, and the victorious enemy marching upon our capital. Never was a situation more cruel. It inspired, nevertheless, no feeling of despair in the nation, and we believed that we were its faithful interpreters when we laid down clearly this condition : Not an inch of our territory, not a stone of our fortresses. If, then, at that moment when a fact so considerable as that of the

overthrow of the originator of the war had just been accomplished, Prussia had wished to treat upon the bases of an indemnity to be agreed upon, peace would have been made; it would have been accepted as an universal blessing; it would have become a certain pledge of reconciliation between two nations which an odious policy alone has fatally divided. We hoped that humanity and self-interest, rightly understood, would have achieved that victory, splendid for all; for it would have opened a new era, and the statesmen who should associate their names with it would have had, in so doing, for their guides, philosophy, reason, justice—for their recompense, the blessings and prosperity of peoples. It was with these ideas that I undertook the perilous task which you confided to me.

It was my duty first to ascertain the dispositions of the other European Governments, and to seek their support. The Imperial Government had either wholly neglected, or had alienated, that support. It entered on the war without an ally, without a serious negotiation; everywhere around was either hostility or indifference; and it thus reaped the bitter fruit of a policy which wounded every neighboring State either by its menaces or by its pretensions. Scarcely were we established in the Hotel de Ville before a diplomatist, whose name we are hardly now at liberty to reveal, came to ask to enter into relations with us. The next day your Ministers received the representatives of all the Powers. The Republic of the United States, the Helvetian Republic, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, officially recognized the Republic of France. The other Governments authorized their agents to enter into official relations with us, so as to permit us at once to exchange friendly communications. I should give to this statement, already too much expanded, an unnecessary amplitude if I were to recount in detail the brief but instructive history of the negotiations which followed. I believe I may affirm that they will not be wholly without advantages for our moral credit. I permit myself only to say that everywhere we found honorable sympathies. My object was to group them together, and to determine the Powers who were the signatories of the neutral league to intervene directly with Prussia, taking for their base the conditions I have laid down. Four of the powers offered to do this; and I have declared to them my gratitude, in the name of my country, for so doing, but I wished to have the concurrence of two others. One of these promised me an individual action with respect to which she reserved to herself liberty, and the other proposed to be my intermediary with Prussia. She even went one step further, at the instance of an Envoy Extraordinary from France. She undertook directly to recommend my proposal. I asked much more; but I refused no assurance, considering that the interest shown for us was a force not to be neglected. Nevertheless, time was passing, and every hour brought the enemy nearer. A prey to the most poignant

emotions, I promised to myself not to permit the siege of Paris to begin without attempting a supreme effort, even though I should have to make it alone. Our interest in doing this need not be explained. Prussia remained silent, and no one interrogated her. That situation was untenable. It permitted the enemy to lay upon us the responsibility of continuing the struggle; it condemned us to ascertain her intentions for ourselves. It was necessary to escape from the position.

In spite of my repugnance, I determined to make use of the good offices that were tendered to me; and on the 10th of September a telegram reached M. Bismarck asking him if he would enter into conference upon the conditions of negotiation. The first response was an objection drawn from the irregularity of our Government. Meanwhile the Chancellor of the Confederation of the North did not insist upon that, but inquired what guarantees we offered for the execution of a treaty. This second difficulty having been removed by me, it was necessary to proceed further. A proposal was made that I should send a courier, which I accepted. At the same time a telegram was dispatched directly to M. Bismarck, and the Prime Minister of the Power which served as our intermediary informed our Envoy Extraordinary that France was able to act alone; he added that it was desirable that I should not hesitate to go to the headquarters. Our Envoy, who thoroughly knew my mind, replied that I was ready to make all the sacrifices necessary to discharge my duty; that there were few so painful as to traverse the lines of the enemy to seek out our conqueror, but that he believed I should not shrink even from that. Two days afterward the courier returned. After a thousand obstacles he had seen the Chancellor, who told him that he was disposed of his own accord to have an interview with me. I should have preferred a direct reply to the telegram of our intermediary, but it was delayed. The investment of Paris was progressing. There was no time for hesitation, and I resolved to set out. It was only necessary for me to bear in mind that this negotiation, until it was accomplished, was to be ignored. I recommended secrecy, and I was grievously surprised, on returning yesterday evening, to learn that it had not been observed. A culpable indiscretion had been committed. A journal—the *Electeur Libre*—previously disavowed by the Government, had taken advantage of it; an inquiry has been set on foot which, I hope, will lead to this double abuse being punished. I had pushed so far the scrupulous regard for secrecy that I observed it even toward yourselves, my dear colleagues. I could not resolve to do that without lively regret, but I knew your patriotism and your affection, and I was sure to be absolved. I believed myself bound to obey an imperious necessity. One time I told you of the agitation of my mind, and I said that it would be at rest only when I had done everything that was possible for man to do to bring this horrible war to an honorable conclusion.

Recalling the conversation which arose from this beginning, I feared some objections, and I was decided. I wished, in meeting M. de Bismarck, to be free from every engagement, in order to have the privilege of not making any. I make these acknowledgments sincerely. I make them to the country, in order to release you from a responsibility which I alone assume. If my mission be a mistake, I alone must bear the penalty.

I had, meanwhile, to consult the Minister of War, who had wished to give me an officer to conduct me to the *avant-postes*. We did not consider the situation of the headquarters. We thought they were at Grosbois. We moved toward the enemy by the Porte de Charenton. I suppress all the details of this unhappy journey, which was full of interest, but the incidents of which would not be in their place in this report. Conducted to Villeneuve-Saint-Georges, where was the General-in-Chief commanding the Sixth Corps, I learned rather late in the afternoon that the headquarters were at Meaux. The General proposed to me to send an officer as bearer of the following letter, which I had prepared for transmission to M. De Bismarck:

M. LE COMTE:—I have always believed that, before undertaking serious hostilities under the walls of Paris, it was impossible that an honorable arrangement should not have been attempted. The person who had the honor of waiting on your Excellency two days ago has made me gather from his words the expression on your part of a similar desire. I have come to the *avant-postes* to put myself at the disposition of your Excellency. I expect you will let me know how and where I can have the honor of conferring with you for a few moments.—I have, etc.,

JULES FAYRE.

We were separated by a distance of 48 kilometres. The next morning, at six o'clock, I received a reply, of which this is a copy:

I have received the letter your Excellency has had the goodness to write to me, and it will give me the greatest pleasure if you will come to see me to-morrow here at Meaux. Prince Biron, the bearer of this, will see that your Excellency is conducted across our lines. I have, etc.,

DE BISMARCK.

At nine o'clock the escort was ready, and I left with it. When we arrived near Meaux, about three in the afternoon, I was stopped by an aide-de-camp, who told me that Count Bismarck had left Meaux with the King to go to Ferrières for the night. I went back, and proceeded to a farm which had been pillaged, as were all the houses which I passed on my route. At the end of an hour M. De Bismarck joined me. It was difficult for us to consult in such a place. One habitation—the Château de la Haute Maison, belonging to the Count De Rillac—was in the vicinity, and we proceeded thither. Our conversation took place in a saloon.

in which debris of all sorts was lying about. I would fain report to you that conversation in its entirety, as I dictated it to a secretary the next day. Every detail of it is important. Here I can only analyze it. I at once specified the object of my mission. Having made him acquainted by my circular with the intentions of the French Government, I wished to know those of the Prussian Minister. It seemed to me inexcusable that two nations should, without previous explanations, continue a terrible war which would inflict deep suffering on the conquerors, notwithstanding the advantages they had gained. Caused by the power of one man, this war had no longer a *raison d'être* when France had become mistress of herself. I pledged myself for her love of peace, but at the same time for her indomitable resolution not to accept any condition which should make that peace a brief and threatening truce. M. De Bismarck said that if he believed such a peace was possible he would sign it at once. The Opposition had always condemned the war. But the power which that Opposition represented was no longer any thing but precarious. If within a few days Paris were not taken, it would be overthrown by the mob. I interrupted him to say that we had not a mere mob at Paris, but a population which was intelligent and devoted, which knew our intentions, and which would not make itself the accomplice of the enemy in obstructing our defence. As regarded our power, we were ready to place it in the hands of the Assembly already convoked. "This assembly," replied the Count, "will have designs which nothing can make us foresee. But, if it obey the sentiment of France, it will wish for war. You will no more forget the capitulation of Sedan than Waterloo—than Sadowa, which did not concern you." Then he insisted at length on the wish of France, the accomplishment of which had been prevented, to attack Germany and to take away a part of its territory. From the time of Louis XIV., to that of Napoleon III., her tendencies had not changed, and that when war was declared the Corps Législatif had received the words of the Minister with acclamation. I remarked to him that the majority of the Corps Législatif had some weeks before called out for peace; that that majority, chosen by the Monarch, had believed itself bound to follow him blindly; but that the nation, which had been consulted twice, at the elections of 1869, and at the vote on the *plebiscite*, had persistently clung to a policy of peace and liberty.

The conversation on this subject was prolonged—the Count maintaining his opinion, whilst I defended mine; and, as I pressed him strongly on these conditions, he replied, in effect, that the security of his country commanded him to guard the territory which protected it. He repeated several times, "Strasbourg is the key of the house; I must have it." I then asked him to be more explicit. "It is useless," he replied, "since we cannot listen to you. It is a matter to arrange later." I asked him

to do it at once. He said then that the two departments of Bas Rhin and Haute Rhin, a part of the Moselle, with Metz, Château-Salins, and Senones were indispensable, and that he could not give them up in the negotiation. I then remarked that the assent of the people of whom he was thus disposing was more than doubtful, and that the public opinion of Europe would not be satisfied with it. "I know well," he replied, "that they are not with us. They will impose an unpleasant job on us, but we cannot suffer it. I am sure that in a short time we shall have a new war with you. We wish to make it with all our advantages." I protested, as I should, against such solutions of the question. I said that two important elements of the discussion had been forgotten: Europe, which would find these proposals to be exorbitant, and oppose them; then the new right—the progress of civilization and manners—which was opposed to such conditions. I added that so far as we were concerned we would never accept them. We could, I stated, perish as a nation, but we would not suffer dishonor; beside, the country alone was competent to decide regarding a cession of territory. We have no doubt about its feeling, but we are willing to consult it. Opposite to it Prussia is arrayed. And, to be brief, it is clear that, influenced by the intoxication of victory, she wishes for the destruction of France. The Count protested, taking his position behind the absolute necessity of the national guarantee. I continued: "If it is not an abuse of strength on your part—concealing secret designs—let us summon the Assembly. We will resign into its hands our powers; it will nominate a definitive Government which will consider your conditions." "For the execution of this plan," replied the Count, "an armistice would be necessary, and I do not wish for that at any price." The conversation took a turn even more and more painful. Evening approached. I asked M. De Bismarck for a second interview at Ferrières, where he was going to stay for the night, and we left, each for his own destination. As I wished to fulfil my mission to the end, I had to return to several questions on which we had spoken, and to conclude. So in meeting the Count about half-past nine in the evening, I observed that the intelligence which would be put in my possession would be conveyed to my Government and to the French public, and I would engage that nothing would be published except what had been agreed upon between us. "Do not give yourself that trouble," he replied, "I give you full liberty. I do not see any disadvantage in revealing it." We then pursued the discussion, which was prolonged until midnight. I insisted particularly upon the necessity of summoning an Assembly. The Count appeared to become convinced by degrees, and to return to the subject of the armistice. I asked for fifteen days. We discussed the conditions. He expressed himself in a very qualified way, and reserved his privilege of consulting the King. He consequently postponed our conversation

until the next day at eleven o'clock. I have only one word to say ; for in reproducing this sad story my heart is agitated by all the emotions which have tortured it for the last three days, and I hasten to the end.

I was at the Château de Ferrières at eleven o'clock. The Count left the King at 11.45, and I heard from him the conditions which were required for an armistice. They were contained in a text, written in the German language, of which he gave me the sense verbally. He demanded as a guarantee the occupation of Strasbourg, of Toul, and of Phalsbourg ; and as to the demand of the previous evening that the Assembly should meet at Paris, he desired in that case to have added a fort commanding the city—that of Mont Valérien, for instance. At this point I interrupted him by saying, "It will be much more simple to ask us for Paris itself. How can you suppose a French Assembly can deliberate under your cannon?" "I have had the honor of telling you that I shall faithfully transmit our interview to the Government ; but I really do not know that I dare tell them you have made to me such a proposition." "Let us seek another combination," he replied. Then I spoke to him of the Assembly meeting at Tours, and of no material guarantee being given in the neighborhood of Paris. He then proposed to speak of this proposition to the King, and, returning to the question of the occupation of Strasbourg, he added : "The city is about to fall into our hands—it is now only a question of days ; so I ask that the garrison should surrender themselves prisoners of war." At those words I was moved by grief, and, rising, I said, "You forget that you are speaking to a Frenchman, Count. To sacrifice an heroic garrison—the admiration of ourselves and of the entire world—would be a piece of cowardice ; and I do not promise that I shall not say you attempted to impose such a condition." The Count replied that he had no intention to wound me—that he only conformed to the laws of war ; and that if the King consented that article might be modified. He then went and saw the King, and, returning in a quarter of an hour, said His Majesty accepted the proposition with regard to Tours, but insisted on the garrison of Strasbourg being retained as prisoners of war. My strength was now exhausted, and for an instant I feared it would fail me altogether. I turned to hide the emotion which nearly choked me, and, apologizing for my involuntary weakness, I took my leave with these simple words : "I was deceived, Count, in coming here, but I do not repent. I have suffered sufficiently for my own excuse, and, moreover, I only came in deference to a sense of duty. I will report to my Government all that you have told me ; and if they think proper to send me back to you, however painful it may be to my own feelings, I shall have the honor of seeing you again. I am grateful to you for the kindness you have shown toward me ; but I fear there is no other means remaining than to let events take their course. The population of Paris is courageous, and

resolved to make any sacrifice. Their heroism may change the course of events. Even if you conquer you will not make them submit. All France entertains the same sentiments. So long as we can find an element of resistance we will fight you. It will be a struggle between two peoples who ought rather to join hands. I hoped for a different solution, and I do part deeply grieved, but, nevertheless, full of hope." I added nothing to this speech, which was eloquent by its simplicity. I may now be permitted to conclude, and to tell you what is my idea of the effect of these interviews. I sought peace, and I found an inflexible determination in favor of war and conquest. I asked for the possibility of eliciting the opinion of France, represented by a freely-elected Assembly; and I was answered by a display of the Caudine Forks beneath which we were first required to pass. I make no recriminations—I confine myself to a statement of facts for the consideration of my countrymen and of Europe. I do not attempt to deny that I ardently desired peace, and that the three days' spectacle of our ravaged country increased that desire to such a point, that I was forced to call all my courage to my aid in order not to fail in the task I had undertaken. I desired not less keenly an armistice, in order that the nation might be consulted on the terrible question which fate has placed before us. You know now the preliminary conditions that were sought to be imposed upon us. With me, and without discussion, you have been unanimously of opinion that it was our duty to repel a proffered humiliation. I have a profound conviction that, in spite of the sufferings she is now enduring, and that are yet to be borne, our indignant country will share our resolution:

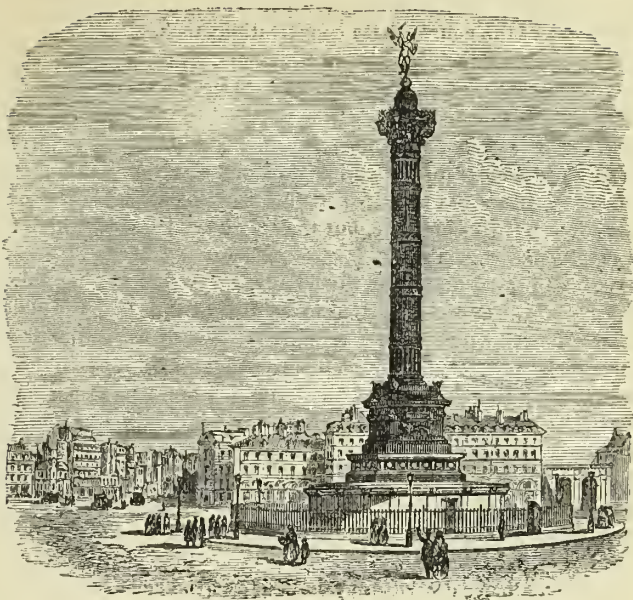
Upon returning to Paris and consulting with his colleagues, M. Favre dispatched the following note to Count Bismarck:

M. LE COMTE:—I have faithfully expressed to my colleagues in the Government of the National Defence the declaration that our Excellency has been good enough to make to me. I regret to have to make known to your Excellency that the Government has not been able to accept your propositions. They will accept an armistice having for its object the election and meeting of a National Assembly, but they cannot subscribe to the contingent conditions. As to myself, I can say with a clear conscience that I have done my utmost to stop the effusion of blood, and to restore peace to two nations which would be so much benefited by that blessing. I have only been stopped by an imperious duty, which required me not to yield the honor of my country, which has determined energetically to resist such a sacrifice. I and my colleagues associate ourselves without reserve in that determination. God, our Judge, will decide on our destinies. I have faith in His justice. I have, etc.

(Signed,)

JULES FAVRE.

September 21, 1870.



Place de la Bastille: Paris.

On the 20th, the Provisional Government issued the following proclamation, setting forth the terms upon which it meant to continue the war:

TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

A report has been in circulation that the Government of the National Defence thinks of abandoning the policy for the carrying out of which it has been placed in the post of honor and of peril.

This policy may be summed up in these words:

Not an inch of our territory, not a stone of our fortresses. The Government will maintain this policy to the end.

Given at the Hotel de Ville, the 20th of September, 1870.

The publication of M. Favre's letter drew out the following reply to it from Count Bismarck. It is addressed to the North German Ambassadors:

FERRIERES, *September 27.*

The report addressed by M. Jules Favre to his colleagues on the 21st instant, regarding the conversation he had with me, induces me to make

your Excellency a communication which will enable you to form an accurate idea of the course these conversations took.

It must be acknowledged that, on the whole, M. Favre has endeavored to render a correct account of what took place between us. If he has not been always successful, it must be ascribed to the length of our conferences and the peculiar circumstances under which they occurred. I must, however, object to the entire tendency of his exposition, and insist on the fact that the principal subject we had to discuss was not the conclusion of a treaty of peace, but that of an armistice by which it was to be preceded.

In regard to the demands we should advance, before signing a definite treaty of peace, I expressly stated to M. Jules Favre that I declined to enter into the subject of the new frontier claimed by us till the principle of a cession of territory had been openly acknowledged by France. In connection with this declaration, the formation of a new Department of the Moselle, containing the circumscription of Saarbours, Châtean-Salins, Saargemund, Metz, and Thionville, was mentioned by me as an arrangement in consonance with our intentions; but, at the same time, I in no way renounced our right to make additional stipulations in a treaty of peace, in proportion to the sacrifices which should be imposed on us by lengthening the war.

Strasbourg, a place described by M. Favre as the key of the house—an expression which left it still doubtful whether France was the house in question—was expressly declared by myself to be the key of our house, which we therefore did not desire to leave in foreign hands.

Our first conversation, in the castle of Haute Maison, near Montry, did not go beyond an academical disquisition on the present and the past, the pith and marrow of which were contained in a declaration on the part of M. Favre of his readiness to yield *tout l'argent que nous avons*, while he refused to entertain the idea of a cession of territory. When I spoke of such a cession as being indispensable, he declared that negotiations for peace would have no prospect of success, and maintained that to part with any portion of her territory would be humiliating and dishonoring for France. I was not able to convince him that conditions, the fulfilment of which France had obtained from Italy and demanded of Germany, without having been at war with either of these countries—conditions which France would no doubt have imposed on us had we been conquered, and which had been the inevitable consequence of nearly every war, even in modern times—would not be ignominious to a country which had succumbed after a brave resistance; and besides that, the honor of France was not something essentially different from that of all other nations. I was equally unsuccessful in persuading M. Favre that the restoration of Strasbourg no more implied dishonor than the cession of Landau or Saarlouis, and that

the violent and unjust conquests of Louis XIV. were not more closely bound up with the honor of France than those of the first Republic or the First Empire.

Our conferences took a more practical turn in Ferrières, where we exclusively discussed the question of an armistice—a fact *which refutes the statement* that I declared I would accept an armistice under no circumstances whatever. The manner in which M. Favre represents me as saying with reference to this and other questions: "*Il faudrait un armistice et je n'en veux à aucun prix,*" and other things of the same kind, obliges me to rectify his statements, and add that in similar conversations *I have never made use, and never do employ such phraseology* as that I personally wish or require or approve of anything. I constantly speak of the intentions and demands of the Government whose representative I am.

In this conversation both parties agreed in considering the necessity of giving the French nation an opportunity of choosing who alone would be in a position to grant the present Government powers sufficient to enable them to conclude a peace sanctioned by international law, as the reason of an armistice. I called attention to the fact that an armistice was always a military disadvantage for an army engaged in a victorious advance; that, in the present case, it was a most important gain in point of time for the defence of France and the reorganization of her army; and that we, therefore, could not grant an armistice, unless military equivalents were offered. As such I mentioned the surrender of the fortresses which impeded our communications with Germany, for, as a truce would prolong the period during which we had to support our army, concessions facilitating the transport of supplies must be the preliminary condition of granting it. Strasbourg, Toul, and some smaller places were the objects of this discussion. With respect to Strasbourg, I urged that since the glacis had been crowned, its capture must shortly be expected, and we therefore thought the military situation demanded the surrender of the garrison, while those who held the other fortresses would be permitted to march out with the honors of war.

Another difficult question referred to Paris. Since we had completely surrounded the city we could only permit the admission of new supplies on the condition that the new provisioning of the town did not weaken our own military position, and protract the period necessary to reduce the city by hunger. After consulting the military authorities, I accordingly offered, at the command of His Majesty the King, the following alternatives with respect to Paris: Either the position of Paris must be conceded to us by the surrender of a commanding part of the fortifications, in which case we are prepared to permit free intercourse with Paris, and not to hinder the new provisioning of the city.

Or the position of Paris need not be conceded. In which case, how-

ever, we could not consent to give up the investment, but must insist on the continuation of the military *status quo* before that city as the basis of the armistice, as otherwise at the end of that period we should be opposed to Paris being provisioned and armed anew.

M. Favre distinctly rejected the first alternative, containing the surrender of a part of the fortifications of Paris, as well as the condition that the garrison of Strasbourg should be made prisoners of war. On the other hand he promised to consult his colleagues as to the second alternative, containing the retention of the military *status quo* of Paris.

The programme which M. Favre took back with him to Paris as the result of our conversation, and which has been discussed there accordingly, did not contain anything whatever as to the terms of the future peace, but only the granting of an armistice of from a fortnight or three weeks to prepare the way for the election of a National Assembly under the following conditions:

I. *The continuation of the status quo in and before Paris.*

II. *The continuation of hostilities in and around Metz for a certain distance, the extent of which was still to be determined.*

III. *The surrender of Strasbourg, the garrison of which were to be made prisoners of war, and of Toul and Bitsche, their garrisons being permitted to march out with the honors of war.*

I believe that our convictions that we made very conciliatory offers will be shared by all neutral cabinets.

If the French Government has resolved not to use the opportunity offered of proceeding to the election of a National Assembly, even within the parts of France occupied by us, it shows its resolution not to get rid of the difficulties which prevent the conclusion of a peace in accordance with international law, and not to listen to the public opinions of the French people. That free and general elections would lead to results favorable to peace, is a conviction which forces itself upon us here, and which can hardly have escaped those in power in Paris.

I take the liberty of requesting your Excellency to bring the present circular to the notice of the Government to which you are accredited.

VON BISMARCK.

As soon as the Government at Tours learned the result of M. Favre's mission, the following proclamation was issued:

TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

Before the siege of Paris, Jules Favre desired to see Count Von Bismarck, to know the intention of the enemy. The following is the declaration of the enemy:

Prussia wishes to continue the war in order to reduce France to a second-rate power. Prussia demands Alsace and Lorraine, as far as

Metz, by right of conquest. Prussia, before consenting to an armistice, demands the rendition of Strasbourg, Toul, and Mont Valérien. *Paris is exasperated, and will rather bury herself beneath her ruins.* To such insolent pretensions, we can respond but by *resistance to the last extremity.* France accepts the struggle, and counts upon her children.

Tours, Sept. 24.

CRÉMIEUX.

GLAIS-BIZOIN.

FOURICHON.*

Subsequent to the interview between Favre and Bismarck, the American General Burnside, with the consent of the Prussian authorities, endeavored to effect an arrangement between the contending Powers, but without success.

While these negotiations were going on, the Germans were gradually encircling Paris with their lines of investment. At the same time efforts were being made to enlist aid for France from without.

M. Thiers had declined to take any part in the formation of the Provisional Government, but, soon after its organization,

* This proclamation was met by the following denial from Count Bismarck:

“FERRIERES, *Saturday, Oct. 1, 1870.*

“From reports in the public journals it appears that the delegation of the French Government in Tours have officially announced that I had declared to M. Favre that Prussia would continue war in order to reduce France to the condition of a Power of the second rank. Although such an expression could only be intended to influence a circle unacquainted with the language used in international negotiations, and ignorant of the geography of France, still the circumstance that this official announcement bears the signatures of Messrs. Crémieux, Glais-Bizoin, and Fourichon, gentlemen belonging to the Government of a great European power, induces me to request your Excellency to put it in a proper light in your official intercourse.

“In my interview with M. Favre, the question of peace was not formally considered. At his repeated request I communicated to the French Minister, in general outline, the same views which formed the principal topic of the circular dated Meaux, September 16. *Demands exceeding those therein contained have never yet in any way been made by me.*

“The cession of Strasbourg and Metz, which we seek, in territorial connection implies a reduction of French territory equal in area to the increase through Savoy and Nice; while the population of these provinces obtained from Italy has made that of France 750,000 larger. When it is considered that France, according to the census of 1866, numbered 38,000,000 inhabi-

he consented to undertake a semi-official mission to the leading Neutral Powers for the purpose of endeavoring to secure their assistance. He bore no diplomatic commission, but it was well understood that the Provisional Government would ratify any engagements he might enter into. His object was, not to solicit the intercession of the Powers in behalf of France, but to secure their active aid against Germany. It must be admitted, that no better envoy could have been selected. An able and experienced statesman, profoundly versed in the wiles of diplomacy, he was in every way qualified for his delicate mission. He was unsuccessful, simply because no one could have succeeded in his attempt. German unity had no such bitter foe in France as he, and there was no French statesman more unscrupulous as to the means he was willing to use for its prevention.

His first visit was to England, where he was courteously received by Earl Granville. He soon found that England was in no mood for going to war with Germany, and he failed to find even that "active sympathy," which he declared he expected to meet with, after the long and cordial alliance

tants without Algiers, and with Algiers (now furnishing an essential part of the French war forces), 42,000,000, it is palpable that a decrease of 750,000 changes nothing in the importance of France as against foreign countries, while we leave to this great Empire the same elements of power, possession whereof, in the Eastern and Italian wars, enabled it to exercise so decisive an influence on the destinies of Europe.

"These few points will suffice to successfully oppose the logic of facts to the exaggeration of the proclamation of the 24th of last month. I only add, that in communication with M. Favre I expressly directed his attention to these views; and I need not assure your Excellency that I refrained from every offensive allusion to the consequences of the present war in respect to the future position of France as a great power of the world.

"BISMARCK."

The Count on the 6th of October made public the following denial of a charge that he was opposed to the French Republic because of its danger to the German system of Government:

"I do not hold the opinion that the Republican institutions of France constitute danger for Germany, nor have I, as asserted in a letter of the 17th ult., published in the London *Daily Telegraph*, ever expressed such a view to Mr. Malet, or any other person.

BISMARCK."

between the two countries. The most he was able to accomplish in London, was to induce the English Government to act as the intermediary channel for conducting the negotiations; which resulted in the interview between Count Bismarck and M. Favre, and those which, at a later date, he conducted in person.

From London, M. Thiers went back to France to communicate his failure to the Government at Tours. Tarrying there a day or two, he repaired to Vienna. Here he expected better results than had attended his efforts in London. He knew that Austria was openly jealous of the aggrandizement of Prussia, and at heart anxious to avenge her defeat in 1866, and he relied for success to a great degree upon the common hatred of Prussia, which he knew had formed a strong bond of sympathy between the Austrian and French Imperial Governments. There was a considerable party in Austria which held that the war then going on was the best opportunity likely to occur for many years for Austria to recover her lost influence in Germany, and M. Thiers confidently reckoned upon the support of this party. Count Von Beust, however, combined firmness with sagacity, and he declined to enter into negotiations with M. Thiers. Prussia was too formidable an adversary to be attacked needlessly, and, besides, the Austrian Government did not dare to assail her in behalf of France for fear of alienating its German subjects, who warmly sympathized with their Prussian brethren. Therefore Count Von Beust was compelled to decline to entertain M. Thiers' proposals.

The French statesman's next visit was made to St. Petersburg. There was a strong sympathy with France felt throughout the Empire of Russia, in consequence of the rapid progress of Germany; but the Czar was a warm friend of Prussia, and he emphatically declined to listen to the overtures of M. Thiers, though he received him in his private capacity, and invited him to dine with him.

Returning from St. Petersburg, M. Thiers made a second effort at Vienna. On the 8th of October he had an interview

with Count Von Beust, and on the 9th, was received by the Emperor. But this effort was as fruitless as the first had been.

Repairing to Florence, he had an audience with the King of Italy on the 14th of October, and on the same day he had a long conference with the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs. He boldly asked the Italian Government for a contingent of 100,000 men. His request was refused.

In every instance he was unsuccessful, and was obliged to content himself with expressions of barren sympathy. Every European Government—even that of Russia—was alarmed at the growing power of Prussia, and would have been glad to see her shorn of her strength ; but not one of them dared lift a hand against her. M. Thiers never once during his mission, as far as is known at present, attempted to induce the Powers to compel Germany to make peace with France upon favorable terms. His whole effort was to secure their aid in prolonging the war by forming a coalition against a formidable enemy.

Returning to Tours, he announced his failure to the Government there. We shall have occasion, in another chapter, to relate the events which followed his arrival at Tours.

CHAPTER VIII.

GENERAL TROCHU GIVEN THE COMMAND AT PARIS—REASONS FOR THE APPOINTMENT—HIS PROCLAMATIONS—HIS EFFORTS TO PLACE THE CITY IN A STATE OF DEFENCE—STORES ACCUMULATED—DESCRIPTION OF THE FORTIFICATIONS OF PARIS—THE WEAK POINTS OF THE SYSTEM—STATEMENT OF THE GARRISON—THE GERMAN AUTHORITIES DECIDE TO CONTINUE THE WAR—THEIR JUSTIFICATION—MARCH OF THE THIRD AND FOURTH ARMIES FROM SEDAN—OCCUPATION OF RHEIMS—ADDRESS OF THE CROWN PRINCE TO HIS TROOPS—INCIDENTS OF THE MARCH TO PARIS—CAPTURE OF LAON—EXPLOSION OF THE CITADEL—INVESTMENT OF SOISSONS—THE FOURTH ARMY REACHES THE VICINITY OF PARIS—COMBATS ON THE MARNE—TROCHU'S EMBARRASSMENT—DESOLATION OF THE SUBURBS OF PARIS—PASSAGE OF THE SEINE BY THE THIRD ARMY—MARCH OF THE FIFTH CORPS UPON VERSAILLES—FIGHT AT PETIT BICETRE—GENERAL TROCHU'S ORDER OF THE DAY—THE FOURTH ARMY IN POSITION—"OUR FRITZ" TAKES A LOOK AT PARIS—THE ROYAL HEADQUARTERS AT FERRIERES—OCCUPATION OF VERSAILLES—ARRIVAL OF THE CROWN PRINCE—THE INVESTMENT OF PARIS COMPLETED—POSITION OF THE GERMAN ARMIES—FRENCH RECONNOISSANCES ON THE 23D OF SEPTEMBER—THE FIGHT AT VILLEJUIF—THE BALLOON SERVICE—A BALLOON BATTLE—DISTRIBUTION OF THE IRON CROSSES BY THE CROWN PRINCE OF PRUSSIA—A MEMORABLE SCENE—ARRIVAL OF KING WILLIAM AT VERSAILLES—"THE WATERS OF VERSAILLES."

AS has been stated in a preceding chapter, the Emperor Napoleon, before leaving Chalons for Sedan, appointed General Trochu "Governor of Paris and Commandant-in-chief of all the forces charged to provide for the defence of the Capital." For some time previous to the war, General Trochu (who up to 1860, had been one of the warmest friends and supporters of the Emperor) had been in disfavor with the Court, owing, it is said, to the plainness of his speech and the independence with which he pointed out the defects of the French military system; and his appointment to the chief command at Paris was dictated more by the Emperor's wish to conciliate his opponents, than

because of his own preference. It was a fortunate appointment, however. General Trochu was confessedly an officer of superior ability, and, above all, he possessed the entire confidence of the people of Paris. He assumed the command immediately upon his appointment, and issued the following proclamation:

PARIS, *August 18th, 1870.*

INHABITANTS OF PARIS:—Amid the peril in which the country is, I am named Governor of Paris and Commandant-in-Chief of the forces charged to defend the capital in a state of siege. Paris seizes the part which belongs to it, and it wishes to be the centre of grand efforts, of grand sacrifices, and of grand examples. I come to join in them with all my heart. That will be the honor of my life, and the proud crowning of a career which, until this day, has remained unknown, for the most part, to you.

I have faith the most complete in the success of our glorious enterprise; but it is upon one condition, the character of which is imperious, and without which our common efforts will be struck with impotence.

I refer to good order; and I mean, by that, not merely calmness in the street, but calmness at your firesides, calmness of your spirits, deference to the orders of the responsible authorities, resignation in presence of the trials inseparable from the situation, and, finally, the serenity, grave and collected, of a great military nation, which takes in its hand, with a firm resolution, amid solemn circumstances, the conduct of its destiny. And to establish the situation in that equilibrium so desirable, I do not turn to the powers which I hold by the state of siege and from the law. I demand it of your patriotism, and I will obtain it from your confidence, in showing myself, to the population of Paris, a confidence without limit.

I appeal to all men of all parties, belonging to none myself. In the army no other party is known than that of the country.

I appeal to their devotion. I demand of them to hold in bounds, by moral force, the hot spirits who do not know how to restrain themselves, and to do justice with their own hands to those men who are of no party, and who see in the public misfortune only an occasion to satisfy detestable appetites.

And to accomplish my task, after which, I affirm, I will reënter into the obscurity from which I emerge, I adopt one of the old devices of the province of Brittany, where I was born: "With the aid of God, for the fatherland!"

At Paris.

GENERAL TROCHU.

On the 19th, as we have seen, a Committee of Defence was

formed in Paris, of which General Trochu was made President. It appointed a special executive committee, which met daily in the war office for the purpose of pushing forward with the utmost speed measures for the defence of the country. Its principal efforts were given to placing Paris in a condition to resist a siege, and of this committee General Trochu was the most energetic member. Perfectly satisfied that, sooner or later, the Capital would be attacked, he exerted himself with all possible energy to prepare it for the trial which was in store for it. On the 20th he published an address to the people of Paris, explaining how he desired to aid them. In this, he said :

The idea of maintaining order by force of the bayonet and the sword in Paris, which is so agitated and given up to grief, fills me with horror and disgust. The maintenance of order by the ascendancy of patriotism, freely expressed by the knowledge of the evident danger of the country, fills me with hope and serenity. But this problem is arduous, and I cannot solve it alone, but I can with the aid of those having such sentiments. That is what I term moral aid. The moment may arrive when malefactors, seeing us defending the city, will seek to pillage. Those the honest must seize. The error of all Governments I have ever known is to consider force the ultimate power. The only decisive power in the moment of danger, is moral force.

On the 21st he issued the following appeal :

To the National Guard, to the Garde Mobile, to the Troops and Seamen in the Army of Paris, to all the defenders of the Capital.

In the midst of events of the highest importance, I have been appointed Governor. The honor is great—the peril also. I depend on your patriotism. Should Paris be subjected to a siege, never was there a more magnificent opportunity to prove to the world that long prosperity has not effeminated the country. You have before you the example of an army which has fought one against three. Their heroic struggle compels the admiration of all. Show by your conduct that you have the feeling of the profound responsibility resting upon you

As a measure of precaution, all persons intending to leave the city, were ordered to do so early in September; and all people who were deemed unsafe, and all who could not support themselves, were expelled from the city. Vigorous efforts were made to arm the National Guard, and reënforce-

ments were drawn in from the provinces. Stores of provisions and war material were laid up in Paris, and the farmers in the adjoining departments were advised to bring in their flocks and crops for safe keeping. As early as the 25th of August, the Bois de Boulogne was filled with cattle and flocks, and the people from the neighboring country were crowding into the city with all their movable effects.

The outlying forts were strongly garrisoned and armed; the wall or *enceinte* of the city was armed with heavy guns, and new works were begun at points which needed strengthening.

The city and suburbs of Paris, with its system of defences, constitute a fortress of the first class, and one capable of sheltering more than half a million of men. Its defences consist of an inner hall or *enceinte*, surrounding the city on both sides of the Seine, at the verge of the municipal limits, and a series of fifteen detached forts situated at a distance of from one to three miles from the *enceinte*. The inner wall is more than twenty-two miles in circuit, and is pierced with sixty-six gates or entrances called *barrières*. The city limits thus enclosed, cover an area of 19,260 acres, or about thirty square miles. The rampart or *enceinte* is seventy feet in width, is faced with a scarp or wall thirty feet high, and has a ditch in front twenty feet deep. Immediately within the *enceinte* is a line of magnificent boulevards, planted with trees, and macadamized, extending entirely around the city, passing the river by means of commodious bridges, and admirably adapted to the movement of troops and artillery. By these roads communication between all parts of the wall is assured. Immediately without the wall is the military zone, about 275 yards in width, in which no houses or other objects giving cover to an enemy are allowed to stand. *

* During the long peace which preceded the war, permission was given to private parties to build within the military zone; but only upon the distinct understanding that in case it became necessary to arm the *enceinte* these houses would be destroyed without the Government being liable for the loss. Upon the approach of the Germans the military zone was swept clear of all obstacles.



Laying up Stores for the Siege in the Halles Centrales, or Principal Market of Paris.

The outer defences consist of fifteen detached forts, lying at a distance of from one to three miles from the city wall. They are built in the most substantial manner, of heavy masonry, and occupy a line of heights enclosing the basin in which lies the city. These are all of perfect construction, and the smallest is capable of holding a force of 4000 men. With the exception of those on the western side, they are all so situated that of any system of three adjacent forts, the two on the outside can cross their fire at least two miles in advance of the centre fort. The following is a list of these forts, and their distances from the *enceinte*, commencing on the North :

1. De la Briche,	{	Constituting the system of St. Denis, three miles from the <i>enceinte</i> .			
2. St. Denis,					
3. De l'Est,					
4. Aubervilliers,	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	miles	from the	<i>enceinte</i> .	
5. Romainville,	1	mile	"	"	"
6. Noisy,	2	miles	"	"	"
7. Rosny,	3	"	"	"	"
8. Nogent.	3	"	"	"	"
9. Charenton.	2	"	"	"	"
10. Ivry,	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	"	"	"	"
11. Bicêtre,	1	mile	"	"	"
12. Montrouge,	1	"	"	"	"
13. Vanves,	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	miles	"	"	"
14. Issy,	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	"	"	"	"
15. Mt. Valérien	3	"	"	"	"

In addition to these, is the castle of Vincennes, about a mile distant from the *enceinte*, which though used mainly as one of the great arsenals and artillery schools of France, was also armed with about 118 guns, in August 1870, bringing the total armament of the outer forts to about 1100 guns. The *enceinte* was armed with from 1000 to 1100 guns of a smaller calibre than those of the forts, many of the latter being the heaviest ship guns. The guns of Mt. Valérien were of the heaviest and most approved class, and were many of them breech loaders. The bend in the Marne, between Forts Nogent and Charenton, was protected by the Redoubt de la Faisanderie. At the approach of the Prussians, lines of rifle pits were dug between the forts, and additional earthworks were thrown up at points which it was deemed desirable to strengthen. The country between the city and the forts was

made as difficult as possible by obstructions, and the approaches to the gateways of the *enceinte* were covered by means of redoubts and barricades heavily armed. An additional line of defences was begun within the city immediately back of the ramparts, and the streets were barricaded at commanding points. Guns of a long range were also placed on the heights of Montmartre.*

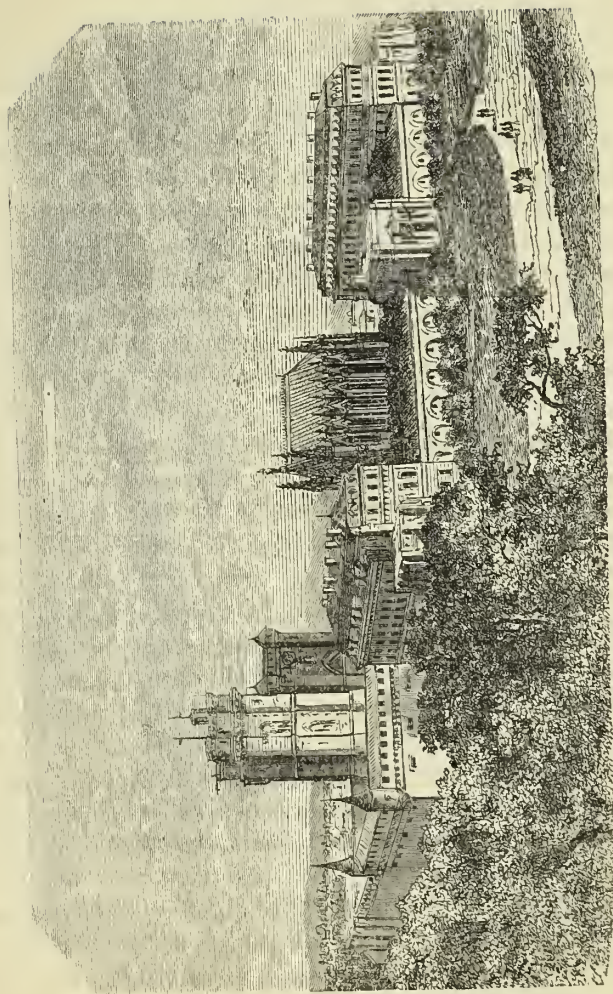
The *enceinte* and the forts were begun and finished during the reign of Louis Philippe, and were mainly the work of Marshal Soult and M. Thiers. They were designed by the ablest military engineers of the period, and were considered sufficient to render Paris impregnable; for at that time the range of the most improved artillery for throwing shells was limited to two and a half miles. Since then, however, such improvements have been made in artillery that the effective range of shells has been extended to five miles. It has therefore happened during the present war that the besieging batteries have been able to throw shells into the city from points which would have been out of range at the time the forts were built. On the north and east of Paris, however, the forts are still a sufficient protection to the city, being at an average distance of two and a half miles from the *enceinte*, and possessing batteries powerful enough to keep the besiegers at a distance sufficient to ensure the safety of the city. On the south and west, however, the system of defence is weaker.

On the west, the Seine, bending suddenly to the northward at Sevres, follows the course of the *enceinte* as far as St. Denis,

* "The French forts are armed with heavy ship guns—viz., 10½ inch, throwing a projectile of 500 lbs.; 9½ inch, throwing 300 lbs.; 7½ inch, throwing 180 lbs.; and other pieces ranging from 6½ inch downwards. Besides these, heavy guns have been cast in Paris for arming the new earthen batteries interpolated between the forts, and at some places constructed considerably in advance; as at Mount Avron, in front of Rosny; Hautes Bruyères and Moulin Saquet, in front of Bicêtre and Ivry; and a new work one mile in front of Valérien, which has lately thrown a shell as far as the outskirts of Versailles. The most powerful gun at the command of the besiegers is believed to be one having a calibre of 9¼ inches, and decidedly inferior to the French 10½ inch gun."—*London Quarterly Review*. January, 1871. P. 74.

where it bends to the westward. Thus for a distance of fourteen miles, the river, which is no where more than two miles distant from the city wall, serves as a wet ditch to the *enceinte*, the ground between being easily swept by the fire of the guns on the ramparts. The whole line of the river being thus guarded between Sevres and St. Denis, its passage could be accomplished only in the face of a fire to which no commander would care to expose his troops. The only exterior defence at this portion of the line is the powerful fortress of Mont Valérien, which takes its name from the hill on which it stands. It lies immediately to the westward of the centre of the Bois de Boulogne, one mile from the river and three miles from the *enceinte*. It is eight miles distant from St. Denis, the nearest fort on the north, and six miles distant from Issy, the nearest fort on the south. Thus the reader will see that while the ground immediately in front of the *enceinte* on the west of Paris is covered against assault and approaches by the fire of the guns on the ramparts, there is to the right and left of Fort du Mont Valérien a considerable gap, into which an enemy might thrust batteries of sufficient range to command the city, without being seriously hindered by the fire of either of the three forts we have named. We shall see that the Prussians were able to accomplish this in the recent siege. General Trochu quickly saw the danger, and attempted to guard against it by the erection of four new works: two — the redoubts of Courbevoie and Genevilliers — between Mont Valérien and St. Denis; and two — the redoubts of Montretout and Sevres — between Mont Valérien and Issy. They were but partially completed upon the arrival of the German army before the city, and were captured before they could be equipped. The Germans subsequently abandoned all but the Sevres Redoubt, but prevented the French from making any further use of the others.

On the south, the forts Issy, Vanves, Montrouge, Bictère, and Ivry are located on a range of heights immediately facing the *enceinte*, parallel with it, and at an average distance of a mile and a half from it. Immediately in front of this



Castle of Vincennes : near Paris.

range of heights, and parallel to it, is a second range, only a mile distant from the forts. This is the range on which stand the villages of Clamart, Chatillon, and Villejuif. These heights are two hundred feet higher than the hills on which the forts are built, and in reality command them. We shall see that the Germans were relieved, after occupying them with their batteries, of the necessity of capturing the outlying forts on the south of Paris, since with their long range guns they could command the whole of the city south of the Seine, so that while the southern forts at the time of their construction were fully competent to the task of preventing the bombardment of Paris, they proved useless as a protection during the recent siege, the German shells being thrown into the city over the heads of the garrison. All that they could do was to delay the construction of the besiegers' batteries.

Within these defences was gathered the largest army of France, consisting, according to the most reliable data at present available, of 121,000 troops of the line, 120,000 Mobs, and 300,000 National Guards—in all a force of 541,000 men. Men were in abundance, but they were undisciplined, and good officers were scarce. There was also a great lack of field artillery, and the various foundries of the Capital were taxed to their utmost capacity to supply the demand. The lack of a sufficient force of disciplined troops, and the scarcity of field artillery, greatly hampered the movements of General Trochu during the siege, and often prevented him from securing advantages which would have been within his grasp, had he possessed a force of 150,000 trained, reliable, and well-equipped troops.

Meanwhile the Germans had been rapidly following up their success at Sedan. On the 5th of September, the newspapers of the German cities published the following announcement :

BERLIN, *Sept. 5* (OFFICIAL).

The Emperor Napoleon having declared that his captivity prevents him from negotiating the peace, the French Government being at Paris, the war will be continued.

It has been urged by many persons that the King of Prussia should have paused at Sedan, and offered peace to France. Having proclaimed that he made war upon the Imperial Government, and not upon the people, it is said that he should have checked the advance of his armies immediately upon the fall of the Empire, and have offered peace to the Provisional Government. However sincere the King may have been in his belief at the beginning of the war that his quarrel was with the Emperor alone, he had been given abundant proof, long before the fall of Sedan, that the war was the work of the French people, and that it was from them that he must exact guarantees for the future peace of his country. The truth is, doubtless, that the whole question was thoroughly understood by the Prussian Government long before the first shot was fired, and that the King's declaration that the war was against the Empire, was meant merely to weaken and distract the enemy by encouraging dissensions between the friends and opponents of the Empire in Paris. Count Bismarck was too profoundly acquainted with the temper of the French people to be ignorant of the extent to which they had driven the Emperor, and he was too skilled a statesman to believe that the French people would relinquish their pretensions and their hostility to Germany, simply because the Empire had ceased to exist. It was plain to him that the conflict between the two nations was one which could not have been delayed many years, whatever the system of government in France, and now that it had come, it was but natural that he, in common with the other German statesmen, should be determined to gain from it the most solid advantages for Germany. Immediately upon the fall of the Empire, the popular wish for the prosecution of the war became more emphatic than ever. From all parts of France came the assertion that the country would never consent to a loss of territory, that the war must go on until France was crushed, or the Germans driven across the Rhine. Whichever way they turned, the German commanders saw nothing but resistance, heard nothing but defiance, and they would have been worse

than idiotic had they stopped their advance, to offer terms to a people who declared they would not make peace unless the victors would consent to relinquish every advantage they had won. Furthermore, the Germans knew not with whom to negotiate. The Imperial Government had been overturned, and a Provisional Government had been formed, but it was very uncertain, for sometime after the victors reached the vicinity of Paris, whether the nation would accept the new Government, and extremely doubtful whether that Government could negotiate a peace upon such terms as the interests of Germany required, with the consent of the people. The German leaders, therefore, wisely for their country, decided to follow up their advantages, and bring France to such a condition, that she would be compelled to make peace upon their terms.

Immediately after the surrender of Sedan, the Eleventh Corps and the 1st Bavarians were detached from the army of the Crown Prince of Prussia, and ordered to escort the French prisoners to Pont-à-Mousson, where they were to hand over their captives to the Tenth Prussian Corps, before Metz, and then by forced marches rejoin the Crown Prince before Paris. On the 2d of September, these corps took charge of the prisoners, and the remainder of the 3d and 4th armies bivouacked on the battle-field, in readiness to resume their advance upon Paris on the 3d. By early morning on the 3d, they were under arms, and moving rapidly towards the Capital of France.

The advance of the 3d and 4th armies was by different routes. The 3d army moved by way of Rethel, Rheims, and Epernay, as far as the south bank of the Marne, whence it continued its march by Montmirail to Coulommiers, from which last place the various corps passed to the positions assigned them in the line of investment.

The 4th army, moving by Vouziers and Rheims, reached the northern bank of the Marne, along which it continued its course to Claye, from which place it moved to its position in the line of investment.

In making this march it became necessary for the 3d and 4th armies to cross each other's line somewhere between Sedan and Paris. This was done at Rheims; and so accurately was the movement planned, that two large armies, each pressing forward with speed, crossed each other's line of march without confusion and without the loss of a day.

Before leaving Rheims, the Crown Prince issued the following address to his troops :

SOLDIERS :—'Through great victories of the armies, the hope of a glorious peace has been won for the German people.

On the battle-fields of France the nation has become conscious of its greatness and union, and this gain, sanctified by the blood of many thousands of our warriors, we trust, will keep its binding power for all future time. But to the enthusiastic outbursts and emotions of these weeks have come also feelings of deep sorrow. Many of the flower of our youth, many of the leaders of our army, have fallen victims of the victory; and greater still is the number of those who, from wounds, and excessive endurance and exertions, will be unable in future to gain their livelihood by their own efforts. They, above all, and those whom the dead have left behind them, and the living victims of the war, have a claim to the gratitude of the nation. Whoever has shared the enthusiasm of this contest—whoever, from the rising up of our whole people in their might, hopes for a new happy era of peace, and in our victories and the defeat of our foes worships a judgment of God on high—let him now prove his fidelity to the warriors of our people's army, and their families. Help from the State alone, however fully it may be given, will not suffice to support the large number of invalids and their families. That help only affords what is absolutely necessary, and unavoidably confined to general normal rules, and cannot attend to the need and wants of the individual. Great efforts of voluntary help will be required this time, for, huge as the successes have been, the losses of the war are enormous. In the same way in which this war has created a uniform and united German army, in which sons of all the German lands fought in brotherly emulation of bravery, the care for the invalids and helpless whom the war leaves behind must become the common business of Germany, the North and South of our Fatherland taking a like share in it. Former experience has taught that it does not suffice with generous hearts to offer donations of money. Nay, not less important and more difficult is the proper distribution thereof—the kind consideration of personal circumstances, and, most important of all, the precaution that the assistance rendered shall not weaken instead of strengthen, the power to earn which may still exist, and that it really prove beneficial for the life

of those assisted. The "Victoria National Invalid Fund," which was founded in 1868, throughout the largest part of Germany, having answered this purpose, and having been found effective in its organization, I hereby authorize the executive manager of that fund to take in hand the organization and management of an "Invalid Fund of Germany," and to call for contributions and the establishment of branches thereof. His Majesty, the King, Commander-in-Chief of the German army, as in the years 1864 and 1866, has given me his consent to this patriotic enterprise. This time it has been my good fortune to lead an army into the field, in which the Bavarian, the Würtemberger and the Badener, have fought side by side with the Prussian, and I may address myself to the hearts of all Germans. May this work of love be a common labor between us for our Fatherland, and may it be the introduction of many united and blessed works of peace.

FRIEDRICH WILHELM,
Crown Prince of Prussia.

Headquarters, RHEIMS, *Sept. 6, 1870.*

The scenes which attended the advance of the invaders, are thus described by a correspondent who accompanied the headquarters of Crown Prince Fritz. His letter was written on the 12th of September :

"Montmirail is a small place when compared with the fine city of Rheims, through which I have passed on my way hither. In Rheims, with its glorious cathedral, and its memories of royal coronations, there is gloom and restraint. The enemy have taken possession of the city. King William himself is there. The King's headquarters are established in the episcopal palace beside the cathedral, and the headquarters of the Würtemberg Corps, which garrisons the city, are established in the hotel before the cathedral door. Officers come and go, horses clatter over the stones, and orderlies trot in and out with incessant bustle. But though there is plenty of life in one sense, yet Rheims is gloomy and restrained. The people do not like it, and they cannot prevent it. Here are enemies far milder than the invaders of 1814. I saw dozens of young women passing across the public square on their way to the cathedral, and they had no violence to fear. I saw shops open, which were receiving money payments for the purchases of the soldiery. But it is hard to be ordered about by strangers and enemies, when we have been led to

think ourselves beyond all attack. The mayor has to advise his townsfolk earnestly to abstain from violence, and the Prussian authorities make such requisitions as they think necessary for the good of their service. These requisitions are made on the city, it is fair to add, and the private citizen has only to provide food for the soldiers actually quartered upon him. He need not let himself be bullied by any chance soldier even out of a morsel of bread. King William has resolved that no irregular exactions shall cause the people greater suffering than the war must, perforce, inflict. It is difficult to prevent small irregularities and petty plundering, but these things press more harshly on country villages than on a city like Rheims, where His Majesty himself is quartered.

“Whilst the rain poured in torrents on the gusty September days which followed the great victory, there was ceaseless trampling of mud and splashing up of muddy water in the town and on the battle-field of Sedan. Thousands came and went along the road to the Belgian frontier, until this same road, so quiet at ordinary times, was made the busiest of international thoroughfares. Thousands marched away towards Germany with heavy steps and grave downcast faces. These were the French prisoners. Who could say what foolish dreams of easy victory and of *promenades militaires* had floated through their heads a month before? They had misunderstood the case, they had been ill commanded and signally overthrown. But it was impossible not to pity the poor fellows as they went by in long mud-splashed columns, their gay uniforms utterly faded, their small relics of equipment carried with anxious care. Here was one with a saddle-cloth held over his shoulders to keep off the rain, and an empty cooking tin clutched in his other hand. Then came, perhaps, a couple whose great-coats were to the fore, but who had nothing else. Then a man fairly drenched in his uniform coat, yet with the rare luxury of a knapsack, and with the suspicion of a pair of boots therein. So they went by in never-ending columns. Batches of men in great distress from

damp and hunger. Other batches seemingly more fortunate, better clothed, or, for some reason, better provided. The cavalry without their horses, the infantry without their load of sack and coat, and tent, which is almost part of themselves.

“There was dismal work to be done amid all the rain and mud of the days which followed the great victory. The dead were to be buried and the wounded were to be removed for fear of sickness. As late as the fourth day there were dozens of dead Frenchmen on the road between Sedan and Givonne, and it was not until the sixth day after the battle that the dead horses were seriously dealt with. So many men still living, but suffering great agony, claimed the care of all who could lend a helping hand, that to leave the dead unburied for awhile was as nothing in comparison. In the villages, on the battle-field itself, there was scarcely a foot of shelter to be found unoccupied. Every house had a garrison of wounded men, and the doctors were busy with their drugs and their instruments working hard to relieve the sufferers. The red cross of the hospital assistants was to be seen in all directions. If there was a mass of sufferers to be helped and tended, there was also a wide-spread organization to bring them help. Wounded men were in the villages and in the town. They were taken over the Belgian frontier, to be conveyed away by rail to France or Germany. They were spread farther and farther, by slow degrees, from the spot where they had fallen, in order that there might be better means of caring for them and less chance of infection. It often seemed that the common suffering and mutual helplessness had made the enemies of a few hours before quite forget their hostile attitude. I remember noticing on the morning after the battle that Frenchmen and Germans limped along together in forlorn groups of twenty or a dozen, without the least sign of enmity, in fact with tolerable politeness one to another. These lightly-wounded men found their way to the rear at their own pace, often stopping to rest. You might have seen at times a soldier of either side chatting in broken fashion, by signs and stray words, to some soldiers, also wounded, of the other

side. Or it would happen that the courtesies of a resting-place beside the road, of a sheltered corner, or grassy bank, were done with a simple nod and grunt of welcome by the first comers to the sometime enemy, who limped up with an imploring look. Between the unwounded prisoners and their guard it could not but be that roughness and jealousy should appear. The prisoners were sullen of mood, the guard put over them were disposed to try whether loud speaking would not make German clearly comprehended. But the wounded, conquerors and conquered, got on together excellently well. They had a fellow-feeling which made them almost friends.

"All through the fertile province of Champagne, down the straight *chaussées*, with their lines of poplar trees, and among the pleasant villages on the vine-covered slopes, the Prussians have advanced towards Paris.

"There was a great bend to the northward when the Crown Prince swung round upon MacMahon, and pinned him in against the Belgian frontier at Sedan. There was a momentary pause after the success of September—a pause merely to rest the exhausted troops, and then a second movement as decided and almost as rapid as that of the shutting in of MacMahon. The German forces returned to the main road to their promised goal. They came slanting back to the line of the Marne, and occupied village after village, town after town, with astonishing quickness. The French had no time to prepare a systematic defence. Before the National Guard could even be armed, far less exercised, those fluttering pennants of black and white which told of the Prussian Lancers, or those spiked helmets of the Prussian Dragoons, were seen approaching. Everything had to be abandoned. The armed force, such as it was, dispersed or retreated, and the people submitted themselves to the inevitable in the way of war contributions. It has been such a flood of invasion as has been seldom seen in the history of the world. There has been the energy of some Teutonic inroad of the fifth century combined with the careful preparation of modern thought and science. The rough cavaliers who lead the way are indifferent to hardship and

danger. With them it is a change from damp bivouacs one day, to snug quarters in a fine old château on the next. They take good and evil fortune as it happens to come, live well when they can, and frighten the inhabitants far more than they hurt them. Then follow the regular brigades and divisions, the artillery and ammunition, of the main army. Guns are dragged steadily forward, wagons block up the roads, whole fields and hill-sides are turned into camps, as the army advances. There is no delay in the rear. More and more wagons come streaming up from every dépôt of provisions. The field telegraph is brought into play as fast as possible, and the field hospitals are got ready, stage after stage, for the sick or wounded who may require help. To travel up to headquarters when one has lingered a few days behind the great machine is a curious study. In some respects, it is painful to pass through a country so occupied and overwhelmed by soldiers. There are no blazing ruins to tell of an enemy's passage, no women complaining of outrage, no bodies of murdered men lying in the streets, as in bad old wars of other times. But there is a pitiful scarcity of food, and a sullen tone of despair among the inhabitants. They have been eaten up, they say. Not a drop of wine is left, not a crust of bread. If this goes on much longer they must starve. Take any small village by the wayside. Let a force of hungry, thirsty men, march through such village, and the result is certain. Food will be devoured, liquor will disappear, the people will groan over their losses, as well they may, poor souls! Yet, with remembrance of what has been in war, and of what might be again, these villagers are rather to be congratulated that they live in times like ours. The dreaded foe has been among them, and this is all that has been done.

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“The German line of March in the very heart of France is a curious historical study. Groups of fine strapping fellows, of from thirty to fifty years of age, lounge about the corners of the village streets or stand half-awed, half-defiant,

in the doors of the houses. They are just such material as ought to be in a French Landwehr. But they have neither weapons nor drill. Some have served in the regular army, and these scowl most fiercely at the invaders, yet even these are utterly unprepared and out of training. The uniform coat has so long given place to the blouse, that they have slipped back into their native condition of peaceful cultivators of the soil. Monsieur le Maire, or Monsieur le Curé, has them always under his eye. They are safe, quiet bodies, who could no more get up a guerilla war than could a village full of our English rustics. We hear about Francs-Tireurs, and desperate deeds to be done to every foreigner who ventures out alone. But, to their honor be it said, the French peasants take very slowly to such ways. I have heard of cases of "bushwhacking," and I am aware that some roads are far from safe. This is the most that I can say on the dangerous side. On the other side—or the side of painting things in tamer colors—it is certain that, as a whole, the war is not a war of partisans, of ambushades and surprises. The one great surprise has been, that of the French nation from first to last, and being surprised, outdone, and marched over, this French nation takes its sufferings with patient logic. *A la guerre comme à la guerre*, as I have before said, is the great motto of the time. Monsieur le Maire advises his people to pay the contributions quietly, though this particular Maire of Coulommiers is under arrest for failing to do so. Monsieur le Curé stands by his flock in the hour of trouble—comforts and encourages them to bear what must be borne; and the villages are spared the additional troubles of martial law and fierce retaliation. It is only a few days ago that I saw General Von Moltke driving into Rheims late in the day, quite alone in a carriage, with no escort of any kind. At another time I saw one Prussian soldier on foot calmly halting in a village full of Frenchmen, to light his pipe at the inn door." *

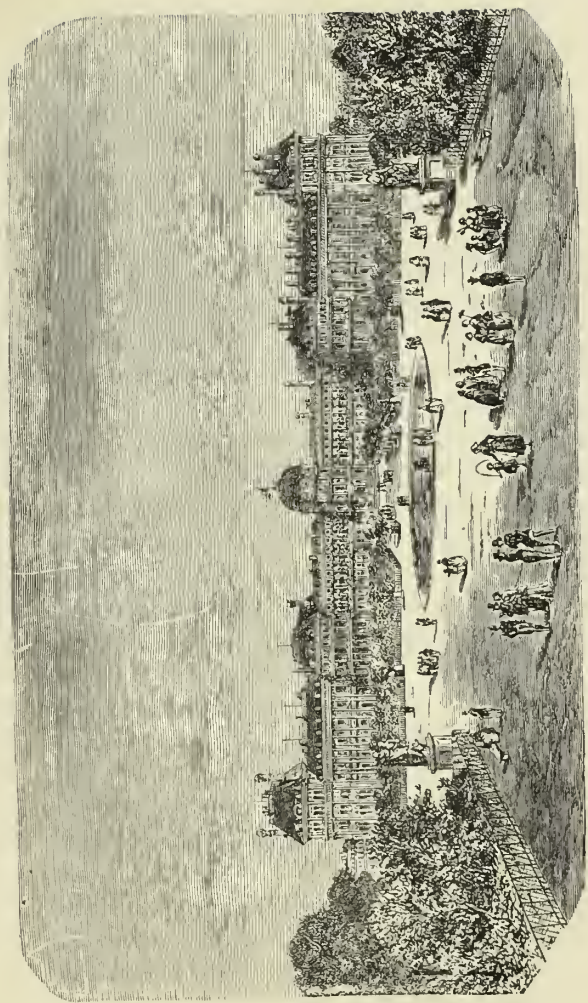
* War Correspondence of the London *Daily News*.

In stating the line of march pursued by the two German armies, we have only given the general direction. The usual system of the Prussians, to march by every practicable parallel road, was put in practice upon this occasion. The cavalry were thrown out far to the front, and thus accurate information of all that was passing in the country into which the columns were advancing, was obtained by the German commander. The flanks of both armies were well protected by these bodies of horse, and lateral communication between the various columns, as well as between the two armies, was thus maintained.

The march of the German armies was begun from Sedan on the 3d of September, and on the 5th, King William, with the advance, a column of 25,000 men, entered Rheims, where the royal headquarters were established. The main body of the 3d army moved more slowly, and did not reach Rheims until the 6th. From Rheims, where a halt was made by the King until the 10th, the armies moved towards Paris by the general routes we have indicated. A third route was also taken from Rheims. The right wing of the German army moved from Rheims to Soissons and Laon.

Laon was summoned to surrender, but the demand was at first refused. The commandant, however, wishing to spare the town the horrors of a bombardment, at length decided to capitulate. The terms of the surrender were similar to those granted by the Germans at Sedan, and at noon on the 9th, the Germans entered the place. Half an hour later, the magazine of the citadel blew up with terrific violence, killing about fifty Prussians and over 100 of the Garde Mobile, and wounding about 300 Gardes Mobiles and several Germans, the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin being among the latter. It was at first believed that the explosion was the work of treachery, but it was afterward discovered, upon investigation, that it was the result of an accident.

From Laon, the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin's column moved to Soissons, twenty miles distant to the southwest. On the 11th of September the town, which is an important fortress



Palace of the Tuileries : Paris.

Palast der Tuileries : Paris.

commanding not only the river Aisne, but the railway to Amiens and the communications with that part of Picardy, for the supply of Paris, was summoned to surrender, but the commandant replied that, rather than surrender it, he would blow it up. Preparations were at once made to reduce the place by a siege, and on the 12th of September, the investment was begun.

On the 8th, the advance of the 3d army moved off from Rheims, and on the 10th reached Château Thierry. The 4th army, passing to the south of Soissons, reached Villers-Cotterets about the same time. The average distance passed over by the Germans in their advance was about fourteen miles per day. On the 12th, they occupied Meaux, and on the 13th their cavalry penetrated to points within five miles of Paris. The 4th army passed by way of Dammartin and Claye towards St. Denis. On the 18th, while moving through the Valley of the Marne, this army was attacked by the corps of General Vinoy. Vinoy had been sent to join MacMahon, but being unable to reach him before his disaster, had retreated upon Paris with his corps in good condition. He made a gallant attempt to interrupt the advance of the Saxon Crown Prince, but was repulsed with loss. The 4th army also had a slight skirmish with the French on the 19th between St. Denis and Gonesse.

Had General Trochu possessed a force of 125,000 trained and reliable soldiers, the Germans would have found their long, winding march to their positions around the city an operation of great difficulty, if indeed the French commander had not succeeded in preventing them from investing the city so thoroughly. Moving from the centre of the circle, on the circumference of which the Germans were marching, the French commander could have struck a succession of terrible blows against the weak points of their long line before they were able to cover that line with intrenchments, and might have compelled them to abandon the investment and concentrate for their own safety. General Trochu seems to have been fully aware of this, and anxious to profit by the oppor-

tunity, but he was without adequate field artillery, and his troops were not to be depended on in an operation of such delicacy. As it was, however, he did not allow the Germans to take up their positions without an effort to check them.

Meanwhile, upon the approach of the enemy, the country around Paris was stripped, as far as possible, of everything that could facilitate their movements. The villages were deserted, and all the houses which could afford cover to an enemy were burned. Trees were felled, roads dug up, and the country around the capital, once so beautiful and inviting, was as blackened and desolated as if a whirlwind had passed over it. The woods in many places were fired, lest they should conceal the movements of the Germans; and from the towers of Paris dense columns of heavy smoke could be seen at almost every point of the horizon, marking the approach of the enemy. Nearer and nearer came the hostile columns. The German horsemen were in the suburbs as early as the 13th. On the 18th of September, the gates of the city were shut, and Paris was cut off from the rest of France.

The 3d army turned obliquely to the left after passing Lagny, and moved towards the Seine, which river it was compelled to cross in order to reach its position in the line of investment. On the 17th of September, the Fifth Prussian Corps, which constituted the advance of the 3d army, threw several pontoon bridges over the Seine at Villeneuve St. George, by means of which it crossed the river, followed subsequently by the Sixth Prussian and the Second Bavarian Corps. These columns were directed towards Bougival on the Seine, to the northwest of Paris, by way of Sevres. Their march exposed them to the attacks of the French, and Crown Prince Fritz was on the alert to detect the first hostile movement from the direction of the forts. In order to cover the building of the bridges and the passage of the river, he posted one brigade of infantry and two batteries of artillery on the heights of Limeil, extending from the Seine to Boissy St. Leger. At two o'clock on the afternoon of the 17th, a French force of eight battalions of infantry and two batteries of artil-

lery, moved out from Charenton, across the bridges of the Seine and Marne, which unite at that point, and, advancing along the narrow neck of land which lies in front of Fort de Charenton, with their flanks covered by the two rivers, attacked the Germans on the Limeil heights. Their attack was repulsed without difficulty, and they retreated in considerable disorder.

The Fifth Corps passed the river on the 18th, and moved towards Versailles by two routes, one leading through Palaiseau, and the other through Bièvre. The latter column, being the nearest to Paris, was covered in the direction of the city by the cavalry, who had an unimportant skirmish in the afternoon. The Second Bavarian Corps crossed the Seine on the same day, and occupied Longjumeau.

On the morning of the 19th of September, the two columns of the Fifth Corps, resumed their movement from Palaiseau and Bièvre towards Versailles. The Second Bavarian Corps marched from Longjumeau, through Palaiseau, to its position in the line of investment at Chatenay. The Sixth Prussian Corps, which did not pass the river until the morning of the 19th, marched through Osby to the position assigned it at Chevilly.

As the head of the 9th division of the Fifth Corps approached the little hamlet of Petit Bicêtre, just beyond Bièvre, it was attacked by the Fourteenth French Corps, commanded by General Ducrot, who had escaped from Sedan, and who had just reached Paris. Finding that he had no adequate force to dispute the passage of the Seine, General Trochu had resolved to make a desperate effort to check the advance of the Crown Prince, believing that he could hold the wood of Meudon and Chatillon at least some days. He accordingly collected such troops as he could rely upon, to the number of about 35,000 men.* Believing that the presence of an officer who had distinguished himself by his gallantry and determination at Sedan, would excite the enthusiasm of the troops, General Trochu confided the command to General Ducrot. A recon-

* The French force at Petit Bicêtre is variously estimated at from 30,000 to 40,000 men.

noissance on the evening of the 18th disclosed the passage of the river by the Germans and their advance towards Versailles, and it was decided by General Ducrot to make the attack the next morning.

Accordingly, as the head of the German column approached the French position from Bièvre, it was attacked by Ducrot. The attack was met with firmness, and in a short time the right wing of the French broke and fled from the field in great confusion. The left stood firm, however, and pressed the Prussians so hard that they were obliged to hurry up the other division of the Fifth Corps, which had reached Jouy on the southern road to Versailles, and two Bavarian brigades from Chatenay, in order to open the way from Bièvre to Versailles. They succeeded in accomplishing their object, however, and compelled the French to retire under the guns of the forts.* The French occupied an intrenched position in this engagement, but were driven from it with a loss of seven pieces of cannon, and from 2000 to 3000 prisoners.

On the same day, the 4th army took up its position to the north and east of Paris. Upon its approach, the French

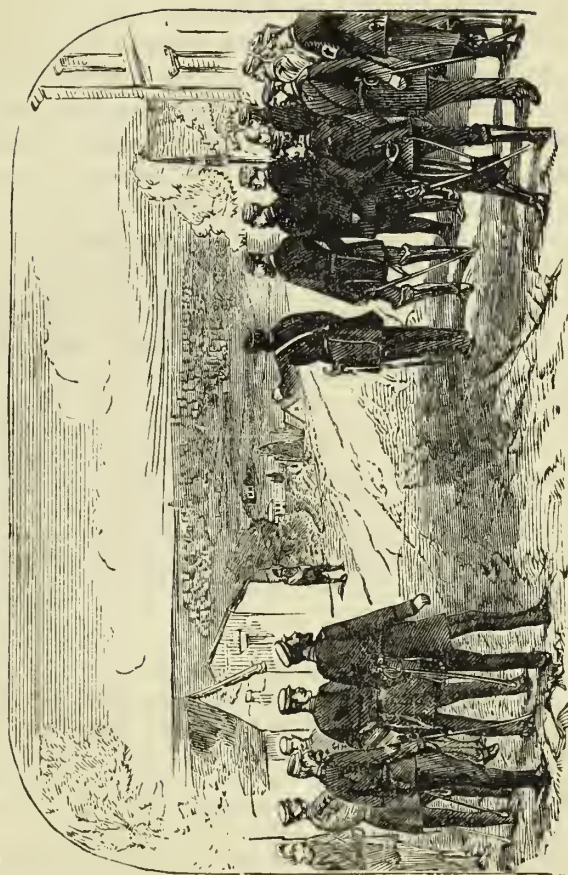
* General Trochu issued the following order of the day after the defeat of Ducrot:

"To the National Guard, the Garde Mobile, and the Troops in Garrison at Paris:

"In the combat of yesterday, which lasted nearly the whole day, and in which our artillery, whose firmness cannot be too highly praised, has inflicted enormous losses on the enemy, some incidents have occurred which it is necessary, in the interest of the great cause which we defend in common, should be communicated to you.

"An unjustifiable panic, which the efforts of an excellent chief of the corps and of his officers were unable to prevent, seized the regiment of Zouaves which held our right wing. From the commencement of the action the most part of the soldiers were thrown into disorder, producing there the greatest alarm.

"In order to excuse their conduct, these cowards have declared that they were being led to certain destruction, although their effective was intact, and they were without wounds; that they wanted cartouches, although they had not used those with which they were supplied, I have ascertained myself, from what they still have; that they had been betrayed by their chiefs, etc., etc. The truth is, that these unworthy fellows have compromised



The Crown Prince of Prussia viewing Paris from the Heights of Chatillon.

abandoned their position at Pierrefitte—a village to the north of St. Denis, between one and two miles distant from it, and standing at the base of a range of heights that extend from the Oise almost to St. Denis. The Fort of Vincennes was also abandoned as untenable, about the same time.

On the morning of the 20th, Crown Prince Fritz, who had crossed the Seine at Corbeil, and moved with his headquarters to Palaiseau, at which place he passed the night of the 19th, rode over the battle-field to an eminence behind Chatillon, from which Paris could be seen. "This," says a writer who

an engagement, which, notwithstanding this panic, has produced considerable results due to others, soldiers of the infantry joined to them.

"Already the misfortunes which have happened to us in the commencement of the war have caused to flow into Paris undisciplined and demoralized soldiers, who produce inquietude and trouble, and escape, through circumstances, the authority of their chiefs and all attempts at repression.

"I am firmly resolved to put an end to such grave disorders. I command all the defenders of Paris to seize all men who, being regular soldiers or belonging to the Garde Mobile, are rolling about the town in a state of drunkenness, thus bringing scandal and dishonor upon the uniform they wear.

"The soldiers or Gardes Mobiles thus arrested will be conducted to the headquarters of the place—7 Place Vendôme—the inhabitants arrested to the Prefecture of Police. They will afterwards be brought before a council of war, which, sitting *en permanence*, will adjudge the rigorous application of martial law.

"Article 213 prescribes the punishment of death to every soldier who abandons his post in presence of the enemy or of armed rebels.

"Article 218 prescribes the punishment of death, with military degradation, to all soldiers who refuse to obey when commanded to march upon the enemy.

"Article 250 prescribes the punishment of death, with military degradation, to all who pillage food, merchandise, or effects, by soldiers in bands, either with arms or by open force, or with violence towards the person.

"Article 253 prescribes the punishment of death, with military degradation, to all soldiers who destroy the means of defence, supplies of arms, victuals, or munitions of war, etc., etc.

"It is as much the duty of the Government to defend Paris, which is just being subjected to siege, as it is to maintain order. By the present arrangements, it associates in the effort all men of heart and will, of which the number is great in the city.

"The President of Government, Governor of Paris,

"Paris, September 20.

GENERAL TROCHU."

accompanied him, " was another of the lovely days which we have lately enjoyed. All the country was bathed in sunshine, and there was more than enough of dust along the road. We passed through the pleasant valleys, with châteaux and gardens thickly scattered about them, and came to ambulance wagons full of wounded men. The houses were occupied as hospitals, and many a poor fellow with bandaged head, or with his arm in a sling, came to the garden gates to salute the Prince. More than once His Highness stopped to speak to the wounded, and they seemed much pleased by the notice that was taken of them. They had done their duty well, and deserved a share of praise.

" From the four cross-roads at Le Petit Bicêtre to the slope eastward of Chatenay there were grizzly traces of yesterday's fight. Dead men lay here and there in the fields, hospital wagons were halted by the roadside with relief for those who still lived, and fragments of weapons were to be seen in all directions. The village of Chatenay was utterly abandoned by its inhabitants, the houses gutted, and everything smashed. On the road to Chatillon the trees were felled, the ground broken up, and evident preparation made for defence. Then we came to the unfinished outwork on the hill behind Chatillon, from whence Paris could be seen. Here was a view of the whole city—the dome of the Invalides and the towers of Notre Dame were clearly visible, and the distance was such that a long-range gun would carry into Paris. The Bavarians were busy completing the defences of the outwork, to turn them against the city at a fitting time. Even whilst we were looking, there came a shot from one of the French forts with a roar and a hissing over our heads. It was a wonder that they did not shoot oftener. They would have done so, doubtless, if the escort had come in sight, or if the staff had advanced on horseback to the brow of the hill."

Meanwhile the King had followed the army more leisurely. Leaving Rheims on the 12th of September, he established his headquarters in the Château of Baron Rothschild, at Ferrières, on the 16th. There he remained until the investment

of Paris was completed, when the royal headquarters were transferred to Versailles.

On the morning of the 20th of September, the 3d army resumed its march toward Versailles. As early as the 18th, three German Hussars entered that city. They presented themselves at the gates, and were conducted to the presence of the Mayor by the National Guard on duty at the gates. They demanded to enter into a parley, but the Mayor replied that he could only treat with an officer having power to receive the surrender of the place.

On the morning of the 20th, the German cavalry moving ahead of the Fifth Corps, arrived before Versailles, and an aide-de-camp, accompanied by a private, bearing a flag of truce, was sent to confer with the municipal authorities for the surrender of the city. He was conducted before the municipal authorities, from whom he demanded a place for the German wounded, and the keys of the stores for fodder. He then returned to General Von Kirchbach, the commander of the Fifth Corps, for consultation. At eleven o'clock A. M., there arrived a captain of engineers, also an aide-de-camp to General Von Kirchbach, to receive the surrender of the town. Skirmishing was at this time going on between the Prussians and the French in the vicinity of Sceaux and Meudon. The terms of the surrender of Versailles were as follows :

1st. All property and every person will be respected, as well as all monuments and works of art.

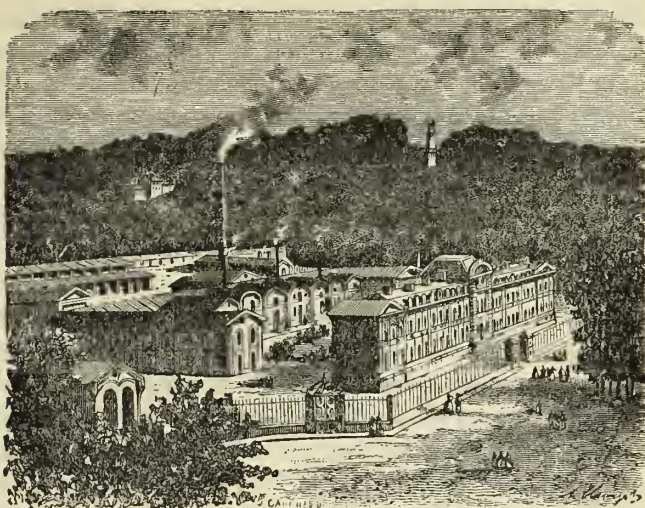
2d. The confederates shall occupy all the barracks with their soldiers, but the inhabitants must lodge the officers, and in case the barracks are insufficient, the soldiers also.

3d. The National Guards will remain armed, and in the common interest will be charged with the duties of police inside the town, and in all the posts there situated. Only the confederates will occupy, as they require, the gates of the barriers.

4th. There shall be no contribution in money, but the town must furnish, at the market price, all that will be necessary to the armies passing through, as well as to those stationed in Versailles.

5th. The same day the gates of the city shall be opened to the passage of the Fifth Corps.

The details of the surrender being arranged, the Fifth



Sevres Porcelain Factory, and Heights of St. Cloud.

Corps moved towards Versailles, the head of the column passing the gates at a quarter past twelve o'clock. Until five o'clock in the afternoon, the troops continued to defile through the city to the positions assigned them. The entry was made with all the pomp and ceremony of a grand review, and, notwithstanding their long marching and hard fighting, the men were as neat in their appearance, and as cleanly shaven as if going to a review. The bands of the regiments played the Marseillaise and other French national airs, as they passed through the old seat of French royalty.

On the 21st, Crown Prince Fritz reached Versailles, and established his headquarters in the prefecture of the city. He had passed the 20th in personally superintending the placing of his corps in the positions assigned them, and reached Versailles covered with dust, and worn out with fatigue. He was received with ringing cheers by his troops, and in silence by the inhabitants. It had been supposed that he would establish his headquarters in the Palace of Louis XIV., but that building had already been occupied as a hospital, and the red cross flag was waving over it.

The investment of Paris was now complete. The 3d army held the left of the German position, and its forces were posted as follows: The Fifth Corps held the extreme left, and its line extended from Bougival on the Seine, in front of Fort du Mont Valérien, through Sevres, Meudon, in front of Fort d'Issy. The Second Bavarian Corps continued the line from Meudon to Clamart, in front of Fort de Vanves. The Sixth Prussian Corps held the line from Clamart, through Chatillon to Chevilly, in front of Fort de Bicêtre; and the Eleventh Prussian Corps continued the line from Chevilly to the Seine at Choissy-le-Roi, in front of Fort d'Ivry. The Würtemberg contingent, consisting of two divisions of cavalry, one division of infantry, and a proportionately strong artillery force, held the neck of land lying in front of Fort de Charenton, and between the Seine and the Marne. The First Bavarian Corps constituted the reserve of the 3d army, and was stationed in the rear of Meudon, midway between Clamart and Versailles.

The 4th army held the right of the line of investment. The Twelfth Prussian Corps formed its left, and extended from the Marne, on the right of the Würtembergers, to a point between the villages of Bondy and Sevran, with Forts de Vincennés, Nogent, Rosny, Noisy and Romainville, before it. The Saxon Guards continued the line from the left of the Twelfth Corps to Pierrefitte, with Forts Aubervilliers, De l'Est, De la Briche and St. Denis, in its front; and the Fourth Prussian Corps finished the circle from Pierrefitte, through Argenteuil, to Chatou on the Seine, opposite Bougival. The spaces between the corps, wherever they existed, were held by the cavalry, and the various commands at once began to cover their positions with intrenchments. For the while these were armed with field artillery, it being the intention of the Germans to bring up siege guns capable of reducing the defences and commanding the city as soon as possible. The unfinished works of the French to the right and left of Mont Valérien were promptly occupied by the Germans, and every precaution was taken to repel sorties from the city and forts, and to maintain the line of investment. It was not yet

possible to bombard Paris, for the long-range guns had not arrived from Germany, being still *en route*. A portion of the siege train was transported along the canal of the Marne. On the 17th of September, the French scouts destroyed the locks, and let the water out of the canal, and the boats on which the heavy guns were placed, settled down into the mud. The headquarters of the 3d army were at Versailles; those of the 4th army at Grand Tremblay.

Although unable to prevent the formation of the line of investment, General Trochu did not allow the besiegers to continue their operations in peace.

On the 23d of September, he made three distinct reconnoissances of their position.

The first of these was conducted by Admiral Saisset, who, with 200 picked riflemen, 400 marines, and eight companies of Eclaireurs de la Seine, made a sharp attack on the Prussians at Drancy. He drove them out of the village, and pursued them to within 400 yards of the railway station of Le Bourget. The Prussians were obliged to retreat under the fire of a portion of the guns of Fort de Romainville. The French had one officer and one private wounded. They held the ground they had gained until the afternoon, when they made an orderly retreat to their main line.

General Belanger, commanding at St. Denis, on the same day attacked the Prussians at Pierrefitte, his movements being covered by the fire of the guns of the forts about St. Denis. A hand to hand fight ensued in the village. The Prussians were reënforced, and the French being unable to occupy the village, retired in good order in the afternoon.

General Mand Luy, about the same time, attacked the heights of Villejuif, and succeeded in occupying them. His batteries, supported by the fire of the guns of the forts, cannonaded the Prussian position before Villejuif for several hours. He succeeded in compelling the Germans to abandon the construction of some advanced works at this point.

On the 30th of September, the French made their first sortie in force from Paris. After the occupation of Villejuif

by the division of General Mand Luy, the Germans remained masters of the villages of L'Hay Cheville, Thais, and Choissy le Roi, which completely covered their line of communication with Versailles. Between the 23d and 30th of September they exerted themselves to complete the construction of a system of earthworks on this line. General Trochu decided to attack them at once, in order to ascertain their exact position and the strength of their works, and also with the hope of being able to break up these works. Accordingly, on the night of the 29th, a strong column, under the command of General Vinoy, was massed towards the forts of Ivry, Bicêtre, and Montrouge, on the south of Paris. At daybreak on the 30th, they left their lines and moved rapidly towards the German position. They were received with a brisk fire of musketry and cannon, to which they replied with energy. This attack was made upon the right centre of the army of Crown Prince Fritz, who, as soon as he heard the firing, hastened to the field and assumed the command. The battle soon became general, extending from the Seine, near its junction with the Marne, to the vicinity of St. Cloud. It was well contested on both sides, and continued for about three hours. The French pressed the Prussians so heavily that the latter were obliged to call up reinforcements. The villages of Cheville and Thais were occupied by the French, but at length the terrible fire of the German artillery began to tell upon them, and General Vinoy ordered a retreat to the main line around the forts, which was effected in good order, though with severe loss in consequence of the heavy fire with which the Germans followed their retiring foe. The French troops manifested more steadiness in this encounter than they had yet displayed since the fall of Sedan. General Trochu in his report of the engagement, says, "The combats of September 30th have proved to our soldiers how much they are worth, to their chiefs what they may expect of them; and this day is honorable to the efforts of the defensive bourgeoisie." The Paris *Temps* contained the following, the morning after the battle: "The object of the sortie was to blow up a bridge over the Seine, and

arouse the courage of the Parisians by obtaining a success where the Prussians were not supposed to be in force. Neither end was attained, and Paris is consequently greatly depressed."* The French lost about 1200 men, and one general officer in this engagement. The German loss was much smaller.

Paris was now cut off from the rest of France, though there is good reason for believing that General Trochu found the means of communicating with the forces in other parts of the country, apart from the balloon service. Communication with the provinces was almost entirely carried on by means of balloons. These, in charge of skilful and determined aeronauts, were sent up from Paris, at stated intervals, when the direction of the wind was favorable, and floating securely over the German lines descended in the country occupied by the French. Once or twice, however, the Prussian cavalry succeeded in capturing a balloon which had made a premature descent, and one of these aerial voyagers was carried as far out of his course as Norway. Occasionally balloons were dispatched from Tours to Paris,† but as the area within the

* The official dispatches were as follows :

"FERRIERES, September 30.

"To the Queen :

"Early this morning, the French troops of the line made a sortie against the troops of the Sixth Prussian Corps, while the Prussian Fifth Corps was attacked by three battalions. At the same time a brigade made a demonstration against the Eleventh Corps. At the end of two hours the French took shelter under the guns of the forts. The Crown Prince commanded the Prussians.

WILLIAM."

"VITRY, September 30.

"To the People :

"Our troops, in a vigorous sortie, successively occupied Chevilly and L'Hay, and advanced as far as Thais and Choissy-le-Roi. All these positions (on the south of Paris) were wholly occupied. After a sharp artillery and musketry engagement our troops fell back on their positions with remarkable order and coolness. The Garde Mobile was very firm. Our losses were considerable; those of the enemy probably as large. As a whole, the day was very honorable.

TROCHU."

† The following is an account of the voyage of M. Nadar, who was the first to make the attempt to enter Paris with his balloon :

"M. Nadar left Tours for Paris, with Government dispatches to-day

lines of investment offered too limited a space for the descent of the balloon to be made certain, these ventures were discontinued. Leaving Paris was much easier, as the aëronaut had the whole of Europe beyond the portions occupied by the Prussians, in which to choose his place of descent. Some of these balloons carried away from Paris as many as 20,000 letters, in addition to dispatches for the Government at Tours.

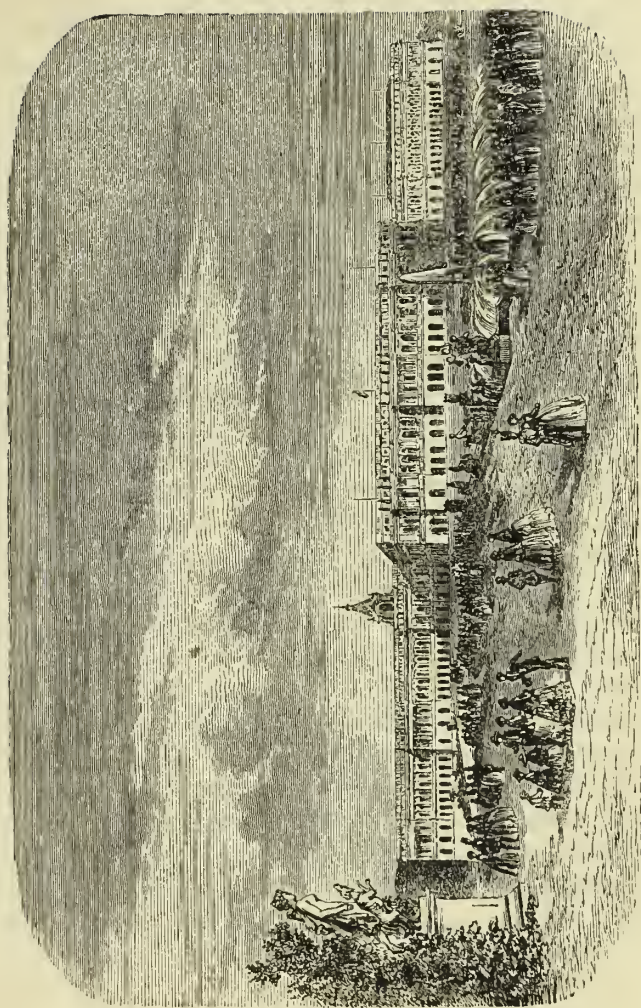
Meanwhile, having secured his position in front of Paris, Crown Prince Fritz determined to take advantage of the rest which the investments gave to his army, to bestow upon his most distinguished officers and soldiers the reward of their gallantry and patriotism. On the 26th of September, a grand

(October 1st), at six A. M., in the 'Intrépide,' arriving in view of Paris at eleven A. M. While M. Nadar was floating about 3000 metres above Fort Charenton in the 'Intrépide,' a second balloon was observed in the horizon. Nadar was seen to display a streamer with the French national colors. Immediately another national flag floated from the car of the other balloon. Vigorous hurrahs and cries of '*C'est Durouf!*' proceeding from the garrison of the fort, greeted the appearance of the two aëronauts, whose balloons gradually approached. When they were within a short distance of each other, suddenly a loud report was heard in the air, followed by a series of explosions. These were at first thought to be demonstrations or signals of victory, until Nadar was seen to fling himself into the network of his halloon and to cling to its sides. During this time the other aëronaut continued discharging shots at Nadar, which were traced in the sky by their luminous effects. The 'Intrépide' descended rapidly, and it appeared to the spectators below that some incomprehensible events had taken place above. But mark what the French flag in the neighboring balloon had come to. It had been removed, and a black and yellow standard was observed to be floating in its place. Then all was explained. 'Treason! It is a Prussian balloon! He has fired on the "Intrépide!" Nadar is lost!' were the cries that hurst simultaneously from the French people. But Nadar was safe; for he was seen to descend rapidly in his car, and the halloon to nearly reach the earth. He cast out the ballast, and reascended, having stopped the hole made in his balloon by his adversary. Then shots were rapidly fired from the 'Intrépide' into the Prussian balloon, which one, losing all power, descended to the earth with giddy velocity. A detachment of Uhlans who were in the plain, and who had been following the acrial combatants throughout this exciting struggle, rushed forward, and, surrounding the balloon, received their champion, and then all hastened off at full speed to the Prussian advanced posts. In the meantime Nadar descended safely at Charenton."



Prussians Examining French Newspapers and Letters from a Captured Balloon.

parade was ordered in the "Court of Statues," in front of the Palace. "On the upper step of the two steps, from which arises the pedestal of the equestrian statue of Louis le Grand, stood a powerfully built man in the prime of life, of fine bearing, with a fair, full beard, and a keen, bright eye. Two stars are on his breast, but it does not need them to mark the Crown Prince of Prussia. He wears his flat cap, with peak and red band, undress frock, and long boots coming above the knees. On his left an officer of dragoons held a salver encircled with laurels, on which were placed a heap of the iron crosses and their ribbons, which will mark this war. The cross is of iron, with a silver edge; on one side is a crown, with the letters 'F. W.' (for Friedrich Wilhelm), and the date 1813; on the other side, a crown, with the letter 'W.' (for Wilhelm, the present King), and the date 1870. The ribbon is broad black, with a white border. On the right of the Prince stood a group of generals and officers of the staff—Blumenthal, Tümpling, Kirchbach, Voigts-Rhetz, Gottberg, Eulenberg, Heyte, Seckendorff, Schleinitz, Bissing, and others. On the step below were ranged the Duke of Coburg, the Princes of Würtemberg and Mecklenberg, Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern, and the Duke of Augustenburg, with their staff. In the courtyard, drawn up at right angles to the statue of Louis le Grand, a regiment of dismounted dragoons formed one side of the square, of which that facing the statue was constituted by two regiments in masses of grand divisions in close order, with the officers on the flanks; and on the left of the Prince, below, two lines of troops formed a kind of alley for the recipients of the crosses. A band of buglers and drummers, apart at one of the angles of the square, gave a martial welcome to the Prince when he entered and mounted the steps of the statue. There, as he stood, were 'France triumphant over Spain,' 'France triumphant over the German Empire,' before him, and 'Peace' and 'Abundance' nearer at hand; and in monumental rows on each side were old Du Guesclin, grim Turenne, Bayard, Condé, and the later effigies of Jourdan, Masséna, Lannes, Mortier, and the rest of the il-



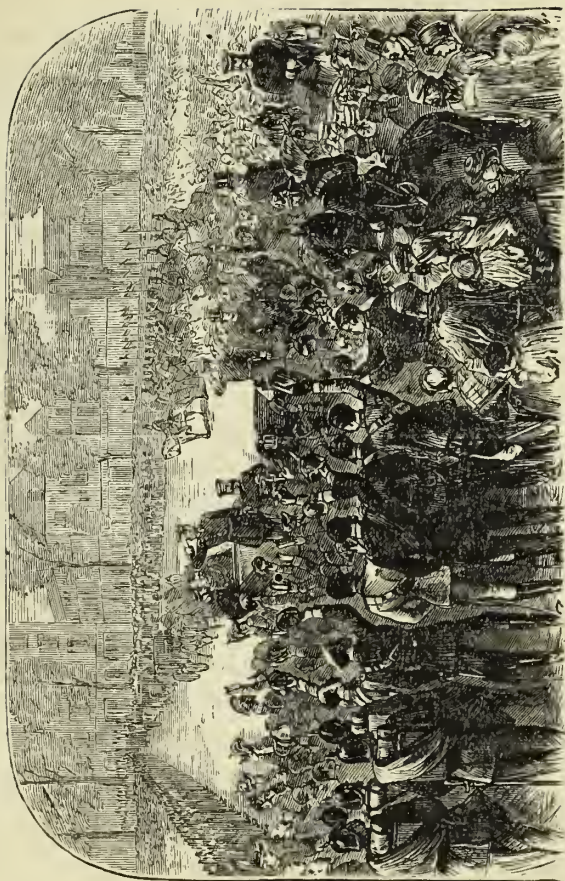
Palace of Versailles: View from the Terrace.

lustrious sixteen, who once adorned the Pont de la Concorde. Higher still, lift your eyes over those serried helmets, just across the angle of the statue of Louis the Great, and above the Prince's head, as you look from the left of the Court, you see an inscription on the front of the pavilion. The world knows it. The words are, '*A toutes les gloires de la France.*' But the happy recipients of the Iron Cross came up, one after another, to the number of more than thirty; and the Prince said a word or two to all, shook hands with some; and when that ceremony was over, he drew his sword, raised it in the air, and with a loud voice called for 'three cheers for the King.' The wounded men in the gilded and pictured galleries far away must have heard the cheers that followed—three great shouts as of one tremendous throat—and then a General, Voigts-Rhetz, called for 'three cheers for the Crown Prince,' which were also given with immense effect, and the drums and bugles repeated a triumphant blare and beat. Then the Crown Prince descended from the base of the indignant statue, and, mounting his horse, rode out to the Place d'Armes, where the generals and staff went on foot, to see the march past of the troops." *

On the 5th of October the royal headquarters were transferred from the Château of Ferrières to Versailles. Early in the afternoon Crown Prince Fritz, attended by General Von Blumenthal, Count Eulenberg, Colonel Von Gottberg, and his staff, set out from Les Ombrages to meet King William on his way to the headquarters of the 3d army.

"At 5.35," says a correspondent, "the cheers of the troops who lined the Rue de Chantiers heralded the arrival of the King at last. The officers in front of the Prefecture formed front. The cheers sounded nearer. A *peloton* of lancers with their lances lowered swept round the corner, and took post on the right front of the Prefecture. These were followed by a small body of dragoons or gendarmerie. Then came the Stahlmeister and some mounted equerries, closely

* Correspondence of the London *Times*.



Arrival of the King of Prussia at Versailles.

followed by a general or field officer, at whose heels clattered a troop of lancers, with lances raised, who wheeled round and halted on the flank of the rest of the squadron. Next, in an open carriage, appeared the King. He was covered with dust, but looked wonderfully well and strong. On his left was the Crown Prince, dusty, and vigorous-looking also. The troops cheered, the colors were lowered, the band burst into a wild triumphal blare of drums and trumpets, and the whole crowd of officers, with upraised casques and caps and shakos, shouted lustily. The calèche drew up some thirty yards in front of the Prefecture, and the King bounded rather than stepped out of it, followed by the Crown Prince. His officers pressed forward to greet him, and, with that peculiar mixture of profound respect and heartiness which we cannot imitate, thronged close to the King. He shook hands most warmly with Generals Von Kirchbach, Voigts-Rhetz, and others, and then, with the Crown Prince a little behind him, strode off to inspect, according to custom, the color company, drawn up on the left of the Palace, which received him with the usual honors. His Majesty walked along the front of the line, and as he went, the crowd of Princes, Dukes, Generals, and officers broke from their places and followed him, being in turn hemmed in by the crowd, to whom in general the gendarmerie were very indulgent. There was no space cleared, no border kept, and the people got quite close to the person of the royal conqueror. The excitement was great. As the King turned he shook hands with the members of the great German Confederation, whose soldiers fight under his banners, stopping now and then to talk to some old soldier, servant, or some familiar friend, and, followed by the Crown Prince, General Blumenthal, Colonel Gottberg, and his staff, he stode at last, vigorous, straight, and strong, into the courtyard of the Prefecture, turned round and saluted the uniformed multitude, and then passed into the hall, over the portal of which was waving the royal standard. The crowd slowly dispersed, but it was long before the groups of citizens were broken up, and they stood in front of the Prefecture in the moonlight, talking of their new visitor. *'C'est un bel homme,*

ce vieux Guillaume; mais je serais très content, pourtant, de n'avoir pas vu le bon Roi de Prusse à Versailles.'"

The next day there was a grand display of "the waters of Versailles," in honor of the King's arrival. "About two o'clock in the afternoon, the terrace of the Palace was filled with French civilians and Prussian soldiers who had flocked there—the Germans to see a sight they had never beheld before; the French, to witness the unwonted spectacle of the throng of their invaders gazing on the sight they knew so well themselves. Princes arrived by twos and threes, and by scores. Wounded soldiers left the painted chambers of their gorgeous Lazaret and leant against the bronze statues or marble vases. The Mayor, with watch in hand, and four or five dignitaries of Versailles, stood looking glum enough. The turncocks, in green and gold, held their hands upon the water keys. All was ready. Then came Prince Adalbert, High Admiral of the Fleet, the King's brother. Then the Grand Duke of Saxe Coburg. Then, Bismarck, mighty in deed, mien, and stature. He wore a dragoon's uniform of blue, with a cap of white with yellow band. Last of all came the King, tall and hale, with smiling, honest face. The Crown Prince was with him, and the Mayor led them to the brink of the terrace. Then the word was given, the conduits opened, and the figures of the grand old King—the stalwart Prince, the gigantic Bismarck, stood dark against the white spray of a fountain illuminated by the sun. At their feet, veiled in a liquid film tinted with the colors of the rainbow, rose from the dazzling foam, *Venus Aphrodite*. Beyond stretched the Grand Avenue, at the end of which leapt three tall jets from the fountain of the Chariot of the Sun. Beyond them, a pleasure yacht, with flying tri-color, lay on the calm surface of the canal that ran far into the faint distance, reflecting the sun-tipped trees that fringed its banks. From there the royal party passed rapidly from fountain to fountain, and finally bade adieu to the Mayor before the fountain of Neptune, and the King and Prince, son and sire, drove away from the scene which Versailles had never seen before, and probably would never see again."

CHAPTER IX.

STRASBOURG—ITS MILITARY IMPORTANCE—ITS DEFENCES—IS MADE THE HEADQUARTERS OF MARSHAL MACMAHON—DEPARTURE OF THE MARSHAL FOR WOERTH—THE NEWS OF THE FRENCH REVERSES—ARRIVAL OF STRAGGLERS FROM MACMAHON'S ARMY—THE CITY IN DANGER—GENERAL UHRICH IN COMMAND—THE FIRST COUNCIL OF WAR—RESOLUTION TO DEFEND THE CITY—STRENGTH OF THE GARRISON—APPEARANCE OF THE GERMANS BEFORE THE FORTRESS—THE SUMMONS TO SURRENDER—GENERAL UHRICH'S REPLY—THE INVESTMENT OF THE FORTRESS—GENERAL UHRICH ACTS IN CONCERT WITH THE CITIZENS—THE SIEGE—THE FRENCH SORTIES UNSUCCESSFUL—GENERAL VON WERDER INFORMS THE FRENCH COMMANDANT THAT HE INTENDS TO BOMBARD THE CITY—UHRICH FIRES ON THE TOWN OF KEHL—OPENING OF THE BOMBARDMENT—AVERBACH'S DESCRIPTION—SUFFERINGS OF THE CITIZENS—GENERAL VON WERDER STOPS FIRING ON THE TOWN—THE GERMAN PARALLELS OPENED—THE FORTRESS BREACHED—AN ASSAULT ORDERED—EFFECT OF THE BOMBARDMENT IN STRASBOURG—A TERRIBLE PICTURE—ARRIVAL OF THE REPUBLICAN PREFECT—DISAFFECTION OF THE CITIZENS—SURRENDER OF THE CITY—THE TERMS OF THE CAPITULATION—OCCUPATION OF STRASBOURG BY THE GERMANS—A GENEROUS FOE—THE INJURY TO THE CITY—AID FROM GERMANY—STRASBOURG MADE THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT FOR ALSACE—PHALSBURG AND TOUL CAPTURED BY THE GERMANS—ALSACE AND LORRAINE OVERRUN—CAPTURE OF THE FRONTIER POSTS OF FRANCE—CAPITULATION OF SOISSONS AND VERDUN—BOMBARDMENT AND SURRENDER OF THIONVILLE—A RUINED TOWN—CAPTURE OF MONTMEDY.

WHILE the events related in the preceding chapters were transpiring between the Moselle and Paris, others of no little importance were occurring on the frontier.

The city of Strasbourg, the capital of the Department of Lower Rhine, and the old capital of Alsace, is situated on the River Ill, about one mile from the junction of that stream with the Rhine, and opposite the fortified town of Kehl on the Baden side of the Rhine. It is two hundred

and fifty miles distant from Paris, with which it is connected by a railway. It is a place of considerable importance, possessing in 1869 a population of 87,000.

Since the days of Louis XIV., who brought it under French rule, Strasbourg has been a fortress of the first class. Its defensive works were executed by Vauban in 1682-84. The circuit of the rampart enclosing the city is six miles. The defences consist of a wall, with bastions, ditches, and outworks, and a strong citadel of five bastions, whose outworks extend to the arm of the Rhine. The citadel lies immediately opposite the town of Kehl on the Baden side of the Rhine. By means of large sluices, where the River Ill enters the city, the country between Strasbourg and the Rhine can be easily inundated, except at one side, and on that side the glacis is mined. The armament of the defences consisted, previous to the war, of 400 pieces of cannon. An extensive arsenal and cannon foundry, an artillery school, and a military hospital were attached to the fortress, and it was popularly believed at the outset of the war that the place was abundantly supplied with stores of all kinds. As has been stated already, its depots were unfilled, however, and it was without an adequate garrison when the German armies crossed the frontier.

At the commencement of hostilities, the fortress constituted the extreme right of the French line, and was made the headquarters of Marshal MacMahon. The immediate commander of the post, General Alexis Uhrich, was astonished to find, upon taking charge of it, that it had been left by the Government entirely unprepared for a siege. The French commanders seemed to think that no attack upon it would ever be made by the Germans, who, they imagined, would be too much engaged in defending their own territory, to think of invading France; and this conviction was, doubtless, strengthened by the destruction, by the Badish cavalry, on the 21st of July, of the bridge over the Rhine between Strasbourg and Kehl.

On the 2d of August Marshal MacMahon left Strasbourg,

with his command, and began his movement towards the centre, in obedience to the orders of the Emperor. Before leaving the city, he informed General Uhrich that he had received a telegram from the Emperor, intimating that his corps d'armée was threatened by the Prussians with an attack, and that being in want of all his troops, he would leave him only one regiment of the line, the 87th, to garrison the fortress. He added that Strasbourg would be covered by his corps for the present, and that, in case he was obliged to uncover it by moving to the northwest, he would send him a reënforcement.

On the 4th of August, after the departure of the Marshal, the garrison of the town was composed of the 87th regiment of the line, of the depots of the 18th and 96th regiments of the line, and of the depots of the 10th and 16th battalions of Chasseurs.

On the 4th of August, the division of General Douay was defeated at Weissenbourg, and on the 6th, the battles of Woerth and Forbach were won by the Germans. The next day a demoralized mass of 3000 fugitives, officers and privates, from MacMahon's army, threw themselves into Strasbourg. They were not the most encouraging reënforcement that could have come to the aid of the little garrison, for they had lost their arms, and were badly demoralized by their defeat. Nevertheless, General Uhrich resolved to make use of them, and promptly embodied them in the garrison, with which they fought bravely during the siege. It being evident that the Germans would now attack the city, the General set to work to render his force as strong as possible, the director of the Custom House offered his services and those of 450 douaniers, under him; and Admiral Excelmans, who had arrived with 90 sailors to take charge of the gunboat flotilla, which the French had designed launching on the Rhine,* volunteered to remain with his men, and assist in the defence.

On the 7th of August, a council of war was held at the headquarters of General Uhrich, and the strength of the garri-

* These boats were sent from Paris to the Rhine in sections, but the rapid change of affairs in that region prevented their being even launched.

son found to be as follows: 7000 infantry, including the sailors and douaniers, 600 cavalry, 1600 artillerymen, a battalion of Mobile Guards, and 3000 National Guards—making altogether an effective force of about 15,000 men, the supplies consisted of bread for 180 days, provisions for 60 days, but a very small quantity of live stock. There was a good supply of ammunition. The Council unanimously decided, that the place should be defended; that the garrison should be divided into three bodies—one-third for the service of the ramparts, one-third for marching, sorties, etc., and the remainder for a reserve, that the supplies should be stored in the cellars, to protect them against a bombardment or an assault; that all useless, disreputable, and dangerous persons should be expelled from the city; and that the aged, the women and the children should be urged to depart at once.

As has been stated, the Crown Prince of Prussia, immediately after the battle of Woerth, sent the Baden contingent to lay siege to Strasbourg, which had been isolated by the retreat of the French army. On the 10th of August, this force, between 20,000 and 30,000 strong, appeared before Strasbourg, and an officer, with a flag of truce was sent to demand the surrender of the fortress and city. In answer, General Uhrich led the German officer to a window of his headquarters, and, showing him the crowds of citizens parading the streets and shouting "Down with Prussia, *Vive la France!*" assured him that the garrison and citizens were in perfect harmony in their determination to defend the place to the last extremity. The officer then returned to his commander, with this reply.

The next morning the following proclamation was issued from the headquarters of the garrison:

Disturbing rumors and panics have been spread, either by accident or design, within the past few days, in our brave city. Some individuals have dared to express the opinion that the place would surrender without a blow. We protest energetically, in the name of a population courageous and French, against these weak and criminal forebodings. The ramparts are armed with 400 cannon. The garrison consists of 11,000 men, without reckoning the stationary National Guard. If Strasbourg is attacked, Strasbourg will defend herself as long as there shall remain a

soldier, a biscuit, or a cartridge. The well-affected may reassure themselves: as to others, they have but to withdraw.

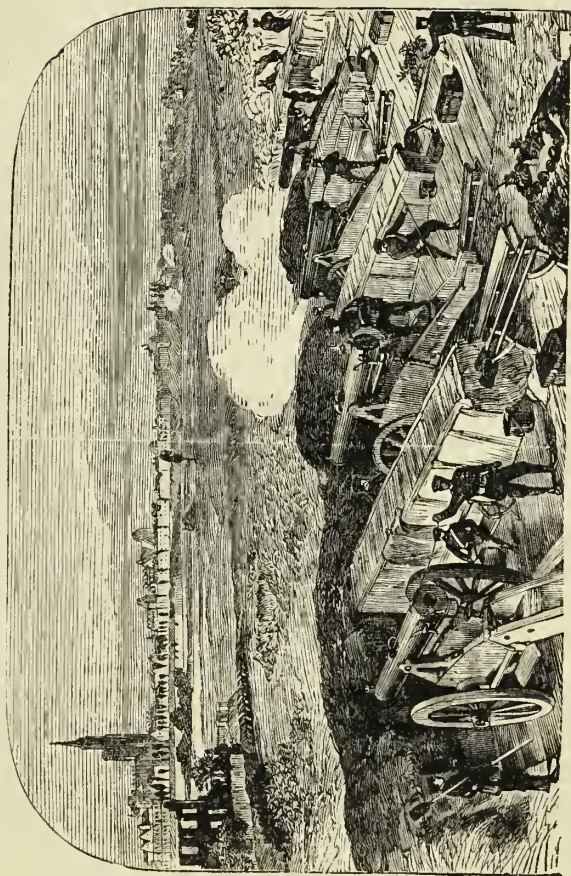
The General of Division, UHRICH.

The Prefect of the Bas-Rhin, Baron PRON.

STRASBOURG, *Aug.* 10th.

At 4 P. M., the 11th of August, the signal officers posted in the spire of the Strasbourg Cathedral, reported the advance of the German columns. They were marching by the Lauterbourg road, and they took position on the north of Strasbourg, a few miles from the advanced works, occupying the villages of Koenigshoffen, Oberhausbergen, Mittelhausbergen, and Schiltisheim, forming a circle of three miles. On the 14th of August, Lieutenant General Von Werder arrived and assumed the command of the besieging force, and by the 17th, the investment was completed. Somewhat later, a reënforcement of two Prussian divisions was received, and the town was closely surrounded, the German line extending from the Rhine above, to the same river below Strasbourg. The German position was quickly made secure by means of earth works, and heavy siege guns were mounted for the purpose of bombarding the town.

Soon after the beginning of the siege, a deputation from the council of citizens formed for the defence of the city, waited upon General Uhrich, to learn his intentions respecting the defence. "Opinions were freely and frankly interchanged between the Governor on the one hand, and the council on the other. The former admitted the difficulty of making a successful defence. The latter enlarged on the dangers of prolonging a hopeless resistance. The result was that a common understanding was arrived at. It was unanimously resolved by the council to strain every nerve to prevent the city from falling into the hands of the besiegers. General Uhrich, on his part, pledged himself to avert the calamity of exposing the city to the horrors and the consequences of an assault. As a soldier who had determined to do his duty, the General reserved to himself the sole right to determine when the critical moment had arrived. He would neither treat nor



Bombardment of Strasbourg.

consent to listen to any proposition to surrender until it had become actually impossible to continue the defence. Many persons thought that the decisive moment had arrived long before Governor Uhrich had become either weary or disheartened. When the fortress was no longer tenable, and when two breaches of a formidable kind had been made, the Governor determined to fulfil his pledge, and in conformity therewith the white flag, which as I write, flies from the topmost gallery of the cathedral, was hoisted. Strange to say, though the inhabitants had suffered severely, and were reduced to great straits, the resolve of Governor Uhrich not only took the majority by surprise, but upset certain schemes of the most reprehensible character, to which the majority hoped to give effect before a German soldier entered Strasbourg as a victor." *

With the consent of the Council of War, General Uhrich made his arrangements for the defence as follows: "The general defence of the *perimeter* of the town was divided into four districts, having for commanders, General Moreno, Admiral Excelmans, and two colonels who were in the town. The provisional regiments were sent to occupy the fortress; the Mobiles were designed to help in the operations. The ambulances, under the Intendants Brisac and Milon, of the Commissariat, were soon organized. Two students of the medical school took the direction of the medical service."

The Germans having secured their position, opened an artillery fire at long range upon the works of the town, to which the French guns replied; but as yet the French commander was not certain whether the Germans meant to besiege or blockade him. Accordingly, with a view to develop their actual position and strength, he made a reconnoissance with two companies of infantry and two squadrons of cavalry on the 13th of August. This reconnoissance was pushed as far as the villages of Neuhaff and Alkirch, and 100 oxen and some supplies were secured, but no information of importance was gained.

During the 13th and 14th the besiegers kept up a constant

* War Correspondence of the London *Daily News*. Pp. 205-6.

fire of small arms, their marksmen endeavoring to pick off the French generals, under the cover of which they got some of their long range guns into position. On the morning of the 14th they opened fire from these guns, sending their shells with precision into the fortifications, while the French shells were scarcely able to reach their lines.

On the afternoon of the 14th, Colonel Morritz, of the Engineers, was ordered by General Uhrich to reconnoitre the German position on the left bank of the river Ill. He took with him 900 infantry of the line, 50 cavalry, and two pieces of artillery. He had a sharp encounter with the Germans, and was forced to retreat to the town. On the same day the garrison received a reinforcement in the person of General Barral, of the artillery, who succeeded in penetrating into Strasbourg, under the disguise of a workman.*

The next day, the 15th of August, was the *fête Napoleon*, and was observed in Strasbourg with due ceremony. A *Te Deum* was sung in the Cathedral, amidst the thunders of the cannonade, and such observances by the people as were practicable, were scrupulously carried out. In the afternoon the German fire became heavier and more effective, and that night their batteries were advanced closer to the town. Several of the inhabitants were killed, and a house was set on fire.

On the 16th, General Uhrich made his first sortie, with the hope of breaking up some new works which the Germans had constructed. His force consisted of two battalions of infantry, two squadrons of cavalry, and a battery of artillery. The column moved to the northwest of Strasbourg, and soon encountered the Germans, who drove it back with severe loss. Three of the guns were abandoned by the French. One of these was recovered by some peasants and brought back to the town, but the others fell into the hands of the Germans.

On the 17th, an engagement took place near Schiltisheim;

* This officer succeeded in making his escape after the capitulation of Strasbourg.

between the 87th regiment of the line and a German column, the former being compelled to retire under the guns of the ramparts.

The Germans worked industriously on their batteries. Their lines were advanced within easy range of the town, and heavy siege guns and mortars were placed in position. With the hope of hastening the surrender, General Von Werder determined to open his guns upon the city. On the 20th of August, he notified General Uhrich of his intention to bombard Strasbourg at the expiration of twenty-four hours, but the French commander failed to communicate this announcement to the citizens. He requested General Von Werder to allow him to send the women and children out of the city, but his request was refused.

On the 19th, the guns of the French citadel opened fire on the town of Kehl, across the Rhine, destroying a considerable portion of the place. General Von Werder at once notified General Uhrich that Kehl was an undefended place, and protested against its bombardment.

On the night of the 21st, the German batteries opened upon Strasbourg. Berthold Auerbach, the novelist, thus describes the scene :

Strasbourg burns ! In this word are crowded all the horrors, terrors, anguish of heart we experienced in the past night. My eyes yet smart from the fire flashes, my hand trembles still. So was it to be ! Again is there a night of St. Bartholomew—for such was the one just passed—with detestation to be graven in history, but not through fault of ours. On those who must needs deck their heads with glory—on their heads alone lies the blame. The worst injury an enemy can inflict upon a man, upon a people, is to force them to acts from which they recoil with aversion. We are in the position of a man who declines a duel, and yet is compelled to shoot down his adversary. Unhappily it must be done. But yesterday we made offers to the commandant of Strasbourg to come out, or send a trusty officer, to convince himself that resistance was in vain, and that we could only with the utmost pain bring ourselves to fire even a part of Strasbourg. He replied, an inspection of our position would be construed as a first probability of surrendering the fortress. He had, however, resolved to defend it to the last man and the last cartridge. It was said yesterday, and the broad pillars of smoke testified, that Kehl was again set on fire by the French. We kept quiet until the break

of evening; the columns of flame in Kehl flared up wide, mounting heavenwards, and incessantly were fire-balls hurled thither from the citadel. Now began on our side the fire; flash for flash, blow for blow they were returned with interest. There, the citadel blazes up; the fast-falling night revealed every fire-flame. Bombs soared aloft and descended. Now the city was on fire north from the Cathedral. It must have fallen on inflammable material, for instantly the flames shot heavenward. From this point who can paint the scene? Here and there it blazed up; we saw four, five conflagrations; two united, and presented a vast roaring furnace. The wind blew from the west and fanned the flames; they darted up forked tongues of fire. A spectator cried out, "See how the Cathedral towers aloft above the clouds of smoke! how venerable, as if mutely threatening and reproving the men who hurl reckless flames against each other!" "If the Cathedral does but remain unharmed," was the cry that ran from mouth to mouth, and meanwhile feelings of deep compassion were expressed for those within the city. In spirit we were transported among those now wailing in vaulted cellars, as they heard the thunder of the guns, ignorant where the fires were raging, perhaps even their own homes. And in the streets the fires must be left to rage unchecked. Who could strive to quench them while each minute further discharges were falling? How many cry out to their own dear ones, seek them, and are like beings bewildered in their own homes. What shrieking, what misery! If one could but compress together the heart-throbs of the people, far louder, quicker, mightier must be the stroke than the deep roar of the guns, which, incessantly discharged, light up the gloom, here—there—till the eye could no longer follow. Midnight had set in before we decided to go home. We could see each other as in full moonlight. The fields, the vineyards were lit up. The church of Mundolsheim, with its white gravestones; suddenly the light grows still brighter. Now that we had not seen the flames for a time, they appeared broader, stronger, more voracious. It was difficult to tear one's self away from the fearfully grand spectacle, and yet it must be. The villagers we met professed to know which parts of the city would be saved from the flames. We strove to believe their assurances that the precincts of the Cathedral, above all itself, would remain uninjured. And yet for a moment it had seemed to us that the Cathedral terraces, which had been made the observatory of the enemy, was on fire. It was, however, an illusion. The flames illumined our homeward way. The sky was overspread with light clouds of a blood-red. The fire must have been visible beyond the Rhine, far into the Black Forest.

For six days the bombardment was continued. The destruction of property in the city was enormous. Three hun-

dred people sought shelter from the German fire in the large theatre. The building was set on fire by a shell, and the crowd made a rush for the door. One hundred succeeded in escaping, but the rest were burned to death in the building, which was entirely destroyed. The loss of life in other portions of the city was severe, and the inhabitants, abandoning their dwellings, took refuge in their cellars, where they remained in wretchedness and terror till the surrender.

Finding that the garrison was determined to hold out, and anxious to diminish the loss of life as much as possible on the part of the citizens, General Von Werder discontinued the bombardment of the town on the 27th of August, and, during the remainder of the siege, confined his efforts to reducing the fortifications.*

In order to deprive the garrison and citizens of water, the course of the little River Ill was changed by the Germans. On the night of the 29th of August, the German forces opened their first parallel against the northwestern front, at

* "More than one German artillery officer assured me that orders were daily given not only to spare the city, but also carefully to avoid firing in such a way as would either damage or endanger the Cathedral. . . . It is possible that General Werder may be blamed for the way in which he conducted the siege, and may even be severely censured, not only for making a large portion of Strasbourg an unsightly pile of ruins, but also for inflicting much suffering upon defenceless inhabitants. In anticipation of these charges, I may state what I know from direct personal knowledge to be the view held by the General himself. His own desire was to do nothing that would protract or embitter the war. He was anxious to act in the way most conducive to the re-establishment of peace. The bombardment which Strasbourg underwent in the first instance, was simply designed with a view to demonstrate to the citizens that the risk of refusing to capitulate at once was alike serious and palpable. . . . As I have mentioned in previous letters, General Werder gave General Urich twenty-four hours' notice of his intention to bombard the city; but the latter omitted to communicate the intelligence to the inhabitants. Nor was the bombardment protracted. No sooner was it perceived that the garrison was determined to hold out, than the siege was conducted with direct reference to the destruction of the fortifications. But these have been so constructed as to render it impossible to direct a fire against them, which should not at the same time destroy the dwellings immediately behind them."—Correspondence of the *London Daily News*.



The Citadel of Strasbourg after the Bombardment.

a distance varying from 600 to 800 yards from the ramparts. On the night of the 31st, they began the approaches to the second parallel, and, on the next night (September 1st), the second parallel was opened at a distance of from 300 to 400 paces from the French works. The siege batteries were put in position as rapidly as possible, and, by the 9th of September, ninety-eight rifled guns, and forty mortars, were placed in the advanced works, from which a terrible storm of shell was rained upon the French works, almost entirely silencing their fire.* In addition to these batteries, thirty-two rifled guns, and eight mortars, opened fire from Kehl, on the Baden side of the Rhine, upon the citadel of Strasbourg. This portion of the attack was particularly successful, and the citadel was literally knocked to pieces. Upon occupying it, the Germans themselves expressed their surprise and admiration that the French had been able to man their guns so long under such an overpowering fire. It had been supposed that the citadel would serve as a last refuge for the garrison after the city was taken, but it was rendered untenable long before the town yielded.

In the nights between the 9th and 11th of September, the approaches to the third parallel were laid, and, between the 11th and 13th, the third parallel was dug and armed.† From these works the besiegers rained a fire upon the fortress, which General Urich, in a dispatch to the Minister of War, described as "overwhelming." The French outworks were

* On the 9th of September, General Urich sent the following dispatch to the Government at Paris :

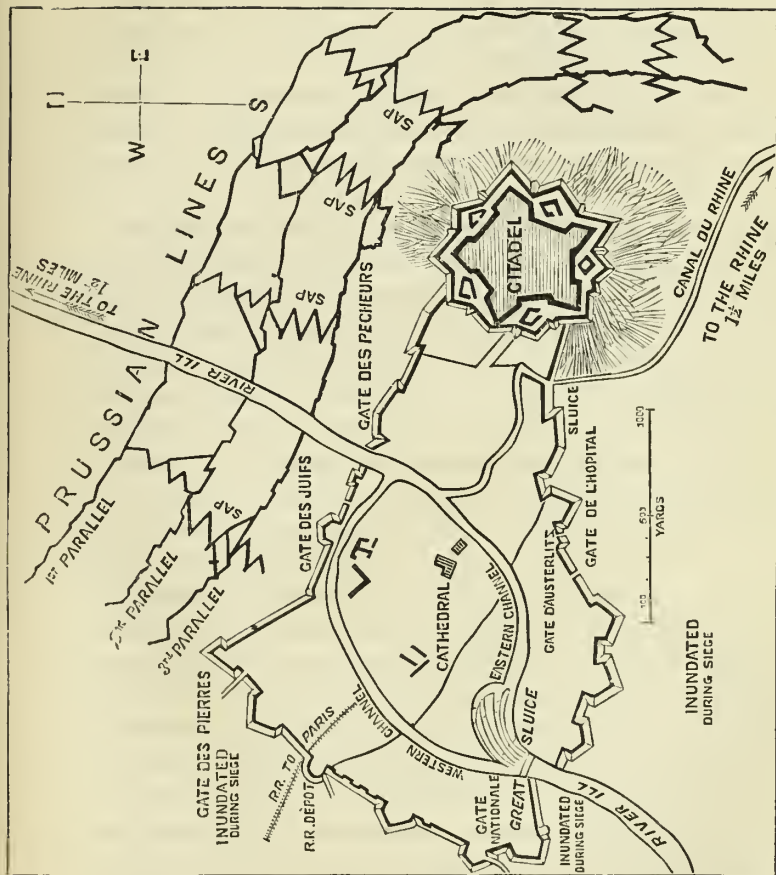
"STRASBOURG, Friday, *September 9.*

"Affairs are in a deplorable condition, and are growing worse. The bombardment from the Prussian advanced works is incessant and frightful. *I hold out to the end.*

UHRICH,

"the Commandant of the City of Strasbourg."

† "A foreign officer of engineers with whom I walked over the German works, said that he had never seen trenches or parallels more skilfully planned or more efficiently finished. . . . In General Werder's opinion, the siege works constructed by the Wurtembergers were patterns of military engineering."—Correspondence of the London *Daily News*.



MAP SHOWING THE INVESTMENT OF STRASBOURG.

taken, and the defenders forced back within the walls of the city. The guns of the fortress were almost entirely silenced, their replies coming feebly, and at long intervals. Efforts were made to survey the interior of the fortress from balloons, and to drop explosive shells into the magazines, but they were foiled by contrary winds. As early as the first week in September, General Leczynski, General Werder's chief of staff, declared that it "was mathematically certain" that the fortress would be reduced about the 24th of September.

By the 26th of September, two large breaches had been made in the city wall, one at bastion No. 11, and the other at bastion No. 12. The former was the more important of the two; it was 200 feet wide at the top, and was the result of a direct fire. The latter was the result of a vertical fire, and was not so large. It was certain that a continuation of the fire for twenty-four hours would render these breaches practicable, and an assault was ordered for the 28th. The materials for filling up the moat were prepared, and the troops were gotten in readiness for the storming, when, on the 27th, the siege came to an end.

Matters had gotten to their worst in Strasbourg. The outworks had been taken, and the Germans were under the walls of the city. Their fire was incessant, and the defences of the place were in ruins. "The soldiers," says an eye-witness, "crouching behind them to obtain a precarious or uncertain shelter from the thickly falling shot, were blood-stained and begrimed out of all semblance to the military type. They had discarded all their useless ornaments and trappings, and the scanty clothes they wore were mud-stained like a common laborer's suit. All the foulness and all the horrors of an ill-kept camp offended the eye and sickened the stomach at every turn.

"On the 25th. the awful roar of the German batteries, including the new ones, completed simultaneously with the capture of the lunettes, was such that the pluck of the stoutest men was literally shaken out of them like breath from a

feeble body, and numbers of those more nervous and timorous by nature went raving mad. I think at least we must have had fifteen continuous charges per minute of shot or shell for all that day and night. There were no more houses to merely 'injure.' Every house had suffered that process already, but there were still millions of tons of stone that had once been houses, to pound and chip into finer fragments, and to scatter in showers about the deserted streets. The firing on the town had, it is true, ceased nominally, but only so far you cannot very well break egg-shells without breaking eggs, and you cannot pound away at a citadel that happens to lie on one side of a river Ill without sometimes sending your missiles over to the town that happens to be on the other.

"The bombardment of the town of Strasbourg had long since ceased. It must have ceased, because such was the announcement made by telegraph and otherwise from the headquarters of His Majesty, the King; and yet but poor comfort was this announcement, I suspect, to that family of three brothers, with the old woman, their mother, who, suddenly, without a word of warning, found themselves crushed and buried beneath the ruins of a house which stood on the cathedral side of the river, between that structure and the batteries of the citadel. They were seen at night going to their accustomed shelter, and an upright, though a damaged house, stood over their heads. In the morning those who came to look for their dwelling-place, found simply a heap of stones. This was, I think, the most awful incident of this awful siege.

"On the 26th, with the first streak of morning, the German dogs of war began to vomit fire on us again. They had never *begun* so early before. It was evident that, acting under instructions from headquarters, the besiegers had resolved to make an end of our resistance that day. We could see them flitting about in their batteries in far greater numbers, and with more of excitement in their gestures, than was their wont.

"Speech and hearing were impossible even to men

placed close to one another, and the whole bloody business, both on our side and on theirs, seemed to have resolved itself into a kind of diabolical dumb-show. Men made certain automaton movements. A gun was withdrawn and then thrust forth again, and then came darting forth the tongue of fire and the crashing shot. Our fire was as nothing; we had but few guns uninjured, and of those few some could not be worked for the very sufficient reason that all their gunners had been killed, and others because their wooden 'ways' had sunk at all sorts of impracticable angles into the ploughed and soddened earth. Our earthworks were mere shapeless heaps, reddened with blood.

"Sometimes a stray shot was fired by artillerymen, who ran neck or nothing to their work with heads ducked instinctively—like children running for wagers in the rain. From time to time, indeed, there came from us a something that sounded like the promise of a worthy reply. A few frenzied men would get together, and half of them *sobbing* the while with rage and hate, would pour in a 'passionate' fire at some point of a German battery that for a time carried everything before it, and converted besiegers into besieged. But the fire soon drooped, and then became utterly silent, and the Germans worked their unresisted will again."

Although the Germans endeavored to limit the destruction to the military works, it was impossible to avoid injuring those portions of the city lying behind them. The buildings here were literally torn to pieces. The inhabitants, crouching in the dark cellars in which they had taken refuge, were filled with despair. They merely existed during these terrible days. They became desperate, and finally began to denounce the brave old General and the troops who had defended them so well. In a military point of view, there was as yet no necessity for surrendering; but the sufferings of the inhabitants were driving them to despair. The disaffection began among the poorer classes, and at length spread to the rest; and it was resolved by a considerable portion of the populace, that if the General would not surrender, they

would open the gates to the Germans, and put an end to their misery. *

On the morning of the 26th, the deserted streets began to be crowded with people, regardless of the fire of the besiegers, and messengers were sent to General Uhrich, begging him to surrender. He was firm, however, but on the afternoon of the 27th of September, he yielded to the wishes of the citizens, and, in accordance with the pledge he had previously given the Council, the white flag was displayed from the spire of the cathedral about four o'clock. The fire of the German guns immediately ceased. Says an English gentleman who was present in the trenches at this moment :

“ A man called our attention to a white flag just placed on one of the redoubts of the town, in front of our position. Immediately after this another flag appeared, more to the left. We assumed that it was a flag of truce ; but scarcely a minute

* The Republican Government at Paris appointed M. Valentin, who represented Strasbourg in 1848, Prefect of the Department of the Lower Rhine, and desired him to manifest his patriotism by obtaining admission to Strasbourg with the least possible delay. He obeyed his instructions, and entered Strasbourg by an indirect and difficult road. Disguised as a peasant, and availing himself of his acquaintance with the German tongue, he made friends with the Prussian soldiers quartered in Bischheim. From them he obtained full particulars regarding the position and character of the works erected between that village and the city. He remarked that at one o'clock the fire of the besiegers was weakest, and the vigilance of their sentries most relaxed. Even a siege had to be suspended while the soldiers dined. Passing through the Prussian lines between one and two o'clock on the 22nd of September, he arrived in safety at the moat. Leaping into it, he swam across. The French soldiers fired at him repeatedly, but their bullets always missed their mark. He called out to them to permit him to land, and to arrest him on landing. Their reply took the form of jeers, supplemented by bullets. At last he reached a spot near one of the gates, where he was sheltered from the fire directed from the walls. Again and again he begged the soldiers to take him prisoner, and carry him before Governor Uhrich. Finally they consented. When brought before the governor, he turned up the sleeve of his shirt, and took therefrom the official document containing his appointment as Prefect. His title to the post was at once recognized, and on the evening of the same day he issued a proclamation wherein his assumption of his post was announced, and the Republic formally proclaimed. He was little more than a week in office.

had elapsed, when a soldier pointed out a white flag on the steeple of the cathedral. It was on the top of the tower, at the northeast corner. This left no doubt as to the meaning of these signals. We turned to the lunette, which, from its height, dominated the ground behind us, and which had, a moment before, shown only the brown ridges of earth thrown up in forming the trenches and batteries—no sign of man being visible in them but the smoke of cannon and muskets, as they carried on their steady work. In an instant there grew up out of this long lines of figures forming, with their dark blue dress, what seemed a black ridge on the top of every embankment. The soldiers' caps were taken off, and cheer after cheer followed, all along the works. The cheering soon changed to singing, shaking hands, and drinking. At the same time, on the town side, groups began to gather upon the well battered redoubts, the easily distinguished red breeches of the French soldiers predominating, but a few of the townspeople were also visible. There was a desire between the soldiers on each side to fraternize with each other, but the fosse full of water lay between them. Still this could not stop all communication, and supplies were thrown into the town for the first time since the siege commenced. The havresacks of the men, containing their food for the night, and pieces of bread and meat, were thrown over the fosse. From the eagerness with which these were caught by the besieged, it was evident that they were acceptable."

The firing having ceased, and the offer of the French to surrender being communicated to the German commander, arrangements were at once entered into for negotiating the terms of the capitulation. The commissioners, two on each side, met in the city, and the following terms were decided upon on the evening of the 27th, and approved by General Von Werder the next morning:

The Royal Prussian Lient-Gen. Von Werder, commander of the corps besieging Strasbourg, solicited by the French Lient-Gen. Uhrich, commander of Strasbourg, to put an end to the hostilities against the fortress, in consideration of the honorable and brave defence of the place, agrees to conclude the following capitulation:

ARTICLE I. At 8 o'clock in the morning on September 28th, 1870, Lieut.-Gen. Urich evacuates the citadel, the Austerlitz gate, the Fisher gate, and the National gate. At the same time the German troops will occupy these positions.

ARTICLE II. At 11 o'clock on the same day the French garrison, including Gardes Mobiles and National Guards, leave the fortress through the National gate, take up position between lunette No. 44 and redoubt No. 37, and there lay down their arms.

ARTICLE III. The Troops of the line and the Gardes Mobiles become prisoners of war, and march out with their luggage. The National Guards and Francs-Tireurs are released on parole, and by 11 o'clock A.M. surrender their arms at the Mayor's office. The list of the officers of these troops at the same hour to be furnished to Gen. Von Werder.

ARTICLE IV. The officers of the French garrison of Strasbourg are at liberty to depart and chose their own place of residence on parole; the form of the parole is attached to these articles of capitulation. Those officers who do not sign the parole proceed with the garrison as prisoners of war to Germany. All the French military surgeons remain until further notice in their functions.

ARTICLE V. Lieut.-Gen. Urich, immediately upon the surrender of arms, agrees to deliver over, through the proper officers, all the military material on hand. Officers and officials charged with this duty assemble on the 28th, at 12 o'clock, upon the Place de Broglie.

This capitulation is executed and signed by the following plenipotentiaries: On the German side, by Lieut.-Col. Von Leczynski, chief of staff of the Corps besieging Strasbourg, and Count Henckel Von Donnersmark, Captain of Cavalry and Adjutant. On the French side, by Col. Ducasse, Commander of Strasbourg, and Lieut.-Col. Mangin, Sub-Director of Artillery.

Read, accepted, and signed,

VON LECZYNSKI,
COUNT HENCKEL VON DONNERSMARK,
DUCASSE,
MANGIN.

Affirmed, Mundolsheim, September 28th, 1870,

VON WERDER, Lieutenant-General.

It is said that the mildness of these terms was attributable to the orders of the King of Prussia, that in Alsace and Lorraine the people should be conciliated by kind treatment, since it was his purpose to retain those provinces for Germany.

At eight o'clock on the morning of the 28th, a detachment of German troops took possession of the gates of the city, and

at eleven, the French garrison—11,000 in all—headed by Generals Uhrich and Barral and Admiral Excelmans, marched out. They were received by General Von Werder and his staff in presence of the German army, paraded outside before the glacis, near the Porte Nationale and Porte de Saverne. Advancing to the victorious commander, General Uhrich said in an agitated voice :

“I have yielded to an irresistible force, when further resistance was only a needless sacrifice of the lives of brave men. I have the consolation of knowing that I have yielded to an honorable enemy.”

General Von Werder, much affected, placed both hands on General Uhrich’s shoulders, and replied :

“You fought bravely. You will have as much honor from the enemy as you can have from your own countrymen.”

The French troops then laid down their arms. The Mobiles and National Guard were dismissed to their homes, and the garrison, including such officers as refused to sign their parole, were sent off to the Fortress of Rastadt, in Baden, in the course of the afternoon.

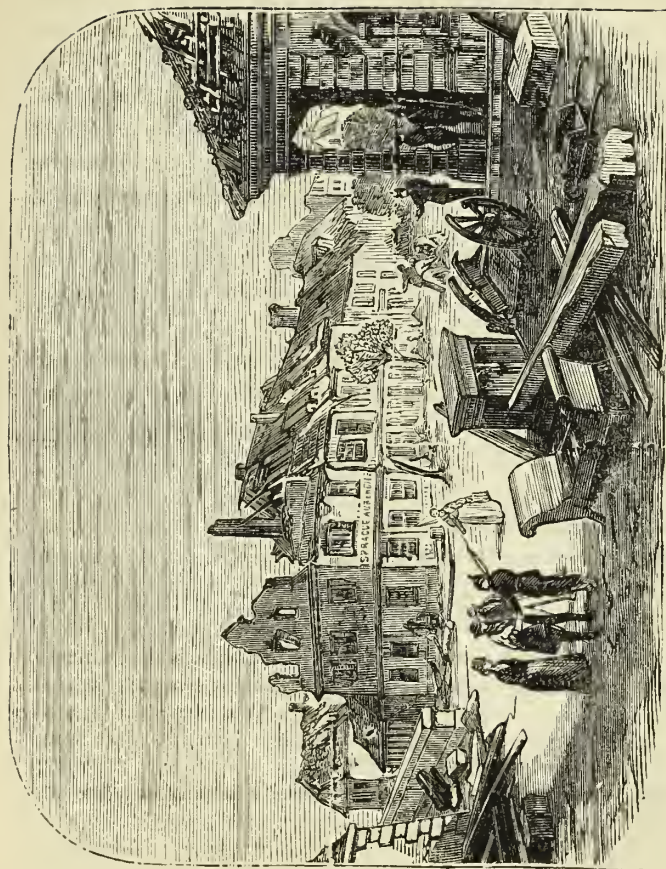
At half past eleven, the German army marched into the city, and took possession, entering through the Porte Blanche or Porte Nationale, on the western side, and Strasbourg ceased to be French.

By the capitulation, eleven hundred guns of all kinds, twelve thousand chassepots, three tons of ammunition, and fifty locomotives fell into the hands of the Germans. The German loss during the siege was 906 killed and wounded, including 113 officers.

The city was greatly damaged by the German fire, and a large part of it was a mass of ruins when the victors entered. Fortunately the grand old cathedral was not much injured, but the theatre, the library, (one of the most valuable in the world,) and a Protestant church, were entirely destroyed. Says a writer who went into Strasbourg with the Germans :

“The destruction at the Austerlitz railway station, lying outside the city, was thorough. Shortly after the siege began

this station was captured by the besiegers. Near this place more than one severe fight occurred when the garrison made a sortie. The fire from one of the mortar batteries was concentrated upon this station, and the numerous carriages which once stood on the line had been converted into heaps of charred wood and twisted iron. On approaching the Porte Saverne, I saw countless marks indicating the severity of the fire which the besiegers had directed towards this spot. Between this and the Porte des Pierres the walls had been breached in two places. After I had passed through the gate, the spectacle of destruction which I witnessed was one I shall not soon forget. On the right, as far as I could see, the whole quarter was a pile of rubbish. There were few marks of fire. Cannon shot and shells had reduced house after house to its original elements. When the space between Temple Bar and Carey Street, on which the new Law Courts are to be erected, was being cleared of houses, the appearance presented was not dissimilar; with this difference, that in the case of the houses removed from that site there were signs of regularity in the midst of the destruction, whereas in Strasbourg the ruined houses were literally piles of rubbish, and unless I had known that houses had once covered the spot, I should not have supposed that the rubbish had ever taken the form of shapely dwellings. In front of nearly every shop window were sloping planks, arranged with a view to ward off the falling shot. All the openings made to admit air and light into the cellars were covered over with a mass of earth and straw. In some cases the straw had evidently been taken from the most offensive, though not the least useful, part of the farmyard. The deprivation of light and air, and the presence of noisome smells, which those who occupied the cellars must have had to endure, must have been not only a severe trial, but also most detrimental to health. One house standing at a corner was propped up lest it should topple over. A cannon ball had swept a large piece out of the corner, and had cut through one of the beams which supported the two upper floors. On



Scene in the Rue de Saverne, Strasbourg, as it appeared immediately after the
Capitulation.

reaching the Place Kleber, one of the largest and finest open spaces in Strasbourg, the signs of destruction were most striking. The handsome building which filled the north-eastern side of the square, and in which was a valuable museum of ancient and modern works of art, is now represented by empty walls. Nearly every house has been pierced with shot or shell."

After the fall of the city, a subscription, headed by the Queen of Prussia, was opened in Germany for the relief of the suffering people of Strasbourg. Subsequently the German Government of Alsace was moved from Haguenau to Strasbourg.*

* Later in the year, the following decree was issued by the King of Prussia:

"We, William, King of Prussia, order the following for the general government of Alsace and Lorraine:

"ARTICLE 1. Whoever shall join the French armies will be punished by confiscation of his present and future property and banishment for ten years.

"ARTICLE 2. The sentence follows upon the order of our Governor-General three days after it has been published in the official portion of the gazette of the Governor-General. It will have all the effect of a legal decision, and is to be carried into execution by civil and military officials.

"ARTICLE 3. Every payment and transfer which shall afterwards be made to the enemy will be considered void.

"ARTICLE 4. Every disposition of his property, or of portions, to the same, whether to come into effect during his lifetime, or after death, which the condemned shall make, after this decree, is null and void.

"ARTICLE 5. Whoever shall desire to leave his place of residence, must obtain a written decree from the prefect, to whom he must give notice of object. Whoever shall absent himself from his dwelling for more than eight days will be legally considered to have joined the French armies. This supposition will be sufficient for his condemnation.

"ARTICLE 6. The prefects are to adopt means for keeping and controlling a list of all males.

"ARTICLE 7. The receipts from the confiscation are to be paid into the account of the general government.

"ARTICLE 8. Returning from banishment is punishable in accordance with the penalty laid down by Article 33 of the Penal Code.

"ARTICLE 9. This order comes in force on the day of its publication.

"Given at our headquarters, at Versailles, on the 15th of December, 1870.

(Signed)

"WILLIAM

"VON BISMARCK,

"VON ROON."

While the siege of Strasbourg was in progress, two important fortresses were closely invested by the Prussians. These were Toul and Phalsbourg. The latter was a strong work built by Vauban, during the reign of Louis XIV., under the crest of the Vosges, for the protection of one of the principal passes through the range. The railway from the German frontier to Paris, through Saverne, Nancy, and Chalons, passes immediately under the guns of the fortress. This road being one of the principal lines of communication for the Germans, the capture of Phalsbourg became a matter of necessity. The Crown Prince of Prussia detached a force to blockade it immediately after the defeat of MacMahon at Woerth. General Talhouet, the commander, refused to surrender, and the blockade eventually became a siege.

Toul, a fourth-rate fortress, on the same line of railway, lies twenty miles west of Nancy. It also barred the railway to the Germans, who were compelled, both here and at Phalsbourg, to transfer their stores from the railway cars to wagons, and haul them around these fortresses to the railway beyond the range of the guns, thus rendering the task of forwarding supplies and material of war to the army before Paris both difficult and slow. The Bavarian directors, who were given the management of the line from Weissenbourg to Paris, offered to build a branch road around Toul in a fortnight, but General Von Moltke declined their proposition, believing that the place would be taken before that time. The city was invested on the 14th of August, and on the 16th, an unsuccessful effort was made to carry it by assault. On the 23d of August, heavy guns having been brought up by the besiegers, a regular bombardment was opened, and on the 23d of September the fortress and garrison surrendered, the terms granted being precisely those given at Sedan, — 109 officers, 2240 privates, 197 pieces of cannon, 3000 muskets, 3000 sabres, and a large quantity of military stores falling into the hands of the Germans.*

* During the siege of Toul, the Germans alleged that their flags of truce were repeatedly fired upon by the French. A dispatch similar to the follow-

Phalsbourg held out longer, and did not surrender until the 12th of December, after a gallant resistance of four months. Its garrison consisted of 2000 men.

Having taken Strasbourg and Toul, the Germans began a systematic effort to reduce all the fortified places in Alsace and Lorraine, as well as those on their lines of communication. The fortified cities of Schlestadt, Neuf Brissach, and Belfort, were invested towards the middle of October. Schlestadt capitulated on the 23d of October, and Neuf Brissach on the 11th of November, the latter surrendering only after a severe bombardment.

ing (which was addressed to Baron Gerolt) was sent to each of the North German Ministers in foreign countries, instructing him to protest against this disregard of the usages of civilized warfare :

"BERLIN, *August 26.*

"The incident mentioned in the telegram of the 22d has occurred twice since. Captain Rochow, sent by General Alvensleben to Toul with a flag of truce, has been received with shots, and a trumpeter accompanying another flag of truce has been killed. You will lodge a protest with the United States against these repeated violations of international law, and declare that we shall henceforth be unable to send flags of truce to a nation whose soldiers have lost, in Africa, China, and Mexico, all recollection of the usages of civilized warfare.

VON THILE."

In reply to this circular, the Prince De la Tour d'Auvergne, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, addressed the following letter to the French Ministers abroad :

"PARIS, *August 30, 1870.*

"SIR:—The Prussian Government has alleged in documents of which we have had information that our soldiers have deviated from international law by deliberately firing on ambulances and persons sent for a parley. Before ever advising the Minister of War of these allegations, I protested in the name of the traditions of our army, and as soon as my colleague was informed of them, he energetically endorsed the language I had held.

"Mistakes may happen in the heat of conflict; more just than our adversaries, we admit that neither of the two armies is certain not to commit such errors; but, that our soldiers have of set purpose disregarded the sacred privilege of ambulances and the rights of *parlementaires*, Prussia will persuade nobody, and we have no need to defend ourselves against such accusations.

"It seems, moreover, that the Prussian Government has shown all this eagerness in turning to its advantage deeds to be regretted, but not yet proved to have been committed, and, at any rate, isolated cases, only as pretexts to justify itself for much more serious acts which we have to urge

Soissons, as we have seen, had been invested by the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin on the 11th of September. At first, merely a blockade was enforced by the Germans, but on the 12th of October, the siege batteries having been prepared, a heavy bombardment was opened upon the town, which surrendered on the 16th of October. The Germans captured at this place, 99 officers, 4633 men, 132 guns, 150 tons of ammunition, and a military chest containing 92,000 francs. The capture of Soissons threw open to the Germans all the rich supplies of northern France.

Verdun was first attacked by the 4th army, under the Saxon

against it, and which involve much more directly the responsibility of the commanders of corps.

"Everybody knows of the so-called 'press' ambulance, seized with its attendants and material, which had to traverse a part of Germany, Luxembourg, and Belgium, in order to re-enter France. The same thing has been recently repeated in the environs of Metz. Near Strasbourg, Baron de Busiere was made prisoner in the midst of the ambulance which he had organized, and to which he was devoting himself. It is equally notorious that a French surgeon was killed on the field of battle by a Prussian soldier while in the act of stanching a soldier's wound. It appears, moreover, from the deposition of one of these surgeons, in the presence of witnesses, whose declaration has been received at the French Vice-Consulate at Basle, that explosive balls have been employed against our troops, and discovered in the wounds of some of our wounded.

"These are so many violations not only of the usages of all armies in modern times, but also of the formal stipulations of diplomatic conventions to which Prussia was a contracting party.

"Finally, the newspapers have announced that some peasants of the neighborhood of Strasbourg had been impressed to dig the trenches opened by the Prussians before the place. We at first refused to give credence to these rumors. We could not admit as possible an act of violence not less contrary to the rules of war than to the laws of humanity. The certain testimonies which have since reached us, leave no more doubt of the complete accuracy of these informations. The Prussian authorities have not recoiled from a measure which forces the defenders of Strasbourg to fire on Frenchmen.

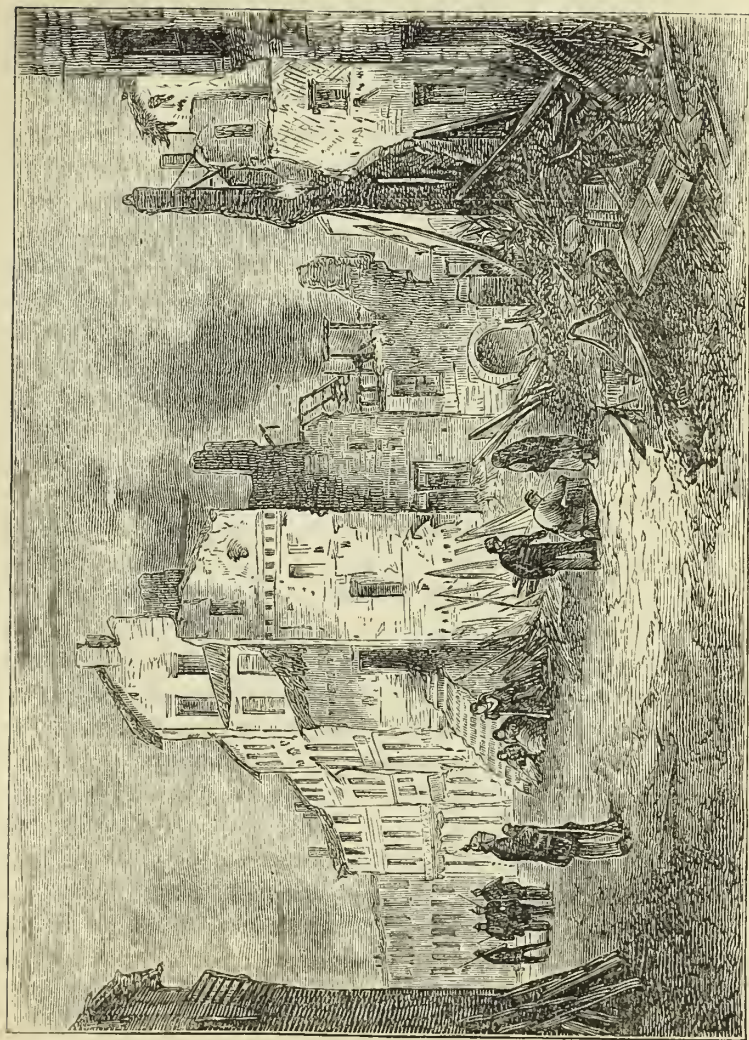
"We protest in the name of universal conscience against such abuses of strength, and in begging you to bring them before the special attention of the Government to which you are accredited, I am confident that public opinion will visit them with a just reprobation."

This circular was read in the French Senate on the 1st September, and was much applauded.

Crown Prince, on the 26th of August, when an effort was made to carry the place by a *coup de main*. This being unsuccessful, the Saxon Prince left a division to invest it and prosecute the siege, while, with the rest of his army, he continued his movement towards Chalons. The fortress is of the fourth class, and was built before the days of rifled artillery. It contained a garrison of 5000 men, at the commencement of the war, and was commanded by Baron Guerin de Waldersbach. When summoned to surrender, the Commandant replied that he would hold out as long as one stone remained upon another. Efforts were then made by the Germans to reduce the place by means of their artillery. The bombardment was opened on the 26th of September, and continued at intervals until the 3d of November, when, the town having suffered severely from the German fire, and the surrender of Metz having neutralized the defence to a great extent, the Commandant opened negotiations for a surrender. On the 11th, the capitulation was formally concluded, and the Germans took possession of the town.

Thionville, seventeen miles north of Metz, not far from the Luxembourg frontier, was garrisoned by a force of 5000 men. It is a fortress of a third class, and a place of considerable strength, though it is easy to bombard it with rifled guns, as there are no exterior defences. Its armament consisted of 380 guns, from sixteen to twenty-four pounders. On the 10th of October, the place was closely invested by the Germans. After the surrender of Metz, the Seventeenth German Corps, commanded by General Von Zastrow, was sent to reënforce the column before Thionville. The Germans placed 400 field and siege guns in position, and on the 4th of November opened fire on the town from such of these as were ready. By the 22d of November, the German fire was very heavy, the average number of shots being seventeen per minute.

On the 23d of November, the city being on fire in several places, General Von Zastrow sent a message to the French Commander, urging him to surrender; the latter replied, "So long as there remains one stone upon another, or one drop of



Ruins of Thionville, after the Bombardment by the Prussians.

French blood, the city will not be surrendered." The bombardment was then continued with terrific force, and on the 24th, towards six o'clock in the morning, the French Commander offered to surrender the city on condition that the Garde Mobile were allowed to go free. This offer was rejected, and the bombardment was renewed.

The fire of the Germans was directed entirely upon the city, their shots passing over the ramparts, where there was comparatively little danger. The shells fell in showers in the town, and the inhabitants were unable to take refuge in their cellars, as a freshet in the Moselle had flooded them. Thus exposed to the pitiless rain of shells, the women and children flocked to the ramparts, and on their knees besought the Commandant to surrender. The sight of these helpless people completely unmanned the brave soldier, and, in the afternoon of the 24th, he sent a flag of truce to the German Commander, offering an unconditional surrender. The firing was promptly discontinued, and at six o'clock, the same evening, the capitulation was signed. The troops of the line, 2000 in number, were retained as prisoners of war, but the rest of the garrison, consisting of the Mobile Guards, were allowed to return to their homes.

It was stipulated that the victors should enter the city at nine o'clock on the morning of the 25th, but the occupation was accomplished two hours earlier, at the request of the French Commander, on account of the insubordination of his troops, who, enraged at the surrender, threatened to explode the magazine.

In spite of the severity of the bombardment there were no lives lost in Thionville, the population of which numbered 7000, the citizens having flocked to the ramparts for safety, and the German shells passing over their heads; the city was almost demolished, however. One hundred and seven buildings were totally destroyed, eighty-three were so badly injured that they had to be pulled down; and 250 were so much damaged as to require to be rebuilt from the first story upward. The total loss, material and commercial, was reckoned

at \$4,800,000. The bombardment lasted fifty-three hours, during which the Germans threw into the city from 35,000 to 40,000 shells.


From Thionville, the Germans marched to Montmedy, which they compelled to surrender on the 14th of December, after a brief defence. The garrison of this place consisted of 4000 men. An attack was made upon it just after the battle of Sedan, but was repulsed. No serious effort to capture it was made, however, until after the fall of Metz and Thionville.



Marshal Canrobert.

CHAPTER X.

NAVAL AFFAIRS—THE GERMANS UNABLE TO CONDUCT THE WAR ON THE OCEAN—BISMARCK'S WARNING TO MERCHANTMEN—DESIGNS OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT—THE BALTIC FLEET SAILS FROM CHERBOURG—AN ATTACK ON THE GERMAN PORTS INTENDED—ABANDONMENT OF THE DESIGN—THE FRENCH FLEET OFF THE MOUTH OF THE ELBE—CAPTURE OF GUNBOATS—ARRIVAL OF THE FRENCH IN THE BALTIC—RECONNOISSANCE BY THE GERMAN GUNBOATS—CAPTURE OF GERMAN MERCHANT SHIPS—BLOCKADE OF THE NORTH SEA PORTS—FAILURE OF THE BALTIC FLEET TO ACCOMPLISH ANYTHING—THE BLOCKADE RAISED—THE FRENCH SHIPS RETURN TO CHERBOURG—NAVAL ENGAGEMENT OFF THE COAST OF CUBA—A GERMAN VICTORY.

T the commencement of the war, it was well understood that the Germans would be able to offer very little opposition to the French on the ocean, and Count Von Bismarck, as early as the 15th of July, warned all German merchant vessels to seek the protection of the nearest friendly port. It was believed that France, with her powerful fleet, would be able to close the German harbors with a rigid blockade, and to inflict considerable damage upon the German coast. Therefore a strong military force was left in the coast districts, under the command of General Von Falckenstein, for the protection of those regions, when the German armies entered France, and, on the 18th of July, the Prussian Government ordered the removal of all coast lights, buoys, and other aids to navigation on the German coast.

It was the intention of the Emperor Napoleon to make a good use of his fleet. A powerful ironclad squadron was collected at Cherbourg, for the purpose of blockading and capturing the German ports in the Baltic. It was commanded by Admiral Bouet-Willaumez, and consisted of the ironclad frigates *Surveillante* (the flag-ship), *Gauloise*, *Océan*, *Flandre*,

and Guyenne, the ironclad corvettes *Jeanne d'Arc*, and *Thétis*, and the dispatch boat *Jérôme Napoleon*. These constituted the first division of the Baltic fleet, and were honored with a personal visit from the Empress, on the 25th of July, the day of their sailing from Cherbourg.

The first division was dispatched so promptly, in order that the German ports might be closed at once, and it was the design of the French Government to follow it in a few days with the second division, consisting of the ironclad frigates *Savoie* (flag-ship of Rear Admiral Pehouet), *Valeuruse*, *Revanche*, *Montcalm*, *Victoire*, *Atalante*, *Rochambeau*, and *Taureau*, and the dispatch boats *Duyot*, *Cosmos*, *Bougainville*, *Catinat*, *Château Renaud*, *Custard*, *Peiron*, *Bonsanque*, *l'Heureuse*, and *Ariel*, and the Imperial yacht *l'Illiondelle*.

The second division was to embark a force of 25,000 troops. With these, a series of attacks were to be made upon the Baltic ports of Prussia, which, it was believed, would result not only in important captures, but in the retention of a considerable force in the part of Prussia thus threatened. The condition of the army on the frontier, however, made it impossible to spare these troops, and, consequently, no military demonstration was made by the French in the Baltic.

From Cherbourg, Admiral Bouet-Willaumez passed through the English Channel into the North Sea. Arriving off the mouth of the Elbe, he stood in towards the shore with his vessels, and opened fire on the naval station of Wilhelmshaven. Two gunboats were captured by the French fleet at the same time. The Admiral's object was merely to try the guns of his ships, and having satisfied himself with regard to this, he continued his voyage towards the entrance to the Baltic, entering that sea on the 29th. As the fleet passed Skagen, in Denmark, the information was at once telegraphed to General Von Falckenstein by the Prussian agent, and orders were issued from the Prussian headquarters to keep a strict watch for the French ships at all the German ports. Touching at Copenhagen, the French remained there some

time, and then continued their voyage, and soon appeared off Rugen Island.

The second division of the fleet sailed from Cherbourg during the early part of August, and by the 15th the mouths of the Elbe, Eider, Jahde, and Weser were blockaded. The squadron at the mouth of the Elbe consisted of six frigates, one turret ship, two rams, and three corvettes. During the first days of the blockade, several German merchant vessels were captured in entering the river.*

The French made no effort, either in the Baltic or North Seas, to attack the German ports, all of which were rendered

* When the capture of these vessels was reported to General Von Falckenstein, he sent a letter to the French Admiral in command of the squadron, protesting against his course. The following is the correspondence:

"EXCELLENCY:—You have opened hostilities at sea by the capture of German merchant ships, and have thereby forgotten that we are at present in a condition on land to be able to make unrestricted reprisals for such a war against peaceable Germans. In the interest of your countrymen I submit to your Excellency to make war on the sea only against armed forces, just as at present in France war is not made against unarmed citizens. Well, then, let us fight each other as knightly soldiers, show ourselves equally honorable, respect the private property of peaceable citizens. If your Excellency is of the same mind, you can make known your inclination to give back the ships you have taken; you will gain more by that course than these small prizes are worth to you. The bearer of this, Rear-Admiral Prince Von Hessen, is charged by me to deliver this letter, and to conclude terms with your Excellency. With particular respect, your Excellency's to command,

"VON FALCKENSTEIN,

"General Governor of the Coast Lands."

"ON BOARD THE 'MAGNANIME,' August 18, 1870.

"My interpreter of the German language being at this moment on a cruise in another frigate, I have been able to obtain only an imperfect comprehension of the letter you have done me the honor to write; but the Prince of Hessen, your flag-of-truce bearer, has indicated its object to my chief of staff. Its purpose is to secure to private property upon the sea the respect which the law of mankind accords it upon the land. Your Excellency is not ignorant, that up to the present day the international law and treaties do not agree with that stipulation, and you will readily acknowledge that such a subject lies exclusively within the prerogatives of our Governments, and that I have in no way the right to treat of them. Be pleased, Excellency, to receive the assurance of my highest consideration,

"L. FOURICHON, *Vice-Admiral.*"

difficult of approach by sinking hulks of vessels and torpedoes in the channels of the entrances, and some of which were strongly fortified. The blockading fleets passed the months of August and September in complete idleness, merely overhauling a few merchantmen, and occasionally firing a shot at one of the German gunboats engaged in watching their movements.

On the 17th of August, the German dispatch boat *Grille*, steamed out from the Bay of Rugen, to reconnoitre the position and strength of the French fleet, which had but recently arrived off the island of that name. The French ships had not yet been seen from the shore, and the German officers were anxious to ascertain their exact position. The *Grille* stood boldly out to sea until the Danish island of Moen was in sight, when the French fleet was seen in the distance. The little vessel at once headed towards the enemy, and checked her speed only when within three thousand paces of them. The French at once opened fire, giving chase to the *Grille*, which put about to return to Rugen. Every now and then lying to, to fire a few shots at her pursuers from her two rifled twelve pounders in answer to the guns of the whole fleet; the little vessel drew the enemy after her as far as the post house at Wittoin, where the gunboats *Drache*, *Blitz*, and *Salamander* were lying. These, hearing the cannonade at sea, at once stood out to the assistance of their consort. The commander of the tiny squadron, Captain Count Von Waldersee, made the signal to the commander of each gunboat to attack the enemy at his own discretion. The order was received with cheers, and as soon as they came up with the *Grille*, the gunboats opened fire, all standing in for the bay. A running fight of three hours ensued, when the German vessels, finding that their guns were harmless to the ironclads, retired to the protection of the shore batteries. None of the gunboats were struck, but one of their shells was seen to explode on the deck of a French frigate.

A letter written by an officer of the Baltic fleet, on the 10th of September, thus describes the difficulties encountered by the French :

The fleet has no base of operations; no port of anchorage, except by retiring to neutral waters. Not having seized, as it might have, some small undefended islands off the coast of Schleswig, the squadron, in fact, never anchors, and is subject to continued surprises in the night from Prussian gunboats, which, coming out of harbors known only to themselves, appear amid French vessels either to reconnoitre or to blow them up with torpedoes, as nearly happened in the roadstead of Dantzic, when Admiral Bouet anchored under the very guns of the Fort.

The Prussian vessels being small and swift, risk little, but if successful might destroy a French vessel. The squadron can only take in coal on an open sea, and in circumstances of danger. A want is felt of suitable vessels for blockading purposes; ironclads are too slow, and of too great draft. Cruising proves most difficult and perilous.

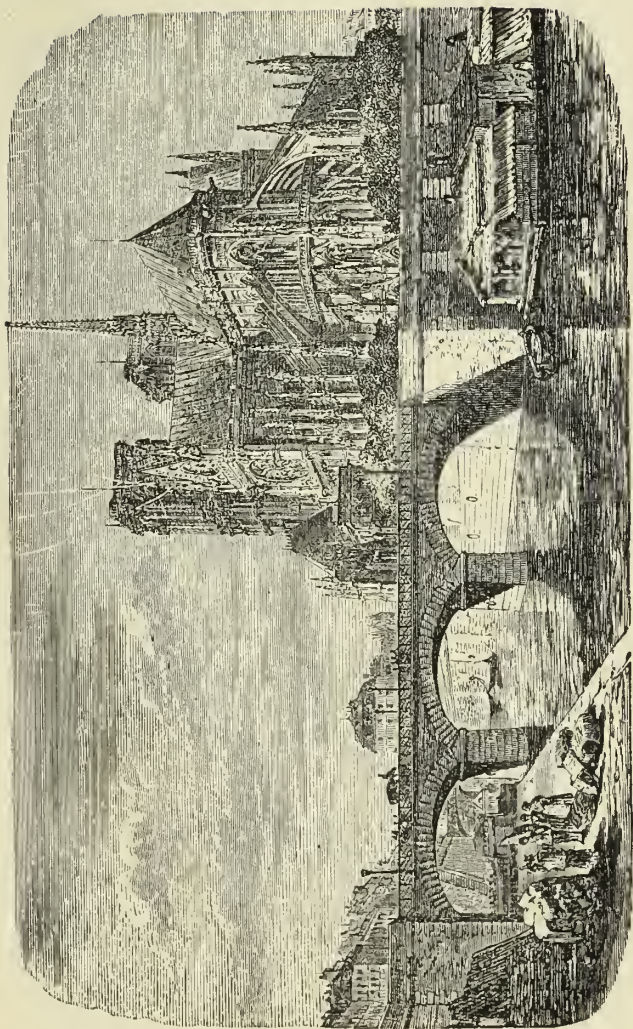
Admiral Bouet has separated the squadron into two divisions. With the first he blockades the shore from the Russian frontier to Rugen; the second, under Admiral Dicaudonné, watches the coast from Rugen to North Schleswig. There has been no important encounter hitherto with the Prussian fleet. Two vessels, the *Océan* and the *Flandre*, are about returning to France.

The news of MacMahon's and the Emperor's surrender is just received. The latter causes little grief, for the fleet is not Bonapartist. After such events the squadron must remain inactive; but if the new Government resolves to continue the struggle, it will wage pitiless war on the German coast.

The reverses of the Empire, and the great straits to which the Republic was driven at the commencement of its career, made it impossible for the fleet to continue at sea. The marines were needed in the army, the guns were wanted for the defence of Paris and other threatened places, and the seamen were needed to man them. The blockade was therefore impracticable, and was raised about the 18th of September, by the departure of the vessels which had maintained it, for their own waters. Great as had been the failures of the French on land, their ill success at sea was still more signal.

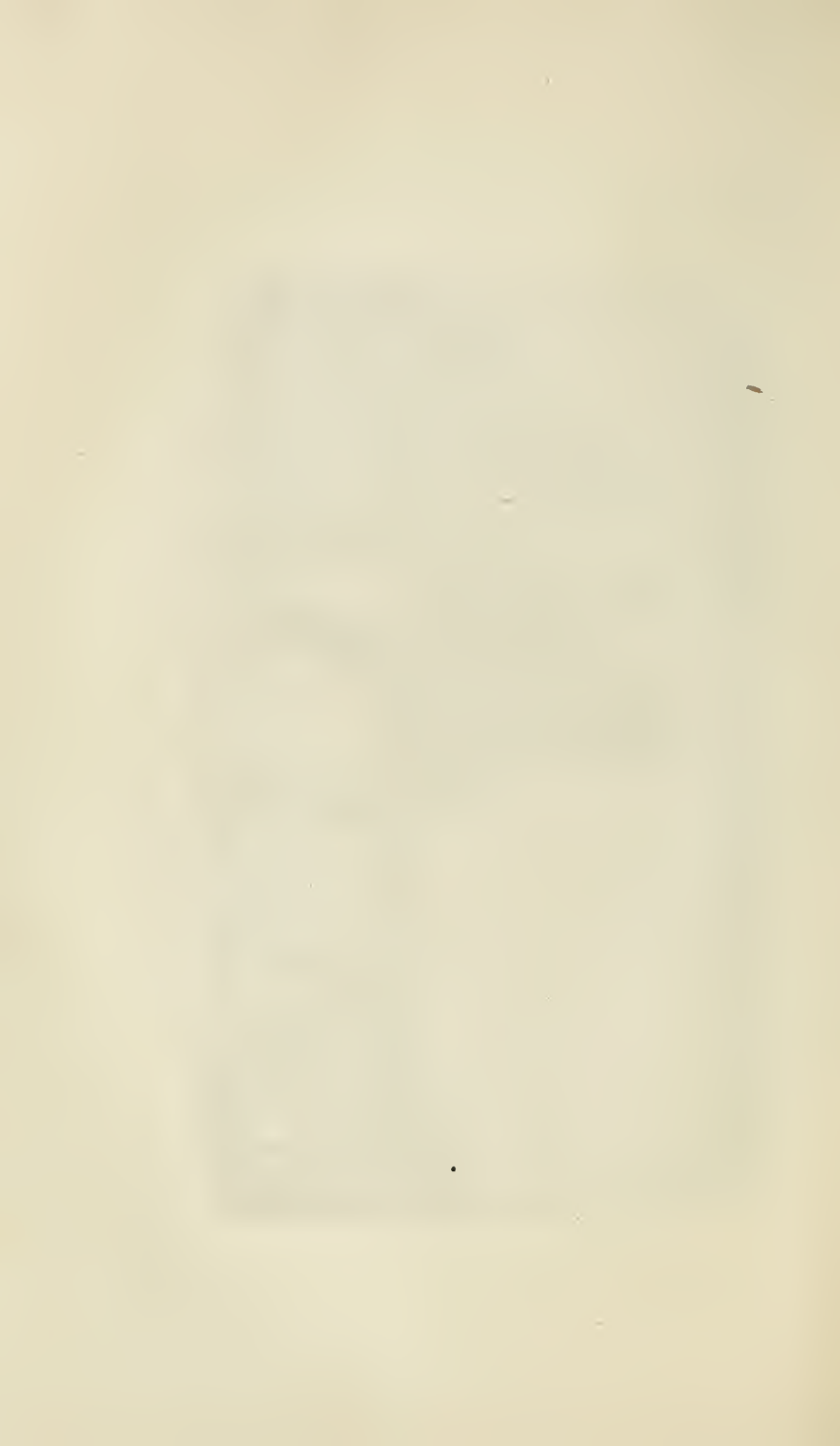
Both nations maintained vessels of war in foreign waters during the struggle, especially in the waters of North America. It was in this quarter of the world that the only naval engagement of any importance fought during the war was destined to occur.

On Sunday, the 7th of November, 1870, the French mail



The Cathedral of Notre Dame—from the Archbishop's Bridge: Paris.

Die Kathedrale Notre-Dame—von der Erzbischofsbrücke: Paris.



steamer *Nouveau Monde*, sailing between St. Nazaire, in France, and the Island of St. Thomas, in the West Indies, called at Havana, in Cuba, intending to resume her voyage at ten o'clock on the morning of the 8th. The North German Consul at once telegraphed information of her intended departure to the commander of the North German gunboat *Meteor*, then lying at Key West, and early on Monday morning the *Meteor* arrived at Havana. Two hours later, the French gunboat *Bouvet* entered the port, her appearance upon the scene being merely casual. At half-past nine o'clock the *Meteor* put to sea, and at ten o'clock the *Nouveau Monde* sailed from the harbor. Upon arriving outside, the French captain saw the German war steamer waiting for him, with the evident intention of making a prize of his vessel, and he deemed it prudent to return to the harbor. The captain of the *Bouvet* at once offered to escort the mail steamer safely by the German cruiser, but the Spanish authorities informed him that his vessel could not leave the port until twenty-four hours after the time of the *Meteor's* departure, which period would expire on the morning of the 8th. In consequence of this decision, both the mail steamer and the French gunboat were compelled to remain in the harbor during the 7th, and in the evening the *Meteor* returned. The German commander was then notified by the Captain-General of the Island, that he could not sail again until twenty-four hours after the departure of the *Nouveau Monde*. Her safety being thus secured, the mail steamer sailed early on the morning of the 8th.

Upon the arrival of the German vessel, Captain Franquet of the *Bouvet*, sent a challenge, through the French and German Consuls, to Captain Knorr, of the *Meteor*, to meet him the next day off the harbor, and outside the Spanish waters. Captain Knorr promptly accepted the challenge, and notified Captain Franquet that he would go to sea at one o'clock p. m., on the 9th, the earliest hour the Spanish authorities would permit him to sail.

The challenge and its acceptance being communicated to the Spanish officials, Admiral Maleampo, in order to prevent

the engagement taking place within the limits prohibited by international law, had the frigate *Hernan Cortes* gotten in readiness, and, taking with him three extra surgeons and a quantity of medicines, made his preparations to follow the *Meteor* as she left the harbor. The gunboat *Centinela* was ordered to accompany the *Cortes* for the purpose of rendering assistance to the combatants, in case either or both should receive fatal injuries. The high officials of the island accompanied the Admiral in the frigate in order to witness the combat.

At precisely one o'clock, on the afternoon of the 9th of November, the *Meteor* weighed anchor and steamed out of the harbor, followed by the Spanish vessels. Upon getting to sea, the French steamer was discovered to the northeast of the harbor, about ten miles from the land. The *Meteor* at once stood towards her, the *Bouvet* advancing to meet her enemy, and, at thirty-two minutes after two o'clock, the French vessel opened the engagement by a shot from one of her guns. The vessels were then about a mile and a half distant from each other, and five miles off the shore. When within a mile of the *Meteor*, the *Bouvet* fired another shot, and then both vessels began manœuvring for position, the *Meteor* succeeding in retaining the inner circle. Three more shots were fired by the Frenchman, and then the German responded with a single gun. Twelve shots were then fired by the *Bouvet*, and five from the *Meteor*. Neither vessel had yet succeeded in hitting the other, although there was a smooth sea in their favor.

The Frenchman now turned directly upon his enemy and ran straight down to him, both vessels firing as they approached each other. The former was unable to strike his antagonist squarely, but brushed lightly by, firing a heavy volley of musketry as he passed, which killed the second mate, and wounded two sailors of the German ship. Then turning about rapidly, the *Bouvet* again ran down upon the *Meteor*, striking her heavily, and at the same time pouring a severe musketry fire into her, and discharging two of her

twenty-four pounders at the masts of the German. The Meteor replied with a volley of musketry, which slightly wounded one of the French sailors. The French tried to grapple the Meteor as they passed, but did not succeed. Their twenty-four pounders, however, terribly damaged their opponent. The mainmast of the Meteor was cut in two near the deck, and the mizzenmast was badly injured. It was impossible to repair the damage at once, as it required all the efforts of the crew to prevent their enemy from grappling the vessel. As soon as the ships were clear of each other, however, Captain Knorr found it necessary to cut his injured mizzenmast, against which the mainmast had fallen and caught, and to throw both overboard. This was done promptly, but, unfortunately, the rigging of the mast caught in the propeller of the ship, and became so badly entangled in it, as to render it useless. The Meteor was now perfectly helpless. She could not use her sails, and her propeller was useless. The Bouvet, meanwhile, had turned about, and was preparing to run into her again. The French vessel was, as yet, entirely uninjured, and the German was at her mercy.

At this critical period, the sixty-eight pounder of the Meteor was loaded, and a Saxon sergeant of marines trained it carefully upon the Bouvet, then coming down rapidly upon the disabled ship, and about six hundred yards distant. The huge gun belched forth its deadly missile, and immediately the Bouvet was wrapped in clouds of blinding steam. The shot had struck the steam dome of the vessel, and had knocked it to pieces. Three of the crew were badly scalded. The steam escaping instantly ; the Bouvet could no longer use her machinery. Her sailing power was not injured, however, but being ignorant of the damage received by his antagonist, and believing him still able to use his propeller, Captain Franquet decided to withdraw from the combat. Sail was accordingly set on the Bouvet, and every effort was made to reach the harbor. The Meteor, astonished at the retreat of the French ship, sent three parting shots after her, one of which took effect.

The Spanish vessels had remained from three to four miles to the westward of the combatants, and as the Bouvet entered the Spanish waters, the Admiral fired a gun from the Cortes to signify that the combat must cease. He then dispatched the Centinela to notify the French Captain that he would not be permitted to repair damages so as to renew the fight, but the message was not delivered until the Bouvet had entered the harbor. The Cortes then ran down to the Meteor with offers of assistance for the wounded, but the offer was thankfully declined. The propeller was then cleared of the rigging which had fouled it, this task consuming a full hour, and the Meteor went back to Havana. The only loss sustained by the Bouvet, apart from the destruction of the steam dome, was the breaking away of her martingale when she ran into the Meteor.

The combat was witnessed by nearly the whole population of Havana, who crowded the shores of the bay in their eagerness to obtain a view of it.

In size, tonnage, engine power, and number of guns the Meteor and the Bouvet were on an equality. The Bouvet was, however, the faster vessel, and had, besides, eighteen more men on board, or eighty-two officers and crew, to sixty-four officers and crew; but then these two advantages were fully if not more than balanced by the Meteor's advantage of armament, her three guns consisting of two twenty-pounders and one sixty-eight-pounder, while the three guns of the Bouvet were all twenty-four-pounders, and the Meteor's machinery was located mostly below the water line, while that of the Bouvet was mostly above, she having been built for a dispatch boat more than for war purposes.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SIEGE OF METZ—VON MOLTKE'S PLAN—BEGINNING OF THE INVESTMENT—DESCRIPTION OF METZ AND ITS DEFENCES—CHARACTER OF THE MILITARY OPERATIONS—THE POSITION OF THE GERMAN ARMIES—GERMAN SENTRIES ARMED WITH THE CHASSEPOT—MACMAHON'S NORTHWARD MOVEMENT—BAZAINE'S DISPATCH—EFFORTS OF THE FRENCH TO PROCURE SUPPLIES—THE EMPEROR'S MESSAGE—SORTIES OF AUGUST 31ST AND SEPTEMBER 1ST—BAZAINE'S TELEGRAMS—NO NEWS FROM WITH-OUT—THE GERMANS STRENGTHEN THEIR POSITION—THE LANDWEHR BROUGHT INTO FRANCE—HEROIC CONDUCT OF THESE TROOPS—REMOVAL OF GENERAL VON STEINMETZ—CARE OF THE GERMAN COMMANDERS FOR THEIR TROOPS—SICKNESS IN THE ARMIES—SORTIES OF SEPTEMBER 23D AND 24TH—FAILURE OF THE FRENCH TO GAIN GROUND—BAZAINE'S DIFFICULTIES—SORTIE OF OCTOBER 7TH—A DESPERATE EFFORT—BRILLIANT REPULSE OF THE FRENCH—SICKNESS IN THE FRENCH CAMP—THE TROOPS ON THE POINT OF STARVATION—ACTION OF THE COUNCIL OF WAR—GENERAL BOYER SENT TO VERSAILLES—THE SECRET NEGOTIATIONS—A STRANGE STORY—FIRMNESS OF THE EMPRESS OF THE FRENCH—FAILURE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS—CHANGARNIER'S MISSION—ITS FAILURE—BAZAINE OFFERS TO SURRENDER—THE CAPITULATION AGREED UPON—TERMS OF THE SURRENDER—MAGNITUDE OF THE CAPTURE—THE FORTRESS OCCUPIED BY THE GERMANS—ACTION OF THE CITIZENS OF METZ—BAZAINE GOES TO CASSEL—HE IS INSULTED BY THE CITIZENS OF METZ—CHANGARNIER'S VIEWS—EXAMINATION OF BAZAINE'S CONDUCT—EFFECT OF THE SURRENDER UPON THE FRENCH NATION—CHARGES OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT—THE REPUBLICAN PROCLAMATION—M. GAMBETTA SPEAKS HIS MIND—REJOICINGS IN GERMANY—THE KING OF PRUSSIA RAISES "OUR FRITZ" AND FREDERICK CHARLES TO THE RANK OF FIELD-MARSHAL—THE GERMAN ARMY LEAVES METZ.

WE must now return to the army of the Rhine, which we left retiring upon Metz after its bloody defeat at Gravelotte. Finding it impossible to break through the German lines, Marshal Bazaine withdrew to a position protected by the outlying forts of Metz, and, strengthening himself against further molestation from his enemy, prepared to take advantage of the first opportunity of cutting his way out from Metz.

General Von Moltke, however, had no wish to molest the French in their strong position. He had drawn them into the unfortunate decision of lingering around Metz when they might have escaped, and he was determined that they should remain there. As Prince Frederick Charles afterwards told General Changarnier, the German commander was thoroughly informed as to the strength of the fortress of Metz, and knew as well as Bazaine himself that it was not provisioned for a long siege. The effect of the first German victories was so great that Von Moltke felt fully able to dispense with the services of the bulk of the 1st and 2nd German armies in the field. He could spare these to shut up Metz for the present, and he decided merely to invest the fortress, cutting off every avenue of escape from it, and to leave to hunger and disease the task of reducing Metz.

Accordingly, on the 22d of August, the fourth day after the battle of Gravelotte, the German troops began the construction of a series of earthworks, formidable in size and extent, which enabled them to shut up Bazaine and his army so securely "that not even a dog could leave Metz without being exposed to the fire of a hundred guns." Day after day the German lines grew stronger, enclosing the forts and city in an unbroken circle.

The city of Metz contains a population of 60,000, and is a place of considerable importance, and of great historic interest. It constitutes, with its outlying forts, one of the strongest fortresses in Europe. Its fortifications were begun by Vauban, and continued by Marshal Belleisle. Many additions and improvements were made by Cormontaigne, one of the greatest masters of the art of fortification the world has ever seen, and the works constructed by him here are regarded as his masterpieces.

"The town of Metz, with the great Cathedral," says a recent writer, "lies for the most part on the east side of a branch of the Moselle, which forks off from the main stream at La Grange aux Dames, and forms the islands of Chambière, and lower down, of Sauley and St. Simphorien. A large suburb,

however, stands on the first of these islands. The inner fortifications surround the town continuously, with the exception of one gap to the southward, which is covered efficiently by the branch of the Moselle, which divides the islands of Sauley and St. Simphorien. On the north of the Isle de Chambière are two important forts on the inner line, one at the northwestern angle of the *enceinte*, the other detached in the plain of the island, but connected with the *enceinte* by a covered way. On the south of the inner line are the Redoubt du Pâte to the east, and the Lunette d'Arcon to the west, both connected with the *enceinte* by a covered way. The western side of the inner line is covered by the great Fort Moselle, on the farther side of the main stream of the Moselle, a double crown work of immense strength and magnitude, and enclosing great magazines and arsenals. To the south of it the bastion of Ile Sauley sends out a long spur of fortifications, which crosses the Moselle, and terminates in a redoubt on the farther side. Nor is the eastern side of the inner line less strongly protected. In front of the *enceinte* looms the great double crown work of Belle Croix, Cormontaigne's masterpiece, to the full as large as Fort Moselle, and more highly favored by its natural position. To the south of it stands Fort Gisors, a minor detached fortification, which serves to complete the circuit of connection with the Redoubt du Pâte on the south. Thus the town of Metz is, in fact, environed by two lines of fortifications, the continuous *enceinte* with its bastions, and what I may term the outer cordon of the inner circle, having intimate connection with the *enceinte*.

"Of themselves these defences would make the place all but impregnable, but they are by no means the most important defences of this extraordinary fortress. There is an outer circle of detached fortifications, each of which is the complement of the other, and of which no one can be assailed without the assailant laying his account to be enfiladed by at least two of the others. Let me begin with those at the Moselle, on the north of the town at La Grange aux Dames, and work round, proceeding first in an easterly direction. After climb-

ing the bank of the stream, we come to the *chaussée* leading to Bouzonville, and crossing it we almost immediately come on the great glacis of Fort St. Julien. This is an outlying fort of the first magnitude, covering the whole of the low summit of a natural eminence, and having on three sides a natural glacis—therefore of great extent. It lies about two English miles from Metz, in a northeasterly direction, and a little to the northeast of it is the Monastery and wood of Grimon, the former of which has been scientifically diverted from ecclesiastical to military purposes. About a mile and a half due south of St. Julien, and about a mile due east from Fort Belle Croix, is Fort Les Bottes, a great hog-backed structure chiefly of earth, which has been thrown up as a precautionary measure, either immediately before or immediately after the outbreak of the war. Its position is very important as a link between St. Julien and Fort Queleu, on the south. It stands a little to the south of the great *chaussée* from Metz to Saarlouis and Saarbruck, while as yet the bisection has not taken place. Forward about a mile from Les Bottes, and on the *chaussée* just before it bisects, is a village named Belle Croix, which must not, however, be confounded with the fort of the same name. Here, also, there are many earthworks and guns, but the latter, for the most part, are field artillery, and paucity of ammunition keeps them tolerably quiet. About a mile and a half south of Fort Les Bottes, and about the same distance from Metz, is Fort Queleu, also an important structure, dominating the main road to Strasbourg and the adjoining flat country as far as the telegraph on the elevated ground before Mercy-le-Haut. Turning now westward, and inclining to the south, we come to Fort St. Privat, at a distance of about two and a half miles both from Les Bottes and Metz. Its value consists in the command it has of the eastern side of the valley of the Moselle, of the road from Nancy and of the railway lines which converge behind it. Leaving it, we come to the Moselle again, this time on the southwest side of the town, and striking up due north, we have nothing in the shape of fortifications till we climb the great hump, on the top of which

stands Fort St. Quentin, the greatest outwork of Metz. St. Quentin is a complete fortress in itself; it could hold out were all its neighbors taken, and it may safely be termed impregnable, looking at the combined strength of its natural position, and its vast fortifications. Not only does it dominate the country to the south, southwest, west and northwest, but it frowns outward to the east, and its great guns would play an important part in the defence against an attack on the inner fortifications of Metz. Northwest of it, about a mile on the top of the bluffs, lies Fort Plappeville, or Les Carrières, the natural position of which is not so strong as that of St. Quentin, because the elevation on which it stands is not isolated, while it is open in the rear, and therefore requires St. Quentin as the complement of its defence. It, however, acts as a defence over a great tract of country to the west, and keeps a besieging force at a respectful distance, so that it cannot reach the edge of the bluffs and pitch projectiles down into Metz. Due north from Metz, about two miles, and standing in the middle of the plain, bounded by the Thionville railway on the west, and the Moselle on the east, lies Fort St. Eloy, the last but not the least important of the outworks of Metz. Its province is, in combination with St. Julien, to take care of the valley of the Moselle to the northward, and to dominate the great road to Thionville. All these fortifications (except the little Belle Croix), are furnished with heavy guns of position."

The German position was chosen with a view to holding the French at Metz, and though, after the long-range guns were mounted, a steady fire was maintained upon the camps of the French for the purpose of adding to their discomforts, and though frequent encounters occurred between the outposts and advanced forces, a general attack upon the place, or even a regularly conducted siege formed no part of the German plan. Their design was simply to encircle the place with a cordon of works strong enough to enable their troops to defeat any effort of the French to escape, and then to starve the garrison into submission.

The position held by the Germans was as follows, commencing on the east side of the Moselle. The Seventh Corps held the line of environment from the river to the village of Ars-Laquenexy, occupying the villages of Magny, Peltre, and Merey-la-Haut, with their outposts thrown forward somewhat beyond this line. The First Corps lay on the right of the Seventh, its line extending through Colombey, Ogy, Flanville, Retonfay, and Gras, to Ste. Barbe. The advanced forces of this Corps held the villages of Coiney, Montoy, Noisseville, Servigny, and Failly. This advanced, or first line, was within easy range of the guns of Fort St. Julien.* The Tenth Corps continued the line to the Moselle. The Landwehr divisions occupied the line from the right of the Tenth Corps, across the Moselle at Argancy to the vicinity of St. Agathe. The remaining corps of the army (the Second, Third, Eighth, and Ninth,) prolonged the investment from St. Agathe, through Sauley, Vigneulles, Lorry, Chatel St. Germain, Longeau, and Jussy, to the Moselle at Vaux.

The outposts were very close together in many places, and the danger of the sentries was thus greatly increased; for, while the Germans strictly prohibited their men from firing at small detached parties, the French never permitted an occasion for picking off a German sentry to pass by unimproved. Many of the German sentries were armed with the chassepot, to enable them to cope with the French pickets on equal terms.†

* "Between the first and second line there is only an interval of about a mile. To the front there lie, first, the foreposts, then the *feldwachts*, and lastly the single sentries, within 800 yards of Fort St. Julien. The first line occupies a continuous intrenchment, the continuation of which runs right round Metz. All the villages are roughly fortified by barricades, *chevaux-de-frise*, etc.; holes are broken through all the houses for firing, and, indeed, every village forms a very respectable, if rough and ready, *festung*. The foreposts lie either in single houses, also well fortified by intrenchments and barricades, or in the field behind earthworks of no inconsiderable magnitude. The *feldwachts* (field watchers) chiefly occupy woods or the gardens of *châteaux*."—*Letter from Metz*.

† "The alertness and completeness of the Prussian forepost system is a great feature of the army, and one of the leading causes of its success. At

Meanwhile Marshal Bazaine had found the means of making his situation perfectly known in Paris, where, as has been related, the resolution was formed by the Ministers of sending MacMahon to rescue him. MacMahon's protests having been disregarded, and the march to the northward having been forced upon him, he did his best to act in concert with Bazaine in the difficult task before them. On the 22d, MacMahon received the following dispatch from Bazaine:

"I have been obliged to take up a position near Metz, to give rest to the soldiers and to renew my supplies of provisions and munitions. The enemy is continually increasing around me, and I shall probably take the northern line to join you, and will give you warning if a march can be undertaken without compromising the army."

To this dispatch Bazaine received no reply. Immediately after Gravelotte, Bazaine instituted a close investigation as to the means of subsisting his army, but found that Metz was inadequately provided with stores. Supplies could be obtained to a limited extent in several of the neighboring villages, and on the 26th of August a Council of War decided, "in order to raise the spirits of the troops, to make demonstrations to harass the enemy, and thus to augment the provisions." Preparations were made to carry out this decision,

night the *feldwacht* goes forward to the post occupied during the day by the farthest outlying sentry. Here it breaks right and left into small pickets, leaving a strong nucleus in the centre. The front, at a distance of 200 or 300 yards, is continually traversed by cavalry patrols, who often ride right in among the sleeping Frenchmen, whose system of night vigilance is not at all what it should be. Then there is a pistol shot and round of bootless chasseur firing in the dark—the daring Uhlan dashes out through the red legs, back to his supports. Talking of chassepots, I may mention that the Prussian forepost troops are now extensively armed with these weapons, to enable them to cope on equal terms with the French Tirailleurs. Of the 2nd Battalion of the 4th Regiment seventy-five men are so armed, or rather seventy-five chassepots are in use, and are transferred from *feldwacht* to *feldwacht*, as the changes of guard are made. One whole regiment (the 35th) is armed with the chasseur. This settles the question as to the relative merits of the chasseur and the needle-gun in the eyes of the Prussians. Immediately after the war, I doubt not there will be a general conversion—the operation will not be difficult."—Correspondence of the London *Daily News*.

and on the 28th, a train of thirty-six wagons, protected by a strong escort, and covered by the fire of Fort St. Julien, was sent into the village of Colombey, to bring off a quantity of grain which had been stored there before the arrival of the Germans. The wagons were loaded with the grain and were about to start on their return to Metz, when the German field batteries arrived and opened fire with such accuracy that but fourteen of the wagons succeeded in reaching Metz.

There was no effort to "harass the enemy" in this affair, as the whole of the French plan of operations had been changed by the receipt of the following dispatch from the Emperor, written on the 23d :

"I received your dispatch of the 19th instant at Rheims. I am moving in the direction of Montmedy, and will be on the line of the river Aisne the day after to-morrow. I shall act according to circumstances in trying to come to your assistance."

With the hope of breaking through the German line, and joining the Emperor and MacMahon, Marshal Bazaine resolved to attack the Germans on the 31st of August. Bazaine was ignorant of the difficulties encountered by MacMahon, who was at that moment (August 31st) taking position on the fated field of Sedan, and had resolved to leave nothing undone in his effort to break through the German line. MacMahon ought, according to his calculation (based upon the belief that that Commander possessed an army capable of making the march) to be then between Montmedy and Thionville, and once clear of Metz, Bazaine felt sure he could succeed in meeting him. The army was gotten in readiness, and on the morning of the 31st, a determined attack was made on the Prussian position to the east of Metz, from Colombey to Servigny, the principal fighting being at Servigny, Retonfay, Noisseville, and Poix. These villages were taken and retaken several times, the Germans using the bayonet freely. The French were aided in their attack by a heavy fire from the forts in the direction of the battle-field; but all their efforts were in vain. The Germans held on to their positions

with a determination which nothing could shake, and when the fighting ceased, at eleven o'clock at night, the French had gained no ground.

The next morning, September 1st (the day of Sedan), the battle was renewed, the field being covered by a thick fog. The French directed their principal attacks against Noisseville and Servigny, and, though they displayed great gallantry and enthusiasm, they were, by noon, driven back at all points and pushed through the Bois de Grimont, under the guns of fort St. Julien.

The battle was well delivered by the French commander, and the German victory was the result of hard fighting. The Landwehr men bore a conspicuous part in the engagements under the command of General Von Kummer, proving themselves the equals of the troops of the line. Much of the fighting was at close quarters, and the bayonet was used on both sides. It proved a most efficient weapon in the hands of the Germans, who never failed to carry the positions they attacked with it. The losses on both sides were severe. That of the Germans was 1282 killed and wounded (113 officers) and 1490 missing, making a total of 2772. The French loss was much heavier.

Having failed in his efforts to leave Metz, Marshal Bazaine retired to his entrenched camp around that city, and that his situation might be fully known to the Government, he sent the following dispatches to the Emperor and to the Minister of War. He did not then know that the one was on the eve of captivity, and that the other was paralyzed with dread at his approaching ruin :

METZ, *September 1, 1870.*

TO THE EMPEROR :—It is altogether necessary that the army should know what is going on in Paris, and generally in France. We are without communication with the interior. The strangest reports have been spread by French prisoners who have been sent back by the enemy. These reports are, indeed, of an alarming nature. It is of the greatest importance that you should supply us with instruction and information. We are surrounded by strong forces. I tried, but in vain, to break through the Prussian line yesterday.

Metz, September 1.

TO THE MINISTER OF WAR, PARIS:—After a sortie, executed with all my strength, and which brought on an obstinate fight of two days' duration round Ste. Barbe, we are again intrenched in our camp before Metz, with little ammunition for our field artillery, and lacking meat and biscuits. The town is full of wounded. The sanitary condition is rather bad. Notwithstanding our severe struggle the army preserves its firm spirit. I continue my effort to extricate ourselves. General De Caen is dead. The wounded and sick amount to about 18,000.

In order that these dispatches might not fail to reach their destination, the Marshal sent four different copies by as many messengers, who were charged to bring back the answers if possible in return to Metz. But, he says, "my dispatches remained unanswered, and not one of my messengers (all military) returned. We had no news except that given by the prisoners and the German papers which the parliamentaries left with us. It is remarkable that hardly one of the leading citizens offered during the whole of the siege to be of use to us, and very few, indeed, consented to join the mobilization."

The Germans profited by their hard-earned victory, and increased the strength of their investing line. Frequent outpost encounters occurred, the country around Metz became almost a desert, devastated first by one army and then by the other, and many of the pretty villages which had adorned it before the war, disappeared from the face of the earth. These were the inevitable consequences of war, for the testimony is ample that both sides refrained from inflicting needless suffering upon the people of this region.

Many of the regiments comprising the besieging force were composed of the Landwehr, who had been brought from Germany to replace the thousands lost at the opening of the campaign. These proved themselves good and reliable troops—very different from the French Mobiles—and gave by their conduct emphatic proof of the excellence of the German military system.*

* The correspondent of the *London Daily News* thus speaks of the Landwehr in describing the battle of October 7th: "To the Landwehr must be conceded the honor of the day. They it was who checked the rush of the

Early in the siege, General Von Steinmetz was relieved of the command of the 1st army, and the entire force of the Germans before Metz was placed under Prince Frederick Charles. This able commander did not allow his men to be injured by the siege. The discipline of the army was maintained at the highest point, and the troops were drilled daily in military manœuvres, many of these drills taking place in full sight of the French. The heavy loss in officers from Forbach to Gravelotte made numerous promotions necessary. Many of the new appointees were but imperfectly instructed in their duties, and their seniors were required to give them daily instructions. These instructions took the shape of informal lectures, which are said to have been models of their kind.

The care of the German commanders for the comfort of their men was marked. It extended even to the merest trifles. Says a writer whom we have often quoted: "I was much amused by an item in last night's orders from Prince Frederick Charles's headquarters. It was to the effect that

French advance, by holding the villages till they had not a man who could stand upright and fire the needle-gun. To them also was entrusted the grand final advance which swept the French out of the villages. I have seen the Prussian line soldiers fight before to-day. I saw them clamber up the face of the Spicheren on their hands and knees; I saw them deploy in front of Colombey and Montoy in the battle of the 14th of August; I saw them stand up against the mitrailleuses on the slopes of Gravelotte; and I saw them dash the Frenchmen back inside Sedan on the 1st of September. I have learned to believe that the Prussian line men can do aught that any soldiers in the world can do. But it was not till yesterday that I gauged the calibre of the Landwehr. Were I a general, I should never wish to command better men. Cool in the intrenchments, when they lay calmly in position, picking up the bullets that fell among them—resolute and indomitable in their steady quick march forward, and then irresistible in the final bayonet rush with which they carried the villages—they are troops to delight the heart of a man with a soldierly instinct. Nothing was more observable than the cool manner in which the wounded went to the rear in the general advance—every man depending on himself if he could walk at all, declining the services of assistants to help him out of the fray. Nor were they slight wounds with which these gallant fellows struggled unaided to the rear. One, for instance, to whom I spoke, was shot right through the lungs, and at every step his breath came

whereas an unprincipled rascal of a Hamburg cigar merchant had been selling boxes of cigars to the troops, the upper tier of which consisted of good weeds, while the lower ones were unmitigated trash, the military authorities of any place where this astute gentleman should present himself, were enjoined to lay hold of him and transmit him to Prince Frederick Charles's headquarters at Corny. At such an entry one may smile, but I defy him to refrain from respecting the all-pervading care and watchfulness which takes cognizance of such a matter as this. In such care and watchfulness lies the root of much of the Prussian success. A campaign is not made victorious by dint of fighting alone—how much success depends on efficient organization, even as regards seeming trifles. Another quaint entry in general orders some time ago occurs to me as I write: 'Whereas a gold watch has been found by ———, in the vicinity of Ars-sur-Moselle, the owner may have it, on giving a description, by application to the Etappen Command.'"

As the fall came on, there was much sickness in the German army in consequence of the malarial character of the

panting through the bullet-hole. It might be that he struggled on till he reached the straw in the courtyard of the Château of Amelange, where the doctors were toiling up to their elbows in blood; but I fear his was one of the many bodies that chequered the green fields behind the advance. Gallant fellows as they are, it goes to one's heart to see the Landwehr fight and die. Not like a Linesman can they take their life in their hand and go down into the fray conscious that nobody will hunger because they fall. For every second Landwehr man that fell yesterday there is a widow in the Fatherland now, and, with children of my own around my hearth, my heart swells to think of the number of unconseious orphans made yesterday in the pleasant villages and the quiet plains of Deutschland. Pray God that, fight who may, there may be no more deadly battles in which the Landwehr shall have to take part. Not that, as it seemed to me, they dwelt upon the thought of *frau* and *kinder*. The hairy *kerl*, with the grey in his beard—and who knows how many young birds in his nest?—went straight to the front as boldly as the sprightly young volunteer who had only a girl to weep for him if he should fall. But they are a prayerful people these Germans, and I fancied when the word 'Vorwärts' came sounding through the ranks, that many a man bent his head for a moment into his hand, as if he were entering a church."

country about Metz. Prince Frederick Charles, himself, was an invalid for some time, though he continued to discharge the duties of his command; and in the camps there was considerable sickness. A letter from the camp of the 4th infantry, 2d division, First Corps, on the 23d of October, thus refers to the sickness of the army: "Exclusive of wounded, there are nine per cent. of the investing force in this section of the environment off duty from sickness. The ordinary percentage in war time is five per cent.; the other four per cent. is the result of the hardships; the inevitable consequence of arduous duty and foul weather, which the troops before Metz are now undergoing. It must, however, be remembered, that of this percentage of sick a considerable proportion consists of men suffering from comparatively slight and temporary illness, and who recover in the field Lazarettes without it being necessary to send them back into Germany. From three to four per cent. of the gross total of cases are of this character; the absence from duty of the men averaging from a week to ten days. Here we are on high ground, and comparatively out of the reach of the dank fogs which chill and soften the bones of the men in the valley by the Moselle. In that low-lying district, I am sorry to have to report that the percentage of sickness is greater, reaching as high in some places as fifteen per cent. About the middle of the month, with the change of the weather, there was, as was natural, a sudden increase of sickness; but since then the diminution has been considerable and continuous. Dysentery and rheumatism are the chief diseases. Both have a tendency toward aggravation into fever. The former is prone to assume a typhoid form, the latter becomes aggravated into that terrible infliction, rheumatic fever. In the low-lying district there is also a good deal of that disorder which the German language so expressively designates as *wechsel-fieber*; corresponding to our ague, with its hot and cold fits. This in its turn degenerates into intermittent fever with a propensity to typhus, but quinine profusely administered is potent enough in most cases to ward off this aggravation. I

enter into these details the more readily because I have reason to believe that reports have gone forth to the effect that the Prussian troops around Metz 'are dying like rotten sheep.' Such a statement contains its own refutation to one with eyes in his head. Whether a man dies 'like a rotten sheep,' or like the soldier of a civilized country, he equally demands interment. Burials are very rare in the field Lazarettes, and recent graves in their vicinity equally so. I have had statistics placed at my disposal from which to derive authentic materials for the facts and figures which I have stated ; and on the part of the Prussian authorities there is as little disposition to conceal the truth as to digest the erroneous and haphazard statements, with 'rotten sheep' as their watchword, to which I have alluded."

In Metz matters grew to be very bad after the failure of the sorties of August 31st and September 1st. On the 23d and 24th of September Bazaine made energetic attacks upon the German lines with the intention of cutting his way out with at least a portion of his forces, but on both days he was beaten back within his original lines, losing heavily in killed and wounded. It was noticed by the Germans that he made but little use of his field guns, the principal artillery fire being delivered by the guns of the forts. He was very deficient in ammunition for his field batteries, and found it necessary to economize his stock as much as possible.

On the 7th of October he made his most determined effort to escape from Metz. The supplies of the French army had run so low that it was very plain to the Marshal that unless he could break through the lines of investment, or at least send off a portion of his army successfully, he must yield to starvation at no distant day. Therefore, the order was given to make another attempt to force the German lines. This time the movement was to be made to the northward, along the direct road to Thionville, and if he were successful in escaping from Metz, Bazaine was hopeful that if he could not succeed in reaching Thionville or a position in the open field, he could at least retire into Belgium, and surrender to the

forces of that kingdom, which was preferable to a capitulation to the Prussians.

Collecting a column of 40,000 of his best troops, he massed them in the vicinity of Fort St. Eloy, on the west of the Moselle, and to the north of Metz. With this force, he designed making an effort to break through the position held by the Landwehr of the German army, who occupied the villages of Maxe, Grandes Tapes, Petites Tapes, Ladonchamps, and St. Remy. These villages lie in a valley, or more properly a ravine, extending from Metz to Maizières, through which runs the post road and railway to Thionville, and the river Moselle. This valley is about four English miles in width, and is bounded on each side by heights which were held by the Germans on the 7th. In order to divert attention from this, his main effort, Bazaine directed sharp attacks to be made on Vany, L'Orme, Chieulles, Noisseville, Servigny, Petre, Mercy-le-Haut, and Ars-Laquenexy, covering almost the entire German position on the eastern side of the Moselle. These attacks, he believed, would sufficiently engross the German regulars to prevent them from sending assistance to the Landwehr.

On the morning of the 7th of October, a dense fog hung over the valley of the Moselle, completely hiding every object from view. Under the cover of this friendly mist, Bazaine made his dispositions with skill and promptness, and when the fog lifted at one o'clock, he opened the battle with a sharp cannonade from Forts St. Eloy and St. Julien. Under the cover of this cannonade he made a well executed attack upon the village of Ladonchamps, which was held by an outpost of 100 Landwehrmen. Had these Landwehrmen been simply militia, like the Garde Mobile, as Marshal Bazaine is said to have believed them, the whole movement would have been successful, for there was wanting neither valor nor skill on the part of the French; but the 100 men posted in Ladonchamps refused to yield their ground, and held it with a heroism worthy of all admiration until they were literally crowded out by the overwhelming masses of the French. By this time the German heavy batteries at Sennecourt and Frene-

court, directly to the left of the French, and two other heavy batteries at Amelange, on the French right, had opened on the advancing columns, and from the bluffs across the Moselle, between Olgy and Malroy, the German field guns were pouring a heavy fire into them.

The attack on Ladonchamps was merely a feint, and designed to divert the attention of the Germans from Bazaine's real effort, which was to march up the valley, close to the river, which would protect his right flank from infantry and cavalry. As soon as the village of Ladonchamps was taken, he threw a column of 40,000 veteran troops upon the villages of Grandes and Petites Tapes, St. Remy, and Maxe, and carried them with a rush, in spite of the stubborn resistance of the Landwehr holding St. Remy, who permitted themselves to be annihilated rather than give way.

Having carried the chain of villages across the valley, and having thus secured a footing from which to make his final dash forward, Bazaine threw out heavy lines of skirmishers from Grandes Tapes, to keep the Gerinans occupied, while he massed a column of 30,000 men on the shore of the river, under cover of the houses of Maxe, with orders to break through the German line close to the Moselle, where it was weakest, the Landwehrmen having been drawn off to meet the attack upon the villages, leaving only one brigade to hold this part of the line. The attempt was well made, and for a moment it seemed that the Marshal would be successful.

Fortunately for the Germans, however, Prince Frederick Charles, as soon as satisfied of the importance of the French attack, had ordered the Tenth Corps to march to the assistance of the Landwehr, and this corps had been crossing the Moselle on the pontoon bridge at Amelange, and was now moving to the assistance of its comrades. Its commander, General Von Voights-Rhetz, at once assumed the command of all the forces engaged, being the senior officer present. As soon as he saw the effort of the French to break through by the river, he hurried forward such of his troops as had crossed the bridge to meet them. "It was a sight never to be forgotten. First

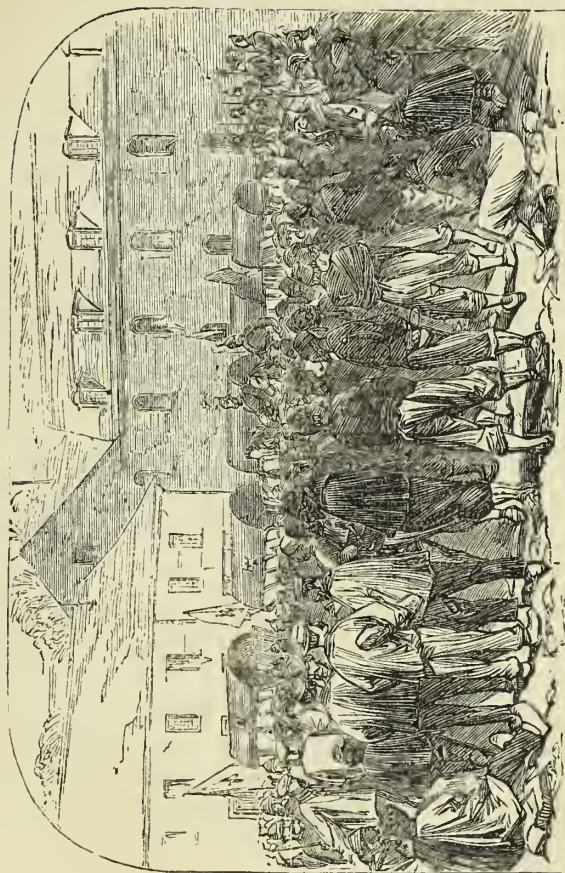
came the Fusiliers, extending at a rapid run into skirmishing order, and covering the whole plain with their long thin lines. Then the dense columns of companies of the Grenadiers, the bands playing, and the colors unfurled—unwonted sight. But all the work was not left for the infantry to do. The artillery left the villages alone, and concentrated their fire on the advancing columns of the French by the Moselle. Bazaine is singularly weak in field artillery, and the only reply was from the sullen sides of St. Julien or from the ramparts of St. Eloy. But the mitrailleuse venomously sounded its angry whirr, making the skirmishers recoil as they crossed the line of fire, and tearing chasms in the front of the solid masses of which they were the forerunners. The artillery and the skirmishers were enough for the French. The dense columns staggered and then broke. They ran helter skelter into the village of Maxe. But when they had once got stone and lime between them and the Prussians, the French were obstinate, and would go no further. In vain the Prussian artillery fired on the villages, advancing closer and closer in alternate order of batteries with a precision and rapidity that could not have been exceeded on parade. That obstinate battery in front of Grandes Tapes would not cease, and the French Tirailleurs still lined the *chaussée* in its front. By this time it was nearly four o'clock."

The German Commander now determined to retake the villages held by the French at all hazards, and four brigades of Landwehr, supported by two brigades of the Tenth Army Corps, were ordered to regain them with the bayonet. These troops advanced, silently and rapidly, in the face of a fire which was simply appalling, until they reached the line from which their comrades had been driven at the opening of the battle. Then with a loud shout of "*Hurrah, Preussen! Vorwärts—immer vorwärts!*" they dashed at the French at a hard run. The French battery in front of Grandes Tapes, which had poured such a severe fire into the German ranks, was abandoned by its gunners, and the whole French line fell back into the villages, where a last stand was made. Into

the villages the Germans poured in heavy masses, bayoneting their enemies, who were beaten back, stubbornly contesting every street and alley-way, and using the mitrailleuse with terrible effect. It was all in vain, however; and when the sun went down on that memorable day, its last rays revealed the broken columns of the French staggering back to their intrenched camps, under the protection of a rapid fire from the forts. The attacks on the other portions of the German line, being intended merely to cover the main effort, were not pressed when the latter had failed.

The battle was won mainly by the excellent fire of the German artillery. On the west side of the Moselle, the heavy batteries were posted on high and commanding ground, and were so located as to sweep with terrible effect the valley through which the French hoped to escape; and the field batteries of the Tenth German Corps, from their position on the heights on the east bank of the river, were enabled to enfilade the French line from one end to the other. No troops in the world could have faced such a fire with such inadequate means of responding to it as the French possessed; and Bazaine deserves no small credit for making even as good a fight as that which we have described—a praise which the German officers readily accorded him. The losses on both sides were severe; but were heavier on the French than on the German side.

The failure of this sortie convinced Marshal Bazaine of the impossibility of breaking through the German lines. The condition of his army was becoming very bad, the men suffering greatly from malarial diseases and from the scurvy. The stock of provisions was running low. On the 11th of October, a deserter entered the German lines, and reported the condition of the army as critical. Subsequent discoveries established the truth of his statement. He said the men were becoming dissatisfied, that they were so much troubled with skin diseases that they could not sleep in their tents with comfort, the odor being so unpleasant. The weather being unfavorable, this exposure to the elements resulted in con-



Deserters from Bazaine's Army at the German Headquarters.

siderable sickness in the camps. The skin disease complained of was chiefly of a scorbutic nature, caused by the absence of salt and vegetables and the almost exclusive living on horseflesh. His own mouth and face were frightfully disfigured by scurvy. He reported that the stock of bread was very low, such as was issued being bad in quality; a teacupful of rice to two men was served out every day; and the meat ration consisted of a small allowance of horseflesh. He said the troops had eaten the horses of several cavalry regiments, and were then eating the artillery horses. This was strictly true as regarded the privates and non-commissioned officers; but the commissioned officers, especially the higher ones, were not so badly off. They had an abundance of food, and of a good quality, while some of the privates starved to death. There were stores of food in the outlying forts for the garrison, and an abundance of provisions in the town; but the citizens of Metz seem to have done their best to keep back their supplies, and as he hoped until the last to save the fortress as apart from the army, Bazaine, it seems, did not feel warranted in taking stores of the forts to feed the army, especially since he knew these could prolong the resistance of his command but a few days at the best.* The wretched

* "Bazaine was under such difficulties at last that he could not help surrendering. The tale of famine was true. Partly, no doubt, the starvation was owing to mismanagement. The officers were abundantly supplied with food, and even with luxuries, while the soldiers were starving. Impartial eye-witnesses have described the condition of many of the private soldiers after the capitulation, and they saw soldiers too weak, from want of food, to be fit for a serious struggle with the German troops. The provisions in the town, if shared equally between the civilians, the garrison, and the army outside, might have enabled Metz to hold out a little longer. The defenders of Metz had by no means arrived at their last crust. They never got near eating their boots, as plenty of determined men when besieged have done before them. But there had been some deaths from sheer starvation, and a commander has always a frightful responsibility to assume when he really drives a large body of civilians as well as soldiers to their last crust."—*Saturday Review*, Nov. 5, 1870, p. 576.

"The editor of *L'Indépendant* (a journal published at Metz) asserts that there was food enough in Metz to support the population for a considerable time longer, and that as a proof that the troops need not have been at star-

mismanagement of the French Commissariat was undoubtedly a cause of a great part of the suffering of the troops; but a certain degree of responsibility must attach to Marshal Bazaine for his neglect to inaugurate a more equitable division of the supplies, and to divide the stores of the forts among the whole force under his command.

Matters having come to such a pass, Marshal Bazaine summoned a Council of War at his headquarters on the 10th of October, for the purpose of deciding upon the proper course to be pursued. The following is the official record of the proceedings of the Council, as published by Marshal Bazaine:

After Marshal Bazaine had reviewed all the culminating points of the situation, he added that in spite of all his efforts to communicate with the capital, no official news from the government has reached him, and nothing has been done to cause a presumption that a diversion by a French army to rescue the army of Metz was on foot. The amount of provisions has decreased to such an extent that by reducing the daily

vation point, the forts were full of provisions. Of this latter fact there can be no doubt. I have myself inspected the provision stores in Fort St. Quentin, and found them capable of maintaining a garrison adequate for the defence of the fort for months at least. But I don't see that any deduction is to be drawn from this that Bazaine has played false to his trust. His policy is explicable enough, viewed in a military light. His cue evidently from the first has been to keep the fortress so as to be able to maintain its resistance. He has made effort after effort to get his army out, and his penultimate proffer to Prince Frederick Charles was to surrender the army and allow the fortress to stand. When this was rejected, *cui bono* was it to deplete the forts to enable the army to hold out longer to no purpose? Thus far on military grounds no one can blame him; but that he has let men starve while he had food anywhere that he could give them, constitutes a very grave moral responsibility. One of the chief of the Prussian medical staff has just told me that, do what he will, he cannot break the French convalescents of their craving for horseflesh. They will eat it, notwithstanding that they are receiving abundant rations of mutton. It is curious that the taste should have so grown upon them. The doctors oppose their eating horseflesh because they think that the entire change of diet will operate as much as anything in effecting a cure.

“From what I can learn, there has been a good deal more of huckstering than patriotism among the civilian population of Metz. There was a reason for the *Émeute* on the evening of the 28th. The wily burghers had been keep-

rations to 300 grammes a day they could last till the 20th of October, including two days of biscuit reserved for the soldiers. The ration of horseflesh might be increased to 600 and later to 750 grammes, horses being considered as lost, seeing the impossibility to feed them. Moreover, the sanitary condition, with 19,000 sick and wounded, and the want of medicaments, beds, lotions, and, above all, medicines, was most dangerous. Every kind of epidemic have manifested themselves in the hospitals, and have already tainted the town. The weakness caused by insufficient nourishment would only augment the illness. Already all the lazarettes were filled, and 2000 sick had to be taken in by the inhabitants, and it was evident that if a greater number of wounded was sent to the town there would be nowhere to put them, and they would threaten the public health. Passing on to the examination of the military situation, they are reviewed in the following questions :

1. Shall the army of Metz hold out until the provisions are exhausted ?
2. Shall expeditions into the neighborhood be made in order to get provisions and forage ?
3. Can we treat with the enemy in a military convention ?
4. Shall the fortune of arms be put to the test to force the enemy's lines ?

The first question was resolved affirmatively : the army under Metz

ing back their stores for a market, while their poorer fellows hungered because of the high prices, and the army starved. Horses were dying daily for the want of forage ; yet the Prussians have found stores of hay and corn stowed away in unlikely places. It is the same with other articles of consumption, and the administration does not seem to have been either strong enough or cunning enough to make everything forthcoming for the common good. Napoleon called us a nation of shopkeepers, but I take leave to doubt whether our shopkeeping idiosyncrasy would have developed itself in such a manner. I cannot help having a quiet chuckle at the *doux* burghers, whose market Bazaine has spoiled. Ye gods, how they hate him for it ! From the newspapers I have already sent you, and the one I now enclose, you may be able to judge how venomously this feeling manifests itself. If you listen to all you hear, you must accept the conclusion that Bazaine is a renegade and traitor of the largest possible calibre. It seems, according to the gossip of the natives, savage that their canny little scheme for putting money in their purses has failed, that Bazaine nourished the design of having himself declared Regent of France, and that he only relinquished this ambitious project for the consideration of a fabulous subsidy, contributed I cannot exactly learn by whom. It is useless to point out to the angry and disappointed cits that on the face of it this is rubbish, and that Bazaine kept his upper lip straight and his face to the foe so long as, and indeed longer than, he had an army capable of fighting, marching, or standing up to be shot down."—Correspondence of the London *Daily News*.

occupying 290,000 of the enemy, and the greatest service it could render would be to give the country time to organize a resistance.

The second was resolved negatively, in consequence of the little hope of finding large resources, and the bad effects which these expeditions, if unsuccessful, would exercise on the soldiers.

The third question was affirmatively resolved, under condition of commencing negotiations within forty-eight hours, so that the enemy could not put them off till the provisions were exhausted. The conditions besides must be honorable. It was therefore decided : First, to hold out under the walls of Metz as long as possible ; second, not to undertake operations, the result of which appeared to be nothing ; third, to negotiate within the space of forty-eight hours with the enemy, at the conclusion of an honorable convention ; fourth, in case the enemy offered conditions incompatible with the military honor, a passage by means of arms should be attempted.

(Signed)

CANROBERT,
LEBŒUF,
DESSAUX,
COFFINIERES,
BAZAINE,

FROSSARD,
ADMIRALTY,
SOLEILLE,
LEBRUN.

In accordance with the resolution of the Council, Marshal Bazaine, with the consent of Prince Frederick Charles, despatched General Napoleon Boyer to the headquarters of the King of Prussia, at Versailles, for the purpose of ascertaining the terms upon which the surrender of the army of the Rhine would be accepted. He left Metz at once, and proceeding to Versailles endeavored to effect an arrangement which would save either the army or the fortress to France, but was informed that the surrender must be unconditional. With this answer he returned to Metz.

Previous to this, Marshal Bazaine had begun secret negotiations with the Prussian Prime Minister for the termination of the war. Sincerely attached to the Emperor, and refusing to recognize the Republic as the legitimate Government of France, he hoped to be able to effect an arrangement which would not only terminate the war, but restore the Emperor to his throne, or at least reëstablish the Empire with the Empress as Regent. The facts of his transactions with Count Bismarck and with the Empress Eugenie, are still but imperfectly known. They were purposely enshrouded in mystery.

by all the parties concerned, at the time of their occurrence, and are still so uncertain that we enter upon the subject with hesitation.

From what has been made known, it seems that about the middle of September, a personage whose name is still in doubt, presented himself at the headquarters of King William, with a scheme for bringing about an understanding between Marshal Bazaine and the Empress Eugenie, on the one hand, and the King of Prussia, on the other. The proposition was that the King should enter into a treaty of peace with the Government of the Regency, or that which existed in Paris previous to the 4th of September, the proposed treaty to be negotiated upon the basis of a cession of Alsace and Lorraine to Germany. Upon the conclusion of the preliminaries, the Empress was to return to France, and, under the protection of the army of Marshal Bazaine, which, after surrendering Metz to the Germans, was to be allowed to retain its arms and baggage, was to proceed to restore the Imperial authority in France. King William and Count Bismarck had, before this, proclaimed their readiness to treat for peace with any Government possessing the power to make a treaty binding, and the King had openly declared that he regarded the Regency as the only Government *de jure* possessed by France. Therefore, when the proposition we have stated was laid before them, both the King and his Minister approved it, upon the single condition that the part taken by Count Bismarck in bringing about the arrangement would be kept secret in order to avoid giving offence to the French people. Whether this proposal originated with Marshal Bazaine, with Count Bismarck, or with the mysterious gentleman referred to, is uncertain ; * but it appears that Monsieur N., as the mysterious individual was termed at the time, was given by Count Bismarck permission to enter Metz and leave

* The reader is reminded that the whole transaction is still so shrouded in mystery, that nothing is related here as positively certain. We simply present the *most probable* version of the story, leaving the future to make all
vin.

it again "with one companion." This companion, it was understood, was to be an officer in the confidence of Marshal Bazaine, who should at once proceed to England and obtain the consent of the Empress to the scheme, of which she was yet ignorant.

Monsieur N., armed with the consent of the Prussian Chancellor, was allowed to enter Metz. Whether Marshal Bazaine was previously informed of the plan is uncertain, but it appears that upon learning the result of Monsieur N.'s interview with the Prussian authorities, he decided to send General Bourbaki, the Commander of the Imperial Guard, an officer thoroughly devoted to and highly esteemed by the Imperial family, to the retreat of the Empress at Chiselhurst, in England, to win her consent to the scheme. In order to give a valid excuse for Bourbaki's absence, and at the same time to give the General a justification for his journey, if unsuccessful, he issued the following order, upon the receipt of which Bourbaki left Metz with Monsieur N. :

"The Empress Regent, having manifested a desire to have an interview with General Bourbaki, this officer is commanded to make his way to the side of her Majesty."

From Metz, Bourbaki proceeded to England with all speed, and presented himself before the astonished Empress. Upon hearing the message with which he was charged, the Empress informed General Bourbaki of her disapprobation of the entire plan. The General was commanded to return with this answer, which he was to communicate to Marshal Bazaine. In order to quiet suspicion, Bourbaki sought the intervention of the English Government, and at the request of the Queen of Great Britain, permission was granted him by the Prussians to reënter Metz. He was obliged, however, to send his report to Bazaine from the Prussian headquarters, permission to reënter the city being denied him. He then withdrew to Belgium, whence he repaired to Tours, and was given a command by the Provisional Government.

Meanwhile, Bazaine, fearing the failure of the scheme, had spared no effort to break through the German line, as the

sortie of October 7th proves. It is said that when General Boyer was sent to Versailles, he went secretly charged with the task of gaining King William's consent to a renewal of the effort to win over the Empress, his ostensible mission being to endeavor to procure favorable terms for the army. Upon his return to Metz, Bazaine states that it was resolved "by seven voices against two that the General should return to Versailles, and from thence go to England in the hope of obtaining through the intervention of the Government of the Regency less hard conditions." The real object of Boyer's journey it is alleged was to urge the Empress to accept the plan proposed to her through Bourbaki.

Proceeding to the headquarters of Prince Frederick Charles, under flag of truce, General Boyer was forwarded by that commander to Versailles. Here he was received by Count Bismarck, and it is asserted that after the interview which followed, General Boyer sent a letter into Paris, under flag of truce, to General Trochu. At the end of two days, it is further asserted, two officers arrived at Versailles from Paris, under flag of truce. These officers, it is said, bore the answer of General Trochu. A consultation between themselves, Bismarck and Boyer, followed. It is intimated that Boyer communicated the scheme to Trochu, who gave his adhesion to it upon certain conditions.

General Boyer at once departed for England, arriving in London on the 21st of October. Here, it is said, he had an interview with the English Premier, Lord Granville, to whom he revealed the scheme. On the 22d, it is said, he went to Chiselmurst, where he used every argument he was master of, to induce the Empress to consent to the scheme proposed to her. On the 23d, her Majesty went to London, where she saw General Boyer again, and was visited by Earl Granville, who, having been in communication with the Ministers from Prussia, Austria, and Russia, urged her to accept the proposals of Bazaine and Bismarck. The Empress was firm, however. She declared that she loved France more than she loved power, and that she would never consent to regain her throne at the

cost of one inch of French territory, and she intimated that the Emperor was in thorough sympathy with her in this decision. Neither would consent to humiliate their country in order to regain their crowns.

This answer made further negotiations impossible. Boyer at once left England, and reported his failure to Count Bismarck. Marshal Bazaine was apprised of it by a message from Prince Frederick Charles.

Time will doubtless show how much of the above story is true, and how much false; but there can be little doubt of the fact that negotiations similar to those mentioned above, were carried on with the Empress by Bazaine, with the knowledge and approval of Count Bismarck, but it seems hardly probable that General Trochu was privy to the arrangement.*

* The attention of the reader is called to the following articles :

"We are in a position fully to confirm the information that certain negotiations were on foot between the German headquarters at Versailles and the ex-Empress of the French at Chiselmhurst. Those negotiations took their origin in certain proposals exchanged between Marshal Bazaine at Metz and the Prussian camp—proposals which, since they bore an important reference to political as distinct from military affairs, were naturally sent on, along with their bearer, General Boyer, to the King's headquarters. The proposals, and, if we are not misinformed, also the discussions upon them which took place between Count Bismarck and Bazaine's envoy, involved the plan of bringing about the return of the ex-Empress Eugenie to France to resume the functions of the Regency; at least to such an extent that she might, in the name of the *de jure* Government of the country, conduct or sanction the arrangements for peace that might be made with the Germans. But it is only just to state that, as we understand, the propositions which General Boyer bore to Versailles, and which were there the subject of deliberation, were made without prejudice to any ulterior arrangements that might be contemplated as to the future regulation of the internal government of France. As we have already announced, the envoy who came to England was charged to lay before Her Majesty the proposals put forward at Metz, and discussed—if not even so far approved—at the Royal headquarters; and not only so, but he was authorized to suggest the immediate departure of the ex-Empress for Versailles, where the scheme for the bringing about of peace might secure more full and more instantly effective execution. It is not improbable that even when we write the august lady may have already quitted England; but it is of course impossible to state exactly what influence the armistice proposals of Lord Granville, abruptly intervening while another method for settlement was actually in the stage of discussion, may have upon the plans propounded origi-

Be this as it may, Bazaine, on the 25th of October, informed the Council of War that all negotiations looking to the saving of the army had failed. It was resolved to send General Changarnier to the Prussian headquarters before Metz, to ask either an armistice, with the privilege of revictualling the city, or for permission for the army to leave Metz and depart immediately for Algeria, leaving the fortress and garrison intact.

General Changarnier was received by Prince Frederick Charles, at his headquarters at Frascati, with the respect due to his rank and character, but his request that the army of the Rhine and the fortress of Metz should be regarded as separate was denied, the German Commander declining to

nally from Metz. One thing, at least, may be confidently expected—that the action on which the English Government has entered will be limited to impressing on the belligerents the wisdom of terminating the war at its present stage. It is not our business—nor might it be welcome to either power—if we went into any discussion either of the terms on which armistice or peace should be concluded, or of the political arrangements in France which are to precede or flow from the negotiations for peace. If, yielding to the counsel of the neutrals and the urgent pressure of cruel facts, the belligerent nations only consent to consider in common whether, and on what conditions, it is possible to make peace, the object of our intervention will have been gained. And, looking at matters from that point, much has been already won in the mere fact that M. Thiers—as representing France, rather than any of her extreme parties or her governments of exigency—will forthwith have interviews with Count Bismarck, in order, by a frank interchange of views, to ascertain whether a more formal negotiation would have any prospect of good results.”
—From the *London Telegraph*, October 25, 1870.

“Our special correspondent, writing from Frankfort, confirms intelligence received from other quarters, that ‘from one end of Germany to the other a cry of discontent is arising’ at the unexpected and trying prolongation of the war. These facts seem to explain the extraordinary negotiations attempted with Marshal Bazaine. It has always been said that Marshal Bazaine continued to hold Metz as an officer of the Empire, without recognizing the revolution, which has been accepted by France. Marshal Bazaine has accordingly negotiated with Germany independently of, and even in opposition to, the Republican Government. It may be remembered that it was declared immediately after the capitulation of Sedan, that Germany would recognize any government which would accede to her terms. The Chancellor has never formally abandoned this position. Hence a wonderful scheme has been devised. Let the Empress return to Versailles, or some part of France in possession of the German armies, and, in the assumed discharge of her

treat with him in any way, as he was not a regular member of the army.

Nothing now remained to Bazaine but a formal offer to surrender. This he made through his chief of staff, General Jarras. A conference was appointed at the German headquarters. The German forces were represented by General Stiehle and General Count Watersleben, the first chief of staff to Prince Frederick Charles, and the latter chief of staff of the 1st army. The French were represented by General Jarras, chief of staff to Marshal Bazaine, and Major Samuel, on the part of General Coffinières, commanding the fortress of Metz. These commissioners met, for the first time, on the 27th of October. The meeting was a stormy one at first on the part of the French officers, but they gradu-

functions as Regent, sign a treaty of peace ceding Alsace and Lorraine simultaneously with the surrender of Metz by Bazaine. The Germans having taken Strasbourg and Metz, and obtained a nominal cession of Alsace and Lorraine, might then proceed to tighten their hold on the provinces, while Marshal Bazaine and his forces, under parole not to fight against Germany, would pass over to the Empress and assist in re-establishing the Empire, all that portion of the country occupied by German forces being delivered to them, and some limited assistance perhaps promised to the reduction of the rest. Nothing could be neater than this scheme on paper. But two circumstances were fatal to the success of the plan. The army at Metz was willing enough to fight under the Marshal against Germany without caring what regime he professed to serve—the constitution of France could be discussed and settled after the enemy were driven out—but it was by no means willing to fight against Frenchmen for the restoration of the Empire. Nor could the co-operation of the Empress be secured. It would have been degrading to accept a throne under such circumstances, and it would not, after all, have been regained. The hope that France will ever again take back the Napoleon dynasty is slender indeed, but Prussian patronage would have utterly destroyed it. The plan was as clear as a problem of chess, only it forgot that men, and not pawns, were to be moved about at the fancy of the player.

“This remarkable scheme, which, revealed in parts, seems now as a whole to be tolerably well ascertained, is practically important only as showing how clearly Count Bismarck sees the growing difficulties of the contest. The military obstacles are considerable; winter is a grievous drawback; disease is active; but the worst part of the prospect consists in the danger of having to fight with a Jacquerie throughout France.”—From the *London Times*, October 26, 1870.

ally accepted the German view of the situation. The first difficulty was concerning the retention of their side-arms by the officers, on which Marshal Bazaine insisted, and to which Prince Frederick Charles objected. This was referred to the King, and conceded by his Majesty, in a dispatch received at 3 A. M. on Thursday morning, the 28th. The Conference was suspended on the night of the 27th, to await the King's reply, and, at the meeting on the morning of the 28th, the following terms of capitulation were definitely agreed upon, and were signed by Generals Stiehle and Jarras:

First. The French army under General Bazaine, including 3 marshals of France, 66 generals, 6000 officers, and 173,000 men, are declared prisoners of war.

Second. The fortress and town of Metz, with the forts and munitions of war, provisions, and everything else found in the place which may be the property of the State of France, shall be given up to the German army, and delivered in the condition in which it was found the first day of the capitulation.

Third. On the Saturday next following, at midday, the forts at St. Quentin, Plappeville, and the remaining forts and fort Moselle, shall be surrendered to the German troops.

Fourth. At the hour of ten o'clock, the same day, Prussian officers of the artillery and engineer corps shall be admitted into all the forts, in order that they may take possession of, and occupy the magazines, and draw all charges from the mines.

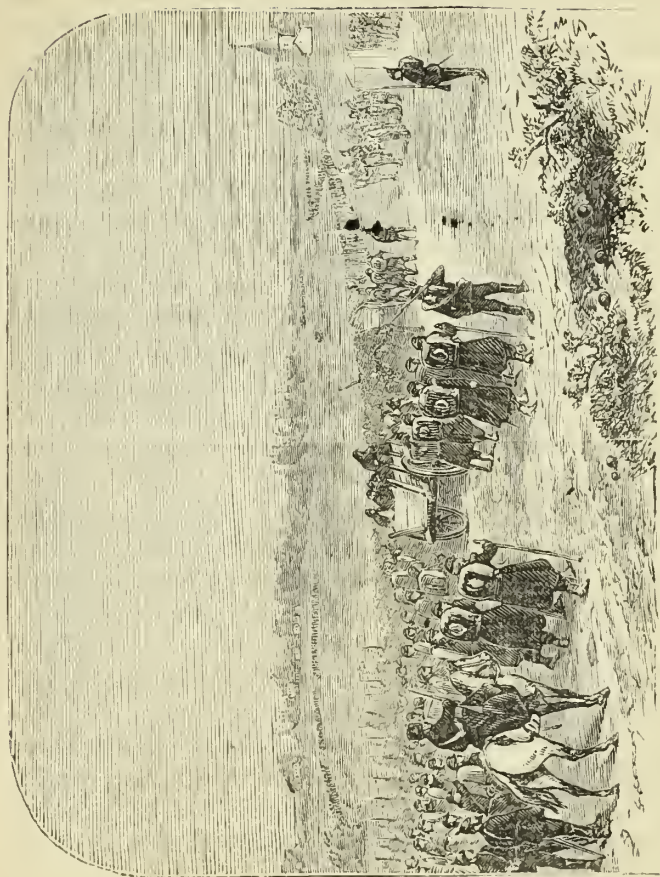
Fifth. The French arms, all army material, flags, eagles, canons, mitrailleuses, fourgon, and ammunition and artillery equipages left at Metz and in the forts under military commission of France, to be given immediately to the German commissioners.

Sixth. The French troops in Metz, after surrender, to be conducted, without arms, by regiments or regimental corps, in military order, to some fixed place, to be indicated by the Prussians.

Seventh. The French officers in command of the men, after their arrival at this fixed place, to be at liberty to return to the intrenched camps, or to Metz, on giving their word of honor not to quit either place without an order of permission from the German commandant.

Eighth. The troops after surrender to be marched to bivouacs, the French soldiers retaining their personal effects, cooking utensils, and so forth.

Ninth. All the French generals and other officers, with military employes who rank as commissioned officers, and who engage by written promise not to bear arms against Germany, and not to agitate against



The Surrender of Metz—The Army of Bazaine Marching out of the Fortifications.
Engraved by the C. A.

Prussian interests during the war, not to be made prisoners of war, but be permitted to retain their arms and to have their personal property in recognition of the courage displayed by them during the campaign.

Tenth. The French military surgeons will remain in the fortress to take charge of the wounded. They will be treated according to the rules of the Convention of Geneva, and considered as being attached to the hospitals of Prussia.

Eleventh. All questions of detail, such as concern the commercial rights of the town of Metz, and the interests and rights of civilians and non-combatants, will be considered and treated subsequently in an appendix to the military paper of capitulation.

Twelfth. Any clause, sentence, or word used in the present draft of arrangement, the reading of which may present a doubt as to its exact meaning, shall be interpreted hereafter in favor of the people of France.

The strength of the French army at the time of the surrender being given in the above capitulation, it only remains to add that there were surrendered with it, together with the fortress of Metz, 800 siege guns, 541 field guns, 66 mitrailleuses, 300,000 rifles and sabres, 2000 military carriages, and 53 eagles. Large stores of ammunition were also given up to the Germans.

At noon, on the 29th of October, each of the outlying forts of Metz was occupied by two battalions of German infantry, a squadron of cavalry, one heavy battery without tumbrils, 100 artillerymen with the complement of officers, and an engineer detachment. At the same hour two of the city gates, the Portes Serpenoise and Moselle, were occupied each by a battalion from the Seventh German Corps.

A little later the French army marched out to the localities designated by the Germans, and yielded themselves prisoners of war. All the troops, except the Imperial Guard, laid down their arms in the intrenched camp, before entering the Prussian lines. The Imperial Guard were accorded the honor of marching in review past Prince Frederick Charles, and laying down their arms at Frascati.

A writer, who witnessed the surrender, thus describes the French troops as they marched out to the bivouacs assigned them :

“The men were in a very miserable state, covered with

mud, wet—sodden seemingly, indeed, through and through with wet—many of their faces blotched and scabbed with scurvy, and quite one-third in a state of drunkenness. Not a few were in a state of bestial drunkenness, their clothes disarranged, and decency utterly disregarded. A little further on, and right and left, lay the great bivouac before fort Belle Croix. The troops were being collected by their officers in *peloton* previously to being marched out, and several columns were already converging on the great *chaussée*. As each body got the order to go forward, a cheer came from the slovenly and dislocated ranks, and from the columns on the march there broke out at intervals a fitful chorus of some lively marching song. Most of the officers were grave, taciturn, and downcast. Surely they must have despised the reckless throng which they nominally commanded. The demoralization of the Metz army is not so great as was that of the Sedan army, but it is very great. The men obey their officers and regard the sound of the bugle after a fashion, but it is evident that they are utterly unaffected by the catastrophe which has befallen the arms of their country, and are eager only to get somewhere where a full meal of victuals awaits them. Poor wretches! after all, it is not fair to be too severe on their disorganization. How near actual starvation they had come to before their leader would give up the game I shall narrate before I conclude this letter."

At four o'clock, on the afternoon of the 29th, the city of Metz was occupied by the Germans. General Von Kummer, the commander of the Landwehr troops, was appointed Military Governor of Metz, and General Von Zastrow was charged with the arrangements for the removal of the prisoners to Germany. These were sent off by railway as rapidly as possible. The officers were sent to Germany, but allowed to choose their place of residence, if able to provide for themselves.

The citizens of Metz were violently excited when the news of Bazaine's intention to surrender was made known to them, for in all its history Metz had never been occupied by a hos-

tile foe. It was its boast that it was a "virgin fortress." Crowds of citizens thronged the streets, demanding vengeance upon Bazaine and Coffinières. On the afternoon of the 28th, the National Guard of Metz declared they would not surrender their arms. The Republic was proclaimed by them, a crowd collected on the Place d'Armes, the tocsin was sounded from the Cathedral bell, and several shots were fired. An officer of the Imperial Guard chanced to be passing, and he was seized and forced to carry the Republican flag by two men who held pistols to his head. There was serious danger of a troublesome riot, but, fortunately, the Mayor of the city informed the mob that if there was any further disturbance, he would call on the Prussians to restore order. The threat acted like magic. The valorous Republicans, who had taken such good care to do nothing for the defence of their city, calmed down wonderfully, and confined themselves to shouting "Vive la Republique," and demanding "Bazaine's life blood," till they were hoarse. Then they dispersed.

Marshal Bazaine left Metz on the 29th for Cassel, in Germany, all the French generals being sent to that place. As he passed by Metz, his carriage was surrounded by crowds of women and men, with cries of "Traitor!" "Coward!" "Brigand!" They broke the windows of the carriage, and would have laid violent hands on the Marshal had not the Prussian escort prevented them.

Bazaine was no coward, however, neither was he a traitor. We shall in another place discuss the effect of the fall of Metz upon the state of affairs in France, and here must content ourselves with a brief statement of the facts which justify his surrender of his army and the "virgin fortress."*

* General Changarnier expressed himself thus respecting the surrender: "There was no treachery. Bazaine did not sell himself to the enemy. He had no need of money. His work was far from being an act of treason to France. *Mon Dieu!* There was no treachery; it was absolute necessity. Bazaine was driven into Metz on the 19th of August. He could have escaped soon after had he marched boldly out with his entire army during the thirteen remaining days of the month of thirty days to September 1st, and for

There was a time, as we have shown, when Bazaine could have saved his army by a retreat from Metz; but that time was before the concentration of the German forces west of the Moselle. The first error of the Marshal consisted in his falling into the trap set for him by Von Moltke at Courcelles on the 14th of August. The French commander should have

fifteen days of October. This is an absolute certainty. Any man possessing a sound knowledge of military affairs will tell you the same thing. Look at the facts. There were fifty-eight days elapsed with Bazaine shut up in the strongest fortress of France, where her 150,000 of the bravest and most experienced soldiers could merely exist. Once in the field with such an army, there would be no more Sedan. Sedan was made notorious for this—that the troops insulted their officers; were insubordinate, as well as inefficient. What sort of an army is that? Look, however, sir, in Metz; the soldiers remained entirely obedient to orders. Every order was executed on delivery. They did not have in Metz another army—an army of ‘Reds’ and radical republicans.

“But,” continued the General, “Bazaine was selfish. He wanted to be a hero. Imagining that peace would be concluded, he thought that the world at large would say, ‘Bazaine held Metz after France had dropped stronghold after stronghold into the hands of the enemy.’ During the last ten days of the investment of Metz, French sorties had been rendered impossible. No attack on the Prussians, no attempt at escape, could be made. Bazaine had really no artillery, no cavalry mounted, and only, in fact, 60,000 infantry. He could do nothing against these three branches of the Prussian service in force and well equipped.

“Bazaine at the surrender had 135,000 men. Of these there were 25,000 disabled by wounds, and 10,000 laid up with sickness of different forms. The cavalry and artillery were useless—there were no horses to render them available. Bazaine was thus reduced to 60,000 infantry. There you have it, sir. Were we not in a bad state at the moment of the capitulation? *Mon Dieu!* All our fine horses had been eaten up. Our bread and breadstuffs were gone. We had no salt. Horseflesh, monsieur, is not bad as an article of food when it is eaten with bread and salt, and when the animal had been in good condition and fat before slaughter; but our horses in Metz were not fat, and we had neither bread nor salt. The taste of the horse meat was horrible. Could troops thus fed stand well in any great battle? The world must have reason, sir. You must understand, do not forget, that during the last ten days of the Prussian investment, the soldiers of France walked in mud deep enough to reach almost to their knees. The heavy rains and sheer starvation forced us to surrender. But, as I have told you, there were fifty-eight days when Bazaine could have taken this fine army out and saved France. How unhappy!”

declined the challenge thrown down to him by Steinmetz, and, so far from sending back Ladmirault's corps to assist Decaen, should have retired within the defences of Metz, crossed the Moselle under their protection, and have made for Chalons with all speed. Even after fighting at Courcelles, the retreat should have been pressed vigorously that night; but, as we have seen, the tardiness of the French allowed Von Moltke to concentrate his forces on the west side of the Moselle. A struggle for possession of the roads to Verdun then became inevitable, and in this the superior discipline and efficiency of the German troops told fatally against the French. Brilliant and masterly though the German movements were, there can be no question that Bazaine's failure to profit by his opportunity to escape, greatly simplified Von Moltke's task. Bazaine seems to have attached an undue importance to the fortress of Metz. That fortress would have required a strong force to blockade it, and would have been of more service to France if defended simply by its garrison than if held by the army of the Rhine. Bazaine should have retreated upon Chalons before the 16th at any cost. Had he reached that camp with half of his army, with the loss of his artillery and trains, it would have been better than the actual events proved. He would have added nearly 100,000 veteran troops (supposing half of his force to have been cut off, or destroyed, which was not likely) to MacMahon's army; the march of MacMahon to the northward, and the disaster at Sedan would have been avoided; and a strong resistance could have been offered the Germans between Chalons and Paris.

The fighting of the French at Vionville and Gravelotte was such as to command the admiration of their enemies, but it accomplished nothing. Von Moltke succeeded in his design of compelling Bazaine to remain at Metz. After the investment began, on the 22d of August, it was not possible for the French to break out at any point of the German line. We have endeavored to do full justice to the gallantry of the French troops, but we cannot accord them more than is their due. Although the French force was very nearly equal to

the investing army, it was no match for it. It does seem astounding that 173,000 veteran French troops should be unable to break up an investment maintained by a force but very little superior to them ; but such is the fact. It was not in the power of Bazaine to break Frederick Charles' line. He tried it manfully on the 31st of August, the 1st of September, and the 7th of October, and had success been possible, it would have been his. It was not possible, however, and the reason is that, man for man, the Germans were more than a match for the French. Nowhere was this more evident than at Metz.

Escape being impossible, the surrender of the place was merely a question of time ; but time, it is true, was precious to the cause of France. We are not among those who believe that a prolongation of the siege would have changed the course of affairs on the Seine and on the Loire, but the moral effect of the surrender was unquestionably great. Bazaine's first duty was to his army. He was but imperfectly informed as to the course of affairs in other parts of France, and such news as was furnished him by the German Commander was not of a character to cheer him. The Republican Government had left him entirely to his own resources. It had made no effort to send one man to his relief. All its efforts was towards another quarter. The sufferings of the army were growing greater every day, famine was setting in, sickness was becoming more general, the troops were gradually growing demoralized, and the winter was at hand. The small stock of stores in the forts and the city would have prolonged the defence but a few days longer. Left to himself, satisfied that the Republic could not do anything for his assistance, and having failed in all his efforts to save the army, there was nothing left to Bazaine but a capitulation on the most favorable terms he could secure. Had there been the slightest hope that an effort would be made to relieve him, or had he been properly informed of the attempt that was so soon to be made to raise the siege of Paris, we are fully warranted in believing that Marshal Bazaine would have held out at Metz

until absolutely starved into a surrender. He was left to himself, without advices and without hope; and being satisfied that further resistance would be simply further misery for the brave men who had followed him, he yielded to the inevitable necessity, and surrendered his army; and in doing so he acted wisely.*

Throughout France, Bazaine was branded as a traitor. The Provisional Government fiercely denounced him. During the whole war, the French seemed utterly incapable of understanding that the disasters which befel them were attributable to the defects of their military system, and absurdly attributed every reverse to treachery on the part of the officer in command. Thus, at Sedan, they said, the Emperor betrayed the army, and at Metz they said Bazaine did likewise. The

* Bazaine issued the following order announcing the surrender to the army:

GENERAL ORDER NO. 12.

"To the Army of the Rhine :

"Conquered by famine, we are compelled to submit to the laws of war by constituting ourselves prisoners. At various epochs in our military history brave troops, commanded by Massena, Kleber, Gouvion St. Cyr, have experienced the same fate which does not in any way tarnish military honor, when, like you, their duty has been so gloriously accomplished to the extremity of human limits.

"All that was loyally possible to be done in order to avoid this end has been attempted and could not succeed.

"As to renewing a supreme attempt to break through the fortified lines of the enemy, in spite of your gallantry and the sacrifice of thousands of lives, which may still be useful to the country, it would have been unavailing, on account of the armament and of the overwhelming forces which guard and support those lines; a disaster would have been the consequence.

"Let us be dignified in adversity; let us respect the honorable conventions that have been stipulated, if we wish to be respected as we deserve to be. Let us, above all, for the reputation of our army, shun acts of indiscipline, such as destruction of arms and material, since, according to military usages, places and armament will be restored to France when peace is signed.

"In leaving the command I make it a duty to express to generals, officers, and soldiers all my gratitude for their loyal co-operation, their brilliant valor on the battle-field, their resignation in privations, and it is with broken heart that I separate from you.

"The Marshal of France, Commander-in-Chief.

(Signed)

"BAZAINE."

Provisional Government charged that Bazaine had "made himself the agent of the Man of Sedan and the accomplice of the invader." * History will do justice to Marshal Bazaine, however, and its verdict will outlive the passionate denunciations of the Provisional Government. It will record the facts that while Favre, Gambetta, and their colleagues were refus-

* The following is the proclamation of the moveable Government at Tours, announcing the surrender to the people :

"LIBERTY—EQUALITY—FRATERNITY.

"PROCLAMATION TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

FRENCHMEN :—Raise your spirits and resolution to the fearful height of the perils which have broken upon the country. It still depends on us to mount above misfortune and show the world how great a people may be who are resolved not to perish, and whose courage increases in the midst of calamity.

"Metz has capitulated. A General, upon whom France counted, even after Mexico, has just taken away (*vient d'enlever*) from the country in its danger more than 100,000 of its defenders. Marshal Bazaine has betrayed us. He has made himself the agent of the Man of Sedan and the accomplice of the invader; and, regardless of the honor of the army of which he had charge, he has surrendered, without even making a last effort, 120,000 fighting men, 20,000 wounded, guns, cannon, colors, and the strongest citadel of France—Metz-Virgen; but for him, to the contamination of the foreigner, such a crime is above even the punishments of Justice!

"In the disasters of the country in less than five months 250,000 men have been delivered over to the enemy, a sinister sequel to the military *coup de main* of December.

"It is time for us to reassert ourselves, citizens, and under the ægis of the Republic, which we have determined not to allow to capitulate, within or without, to seek, in the extremity even of our misfortune, the renovation of our political and social morality and manhood.

"However tried by disaster, let us be found neither panic-stricken nor hesitating. No illusion is now left. Let us no longer languish or grow weak, and let us prove by our acts that we can ourselves maintain honor, independence, integrity—all that makes a country proud and free.

"Long live the Republic, one and indivisible!

"CREMIEUX,

"GLAIS-BAZOIN,

"GAMBETTA."

Gambetta issued the following proclamations to the army and to the Prefects of Departments :

"SOLDIERS :—You have betrayed no dishonor. During three months, fortune has been unfavorable to you, owing to incapacity and treachery. You

ing to sustain the Government of the Empress—the only one which France possessed—but harassed, perplexed, and weakened it at every step. Marshal Bazaine was in the field doing his duty loyally, and trying with patriotic bravery to beat back the invader from French soil. It will record that while these men were seeking place and power for themselves, and doing their best to plunge France into a civil war, Bazaine and his brave troops were trying to recover from the terrible blows which had been dealt them on the 31st of August and 1st of September. It will record that while the movements of these men were always such as would extend their power and benefit themselves, Bazaine was loyally seeking to do his full duty as a Marshal of France. It will brand as false the charge that he surrendered without making a last effort to escape, and it will make plain the fact that he

are now rid of unworthy chiefs. If you are prepared under proper guidance to wipe away outrage, forward! You no longer struggle for a despot, but for a country, for houses burned, for families outraged. France is delivered up to the fury of an implacable enemy. You have a sublime mission, requiring every sacrifice, to shame the calumniators who render the army responsible for infamy. Your chiefs having justly incurred the stigma of treason at Sedan and crime at Metz, I tell you to avenge your honor, which is that of France. Your brothers in the Army of the Rhine already protest against the cowardly *attentat*, and withdraw from the accursed capitulation. It is for you to raise the standard of France, soiled by the last Bonaparte and his accomplices, and recall victory. But practise republican virtues—discipline, activity, and contempt for death. Bear in mind the danger of the country. The time of treachery and weakness is past. The destiny of the country is confirmed, you having restored France to serenity. Then be free and peaceful citizens of the Republic.

GAMBETTA."

"TOURS, October 28, 1870.

"*To the Prefects of Departments:* ,

"I have received from all sides grave reports, the veracity of which, in spite of all efforts, I cannot establish officially. It is said that Metz has capitulated. If so, it is well that you have the opinion of the Government on the matter. Such an event could but be the result of a crime, the authors of which should be outlawed. Be convinced that, whatever may arise, nothing can abate our courage in this epoch of rascally capitulations. *There exists one thing which neither can nor will capitulate, that is the French Republic.*

"GAMBETTA, Minister of the Interior."

was willing to sacrifice himself rather than needlessly prolong the sufferings of the men who had followed him so gallantly, though unsuccessfully.

Throughout Germany the rejoicings over the fall of Metz were very great, but they were fully warranted by the magnitude of the capture. The strongest fortress and the largest regular army of France were prizes such as had never been taken before, and Germany might well be proud of her triumph.

King William took advantage of the occasion to bestow upon his son, Crown Prince Fritz, and his nephew, Frederick Charles, a suitable reward for their services during the campaign. On the 28th of October he conferred upon both Princes the rank of Field-Marshal.* He announced the well deserved honor to the army in the following address :

VERSAILLES, *October 28th, 1870.*

SOLDIERS OF THE CONFEDERATE ARMIES : When, three months since, we took the field, I said God would be with our just cause. That this confidence has been fully realized—witness Woerth, Saarbrück, Metz,

* In communicating his promotion to the Crown Prince, the King addressed him the following letter :

“VERSAILLES, *Oct. 28, 1870.*

“The capitulation of the army of Marshal Bazaine and the fortress of Metz forms an important epoch in the war, as both the armies opposed last July to the united forces of Prussia and Germany, in this bloody conflict which we most assuredly did not provoke, have now fallen into our hands, and I am therefore impelled to mark the whole importance of the event by an act of special significance.

“You have played a most important part in the execution of our task, as you commenced the campaign by two victories which followed closely on each other ; by your strategical advance, you then covered the left flank of the chief army, so that it could securely advance to defeat the army of Bazaine ; you then united your forces to those of the great army, to take part in the operations against Sedan, and assist in gaining our great success there ; and you have now, after some fighting, completed the investment of Paris. All this shows you to be a great and successful general ; you have merited the highest military rank, and I therefore nominate you Field-Marshal General. It is the first time that such a distinction has been conferred on a prince of our house, and I have also granted it to Prince Frederick Charles. But the successes hitherto gained in this campaign are so great in themselves, and so important in their consequences, as to be unparalleled, and I

Sedan, Beaumont, Strasbourg—each a victory for our arms. To you belong the merit and the glory. You have maintained all the virtues which especially distinguish soldiers. With Metz, the last army of the enemy is destroyed. I take this opportunity to thank you all, from the general to the soldier. Whatever the future, I look forward to it eamly, because I know that with such soldiers victory cannot fail. I honor you all to-day, by appointing as Field-Marschals my son, the Crown Prince of Prussia, and Prince Frederick Charles, who have repeatedly led you to victory.

WILLIAM.

The fall of Metz released for service elsewhere the army which had been engaged in investing the fortress. As soon as its fall was accomplished Prince Frederick Charles lost no time in carrying out the disposition of his forces ordered by the King. The Second Corps was sent direct to Paris to reinforce the besieging armies; the Seventh Corps was detailed to garrison Metz, and to assist in reducing Longwy and Thionville. Manteuffel, with the First and Eighth, was ordered to march with promptness towards Lille; while Prince Frederick Charles himself, with the Third, Ninth, and Tenth Corps, marched directly towards Orleans, it being Von Moltke's in-

am therefore justified in departing from the usage of our house. What my paternal heart feels in being able, and, indeed, bound to express my own thanks and those of our country to you in such a way, need not be expressed in words. Your affectionate and grateful father,

WILLIAM."

At the same time, he wrote as follows to his nephew:

"VERSAILLES, Oct. 28—1.10 P. M.

"To Prince Frederick Charles:

"I awaited the news, which was received during the night, of the completion of the capitulation of Metz, before sending you my heartfelt congratulations and acknowledgments for your circumspection and endurance before the victory which your command has shown during the long and tedious environment of Bazaine's army. The same acknowledgment is due to the brave troops who, by their intrepidity and the privations they have endured, have set examples without parallel in the history of the world. The occurrences before Metz constitute an imperishable epoch of honor and glory for our army. My thanks should at once be conveyed to the troops. To honor you and your command for such signal services, I have appointed you General Field-Marshal, a distinction which I have also conferred upon my son, the Crown Prince.

WILHELM."

tention to use this force for closing the gap between Von der Tann near Orleans, and Von Werder at Dijon, preparatory to a general and systematic advance of the German line into the south of France for the conquest of that region. It will be seen further on that the course of events compelled the abandonment of the general movement to the southward.

CHAPTER XII.

THE PEOPLE OF FRANCE SUPPORT THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT—WEAKNESS OF THE TOURS DELEGATION—SAD STATE OF AFFAIRS IN FRANCE—LAWLESSNESS OF THE FRANCS-TIREURS—ARRIVAL OF GAMBETTA AT TOURS—A SUDDEN CHANGE IN AFFAIRS—FRANCE HOPEFUL AGAIN—M. GAMBETTA'S CAREER—HE BECOMES DICTATOR—FORMATION OF THE ARMY OF THE LOIRE—THE GERMANS OVERRUN THE COUNTRY AROUND PARIS—REYAN BEATS THE GERMANS NEAR ORLEANS—VON DER TANN SENT TO THE RESCUE—CAPTURE OF ORLEANS BY THE GERMANS—IMPORTANCE OF THE CAPTURE—THE GENERAL AND THE BISHOP—REORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY OF THE LOIRE—DE PALADINES GIVEN THE COMMAND—FORMATION OF NEW ARMIES—DECISIVE MEASURES OF GAMBETTA—THE NEW FRENCH LOAN SUCCESSFUL—PROGRESS OF THE GERMAN ARMIES—VON DER TANN ON THE DEFENSIVE—SURRENDER OF METZ—ADVANCE OF THE FRENCH ON THE LOIRE—THE BATTLE OF BACCON—A FRENCH VICTORY—RECAPTURE OF ORLEANS BY THE FRENCH—DE PALADINES THROWS AWAY HIS OPPORTUNITY—APPROACH OF FREDERICK CHARLES—CONCENTRATION OF THE GERMAN FORCES—THE RED PRINCE ON THE LOIRE—POSITIONS OF THE ARMIES—THE FRENCH ADVANCE—BATTLES OF BEAUNE LA ROLANDE AND PATAY—MECKLENBURG JOINS VON DER TANN—THE RED PRINCE TAKES THE OFFENSIVE—BATTLES BEFORE ORLEANS—SUCCESS OF THE GERMAN TACTICS—THE FRENCH ARMY CUT IN HALF—RETREAT OF THE FRENCH—THE PURSUIT—GAMBETTA'S ESCAPE—RECAPTURE OF ORLEANS BY THE GERMANS—BATTLE OF BEAUGENCY, AND PURSUIT OF CHANZY TO THE LOIRE—FLIGHT OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT FROM TOURS—CAPTURE OF THAT CITY BY THE GERMANS—THE GERMANS RETIRE TO ORLEANS—CHANZY REORGANIZES HIS ARMY—THE NEW FRENCH PLAN—BOURBAKI MOVES OFF—FREDERICK CHARLES MARCHES WESTWARD—BATTLE OF LE MANS AND RETREAT OF CHANZY TO LAVAL—THE WAR IN THE NORTH OF FRANCE—EFFORTS OF THE FRENCH IN THAT QUARTER—MANTEUFFEL'S MARCH FROM METZ—HE TAKES AMIENS—CAPTURE OF ROUEN—HAVRE THREATENED—FAIDHERBE MOVES TOWARD PARIS—MANTEUFFEL'S FORCED MARCH—BATTLE OF PONT NOYELLES—BATTLE OF BAPAUME—SURRENDER OF THE FORTRESS OF PERONNE—FAIDHERBE TOTALLY DEFEATED AT ST. QUENTIN—GAMBETTA'S COLD RECEPTION AT LILLE—CAPTURE OF ENGLISH SHIPS IN THE SEINE—CLOSE OF THE CAMPAIGN IN THE NORTH—THE EASTERN ARMY OF FRANCE—EFFORTS OF GENERAL CAMBRIELS—VON WERDER MOVES SOUTHWARD—THE RHINE FORTRESSES INVESTED—EFFORTS OF THE FRENCH TO RELIEVE NEUF BRISSACH—

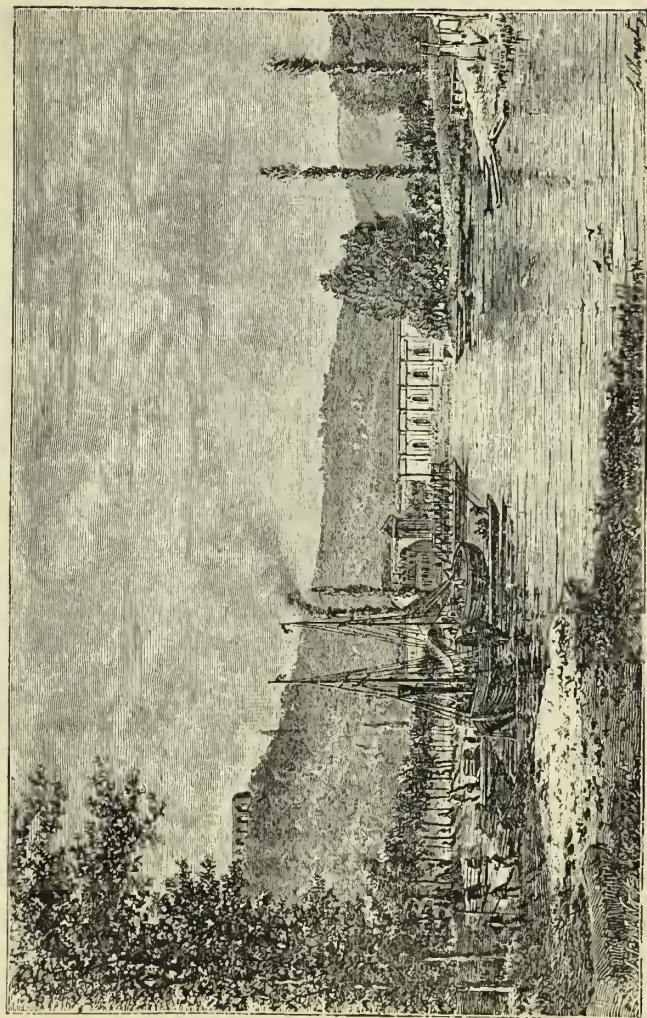
THEY ARE DEFEATED NEAR EPINAL—GARRIBALDI ARRIVES IN FRANCE—IS ASSIGNED A COMMAND IN THE EAST—HIS DIFFICULTIES AND UNPOPULARITY—VON WERDER OCCUPIES VESOUL—RETREAT OF THE FRENCH TO BESANCON—DIJON TAKEN BY THE GERMANS—GARRIBALDI GOES TO AUTUN—RICCIOTTI GARRIBALDI SURPRISES CHATILLON—THE GARRIBALDIAN ATTACK ON DIJON REPULSED—THE GERMANS CAPTURE Nuits—BOURBAKI'S ADVANCE FROM THE LOIRE—WITHDRAWAL OF VON WERDER—BOURBAKI TAKES VESOUL—VON WERDER COVERS THE SIEGE OF BELFORT—BOURBAKI'S EFFORTS TO RAISE THE SIEGE—THE FRENCH DEFEAT—THEY RETREAT WESTWARD—ARRIVAL OF MANTEUFFEL'S ARMY NEAR LANGRES—GARRIBALDI KEPT AT DIJON—BOURBAKI IS CUT OFF FROM CHALONS AND ATTEMPTS SUICIDE—THE FRENCH ARMY DRIVEN INTO SWITZERLAND—SCENES ON THE FRONTIER—SURRENDER OF BELFORT.

THE state of France after the reverses of September and the establishment of the Republic was most deplorable, and instant ruin was averted only by the patriotism of the people of the provinces, who, finding themselves without any organized Government, unhesitatingly gave their support to the Government of the National Defence. As has been stated, three members of this self-constituted Government were sent from Paris to Tours before the investment of the former city, to organize the defence of the provinces. These were M. Crémieux, Minister of Justice; Admiral Fourichon, Minister of the Marine, and also charged with the Ministry of War; and M. Glais-Bizoin. Neither of these gentlemen were qualified for the task of directing such important measures as the defence of the country involved, and not one of them commanded the confidence of the people. Their measures were weak and hesitating, and the country was entirely without a directing head. The Prefects had been entrusted with the military command of the Departments over which they were placed, and this measure was naturally producing an amount of trouble which Admiral Fourichon found it impossible to overcome. The Red Republicans of Lyons and Marseilles were becoming more and more dangerous, and open violence in those cities was prevented only by the firmness of the masses in supporting the Provisional Government. The Prefect of Lyons

arbitrarily arrested General Mazure, the Commander of the troops in that city. This useless and dangerous step was promptly approved by MM. Crémieux and Glais-Bizoin, although no charge was sustained against the General, and Admiral Fourichon, in sheer disgust, resigned his place as Minister of War, retaining his position as Minister of the Marine. Thirteen Departments united in demanding of the Tours Government the nomination of a General, independent of ministerial authority, to organize the defence of the western provinces, and this command was complied with.

Numerous bands of *Franks-Tireurs*, or Guerillas, were organized during the latter part of September. Their mode of making war was to attack weak bands of the enemy, or to "bushwhack" them from behind hedges or from the cover of the woods. They very rarely risked an encounter in the open field, and soon made themselves the objects of the special hatred of the Germans by their savage method of conducting the war. Many atrocities were laid to their charge by the latter. At the period referred to, they were rapidly becoming objects of terror to their own people. Wandering independently over the country, they plundered and destroyed the property of the peasants, even committing darker outrages; and in the city of Tours itself, under the very eyes of the Government, one of these bands mutinied against their officers besieged them in a hotel, and threatened them with death if their demands were not complied with.

Meanwhile the Germans were overrunning France. Strasbourg and Toul fell during the last week in September, and 80,000 German troops were thus liberated for service elsewhere. Ten thousand of these were sent to reënforce the army before Paris, and the remaining 70,000 were formed into an army under the command of General Von Werder, for the purpose of marching against Lyons and the southeast of France. The French, it is true, were endeavoring to raise new armies in the provinces, but no one seemed capable of assuming the general direction of affairs. Everywhere confusion reigned supreme, and everywhere the people were beginning to despair.



Port Marly, on the Seine.

In the midst of all this trouble and maladministration, the Tours Government suddenly received a reënforcement from Paris, in the person of their colleague, M. Gambetta, the Minister of the Interior, who came, as it were from the clouds. He left Paris in a balloon, on the 8th of October, and after an exciting voyage landed near Amiens, the next day. Proceeding to that city, he left at once for Tours by railway, reaching there on the same day.

The news of his arrival and of the manner of his coming was at once telegraphed all over France; and it was proclaimed that the man who was to save France was now at his post. The people were delighted with the boldness of the Minister of the Interior, in braving so many perils to come to their aid, and their imaginations were captivated by the pleasant fancy, everywhere repeated, that their deliverer had come at last and from heaven.

Gambetta's first acts increased the enthusiasm which greeted his arrival at Tours. Immediately upon reaching that city, he issued the following proclamation to the nation :

By order of the Republican Government, I have left Paris to convey to you the hopes of the Parisian people, and the instructions and orders of those who accepted the mission of delivering France from the foreigner.

For seventeen days Paris has been invested, and offers the spectacle of 2,000,000 of men, who, forgetting all differences to range themselves around the Republican flag, will disappoint the expectations of the invader, who reckoned upon civil discord. The Revolution found Paris without cannon and without arms. Now 400,000 National Guards are armed, 100,000 Mobiles have been summoned, and 60,000 regular troops are assembled.

The foundries cast cannon, the women make 1,000,000 cartridges daily. The National Guard have two mitrailleuses for each battalion. Field pieces are being made for sorties against the besiegers. The forts are manned by marines, and are furnished with marvellous artillery, served by the first gunners in the world. Up till now their fire has prevented the enemy from establishing the smallest work. The *enceinte*, which on September 4th had only 500 cannons, has now 3800, with 400 rounds of ammunition for each.

The casting of projectiles continues with ardor. Every one is at the post assigned to him for fighting. The *enceinte* is uninterruptedly covered by the National Guard, who from morning until night drill for the



German Foragers at Work.

war with patriotism and steadiness. The experience of these improvised soldiers increases daily.

Behind the *enceinte* there is a third line of defences, formed by barricades, behind which the Parisians are found to defend the Republic—the genius of street fighting. All this has been executed with calmness and order by the concurrence and enthusiasm of all. It is not a vain illusion that Paris is impregnable. It cannot be captured or surprised. Two other means remain to the Prussians—sedition and famine. But sedition will not arise, nor famine either.

Paris by placing herself on rations, has enough to defy the enemy for long months, thanks to the provisions which have been accumulated, and will bear restraint and scarcity with manly constancy in order to afford her brothers in the departments time to gather.

Such is, without disguise, the state of Paris. This state imposes great duties upon you. The first is to have no other occupation than the war; the second is to accept fraternally the supremacy of the Republican power, emanating from necessity and right, which will serve no ambition. It has no other passion than to rescue France from the abyss into which monarchy has plunged her.

This done, the Republic will be founded, sheltered against conspirators and reactionists. Therefore I have the order, without taking into account difficulties or opposition, to remedy and, although time fails, to make up by activity the shortcomings caused by delay. Men are not wanting. What has failed us has been a decisive resolution and the consecutive execution of our plans. That which failed us after the shameful capitulation of Sedan was arms. All supplies of that nature had been sent on to Sedan, Metz, and Strasbourg, as if, one would think, the authors of our disasters, by a last criminal combination, had desired, at their fall, to deprive us of all means of repairing our ruin. Steps have now been taken to obtain rifles and equipments from all parts of the world. Neither workmen nor money are wanting. We must bring to bear all our resources, which are immense; we must make the provinces shake off their torpor, react against foolish panics, multiply our partisans, set traps and ambushes to harass the enemy and inaugurate a national war. The Republic demands the coöperation of all; it will utilize the courage of all its citizens, employ the capabilities of each, and according to its traditional policy, will make young men its chiefs. Heaven itself will cease to favor our adversaries. The autumn rains will come; and, detained and held in check by the capital, far from their homes, and troubled and anxious for the future, the Prussians will be decimated one by one by our arms, by hunger, and by nature. No; it is not possible that the genius of France should be forevermore obscured; it cannot be that a great nation shall let its place in the world be taken from it by an invasion of 500,000 men. Up, then, in a mass; and let us die rather



A Battalion of Franks-Tireurs passing through the City of Tours, carrying the
Black Flag.

than suffer the shame of dismemberment ! In the midst of our disasters we have still the sentiment left of French unity and the indivisibility of the Republic. Paris, surrounded by the enemy, affirms more loudly and more gloriously than ever the immortal device which is dictated to the whole of France : " Long live the Republic ! " " Long live France ! " " Long live the Republic, one and indivisible."

Although there was considerable exaggeration in the tone of this proclamation, its effect upon the nation was admirable. M. Gambetta had spoken in good time, and his were the first words of energy and hope that had been heard in France since Sedan. Here was a man who meant work, and did not intend to stop with empty promises. Here was a leading member of the Government, fresh from Paris, fully informed as to the actual state of affairs in all parts of the country, and who had nothing but brave, cheering words, and a bright, undaunted smile as he faced the crisis. The courage and hopefulness of the Minister were contagious. All France became infected with them, and, for a while, there did seem a prospect that the young Marseillaise advocate would " organize victory " out of despair. No man ever had a better chance of rising to the very height of his ambition than this one possessed at this time, in spite of the difficulties which lay before him ; but it was not in the power of M. Gambetta to become the Saviour of France. He was deficient in the necessary qualities. He was excellent in speech, full of fire and enthusiasm, and a man of energy, but he had neither the firmness of character necessary to his task, nor the wisdom nor training, without which all his good qualities were useless. Of him it must be said, as of so many other brilliant leaders of a parliamentary opposition, that when he came to undertake the duties of the position which he had wrested from his opponents, he found that the qualities which had made him so successful a critic of other men's actions, were precisely those which unfitted him for the better performance of their duties ; and he disappointed by degrees all the hopes of his friends and his country, and fell below the standard he had himself set up. And so we shall have to write of every

other member of the Provisional Government—the men that boasted so loudly that they would succeed where the Empire had failed—that none of them were capable of discharging successfully the tasks they so rashly assumed. We shall find Trochu unsuccessful in every effort to raise the siege of Paris; we shall see Jules Favre a mere child in the hands of the German Chancellor; we shall see Kératry a failure as a commander, a mere disappointed office seeker; we shall find Rochefort compelled by a last lingering sense of self-respect to resign his seat in the Government; and we shall find none of the others capable of originating any measure, or performing any act which could lift for one moment the dark cloud of misfortune which was settling down over their country. Well might M. Thiers, a trained statesman, with all his patriotism, shrink from the responsibility of forming a part of such a Government—a Government which did nothing but prolong the agony of the country, and which in the end failed to gain for it terms, one particle more liberal than would have been accorded to the Empire.

M. Gambetta at once assumed the duties of Minister of War, and, as soon as he found how utterly incapable his colleagues were, he very quietly clothed himself with the whole power of the Government. He lost no time in seeking to make good his promises. Passing rapidly from point to point throughout the country, and throwing off brilliant proclamations, he raised the hopes of the nation to a point higher than they had stood since the outbreak of the war, and exerted himself, with an energy that merited all praise, to hasten the organization, and add to the efficiency of the armies forming in the provinces.

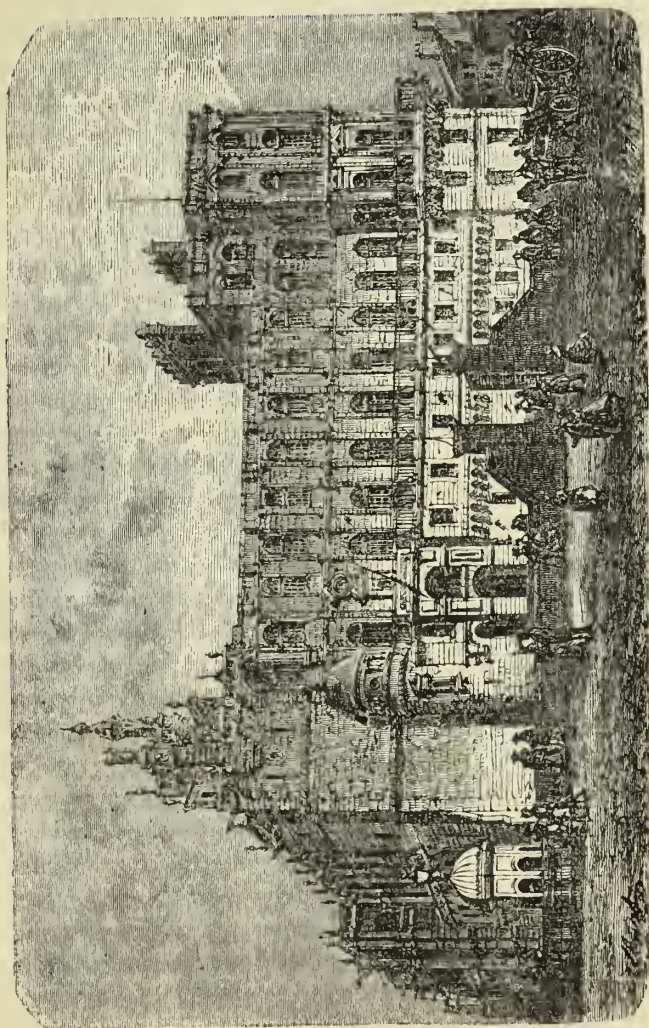
In the meantime, a French army had been forming on the Loire, in the vicinity of Bourges, a city about fifty-five miles south of Orleans. Bourges contained an important cannon foundry, and was a place of considerable strategical value, as it lies within the loop formed by the Loire, and at the junction of the different roads leading to Tours, Blois, Orleans, Gien, and Nevers, all commanding passages over the river.

This army was commanded by General La Motterouge, and, by the 1st of October, was between 50,000 and 60,000 strong.

During the first weeks of the investment of Paris, the Germans obtained their supplies from the country lying around the city, but this region was soon exhausted, and it became necessary to send their foraging parties farther afield. These were thrown out by every road radiating from Paris, and, as they consisted of small bodies in each case, they were in considerable danger of being attacked by superior forces of French troops. This happened to them on several occasions. On the 8th of October, Ablis, one of the prettiest villages in France, was occupied by a squadron of Prussian hussars. That night the Prussians were surprised and defeated by the *Francs-Tireurs*, and the next day they came back and burned the town to the ground. About the 8th, two attacks were made by these foraging parties upon the town of St. Quentin, 100 miles northeast from Paris. They were successfully resisted in both instances by the citizens and *Mobiles*. About the same time, a couple of defeats were inflicted upon the German foragers near Dreux, fifty miles west of Paris. They had collected a considerable quantity of provisions at that place, which they were compelled to give up. In revenge for these attacks, they burned the village of Cherizy, near Dreux, and all the farms between that place and Houdan.*

Early in October, the German foragers pushed their operations as far as the vicinity of Orleans, which was then held

* These attacks were made by the *Mobiles* or by the *Francs-Tireurs*, but the Germans attributed them to the treachery of the peasantry. Up to Sedan, the conduct of the invaders towards the French civilians was marked by very great forbearance, if not by actual kindness, in almost every instance. Subsequent to that event, however, they displayed great sternness and severity. Villages in which resistance was offered were revisited by stronger parties. Shells were thrown remorselessly into the streets, and in several instances the villages were burned. Isolated instances of outrage upon the German soldiers were visited upon whole villages, frequently by exorbitant fines. Much of this was doubtless inseparable from the inevitable horrors of war, but much was also the deliberate work of the Germans, who showed little forbearance and no pity in their enormous levies upon French property.

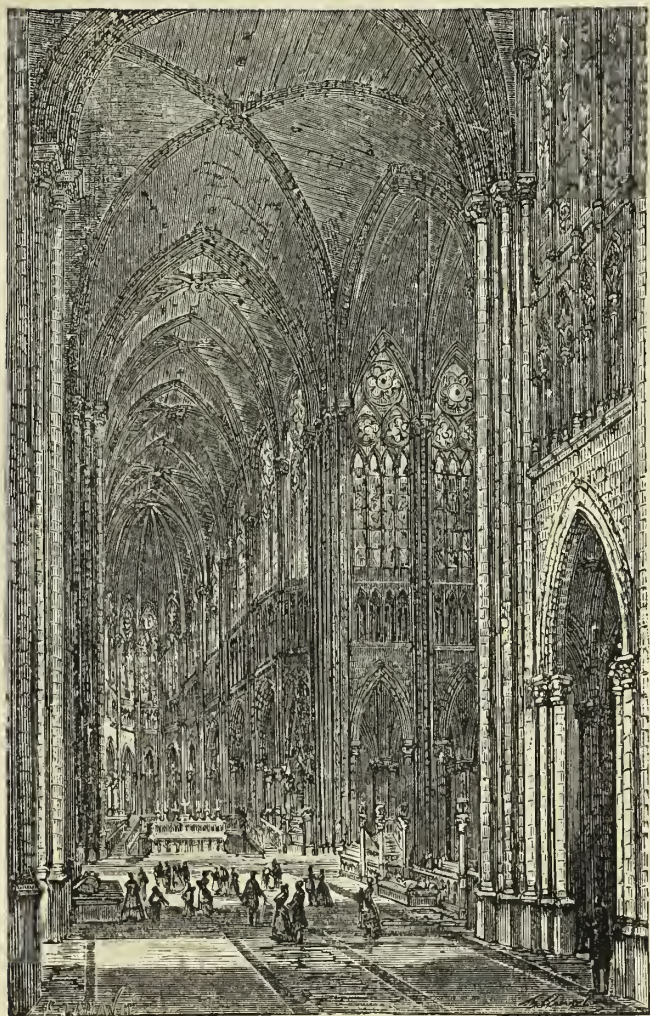


Château de Saint Germain.

by the advanced guard of the Army of the Loire, under General Reyan. The main body of this army was a short distance in the rear of Orleans, but it was sadly deficient in discipline and equipment, and especially lacking in field artillery of any kind. Some idea of the condition of the Army of the Loire may be gained from the following description of prisoners taken from it by the Germans on the 10th of October. This extract is taken from the German official report of the engagement. The troops described constituted the bodyguard of the Republican Government:

"In the account books they had with them their pay and other emoluments from the Republican authorities were accurately stated. They were mostly men above forty, or youngsters between sixteen and eighteen; those between these two extremes having been previously drafted into the Mables. They were, indeed, unable to defend themselves, being totally ignorant of everything military, and, moreover, armed with Minie rifles, which cannot compete with modern weapons. In reply to our questions, they said they knew nothing of the service, and altogether represented their situation as pitiable. The peasants would not give them anything to eat, nor even direct them how to find their way across the country. The fear of the Germans was so universal in those parts, that everybody shunned intercourse with the indigenous troops. The costume of the Partisans consists in a short black coat, black trousers, gaiters, and a red sash round the waist. They wear hats with broad brims, those of the captains being about four times as large as those worn by the privates. The commander-in-chief of the body taken prisoners at Angerville was a private gentleman from Nantes. Most of them had the words *Partisans de Gers* on their hats. The Departement de Gers being 400 miles south of Paris, and only 150 miles north of the Pyrenées, their presence in the Orleanois would seem to prove that the central Departments are already drained of most of the people that can be induced to join."

General Reyan determined to compel the German foragers to keep at a more respectful distance from Orleans, and, early



Interior of the Church of St. Denis.

Das Innere der Kirche von St. Denis.



in October, he attacked them and drove them back from Artenay to Etampes.

This sudden show of vigor on the part of the French drew General Von Moltke's attention more seriously to the army of the Loire, and he determined to crush that force before it should become more formidable. He therefore sent General Von der Tann with the First Bavarian Corps, the 22d Prussian division, and Prince Albrecht's cavalry towards the Loire.

Von der Tann moved promptly, and encountered the French on the 8th of October near Etampes, driving them back to Artenay on the road to Orleans. On the 10th, he made a sharp attack on the French positions at Artenay. Reyan had with him about 15,000 men, but had no artillery. The bulk of the Army of the Loire was within supporting distance of him; but for some reason, which has never been explained, he was left during the entire day to resist the German attack as best he could. The Germans, on the other hand, not only outnumbered the French, but were so well supplied with artillery that they were under no actual necessity of using their infantry at all. Von der Tann made a good use of his advantage, and poured such a terrible artillery fire into the French lines that Reyan's men were forced to take refuge in the forest behind Cercottes, in front of Orleans, which they reached in great disorganization, or little better than a mob.

The Army of the Loire was now in Orleans, and a reinforcement of 12,000 men was sent to Reyan. General Motterouge had with him 40,000 men, but they were more of a mob than an army, and of field artillery there was scarcely any. "Motterouge, himself, sent couriers to Tours pleading for arms, went himself to Blois, and his aides galloped to every township and rummaged in every military store where it was thought the muzzle of a field piece might be hid. A trophy gun or two was found in some of the out-of-the-way places. Rewards were offered to any one who could discover the whereabouts of a field-piece. There were no more to be found. . . . Guns, guns, guns, was the cry of the soldiers in the ranks and the tacticians in the cafés. As each train was sig

nalled, they ran to the edge of the platform and peered into the darkness in the hope of catching a sight of a black muzzle, and when instead of that they saw but countless white faces of men, their welcome almost took the form of a malediction. And whenever they turned away with this disappointment at their hearts, there would be sure to be some bedraggled wretch from Reyan's quarters at the door of the railway station, to ask the ordnance officers for the love of God to tell him if they had come."

Following up his victory of the 10th Von der Tann attacked the French in the forest of Orleans at seven o'clock on the morning of the 11th, and drove them into the city and its suburbs, sweeping the woods with an artillery fire against which it was impossible for the French to stand, and to which they were powerless to make reply. Hurrying forward in pursuit, the Germans seized the plateau of Mont Joie, which commanded the suburbs of the city. They promptly posted about eighty field guns on these heights, and opened fire upon the French who were crowding into the town. It was impossible for Motterouge to hold the place against such an attack, and he gave the order for the retreat of the army from Orleans, leaving a rear guard of 3000 of his best troops under General Arago to cover the movement. At this moment a train loaded with artillery and ammunition arrived from Tours and Blois, but too late to do any good, as it was impossible to disembark and distribute the guns under the fire of the enemy. The retreat was therefore pressed with vigor.

It had scarcely begun when the Germans let loose a terrible fire from their artillery upon the rear guard posted in the suburbs. For eight hours their fire was maintained, and at the end of that time the German infantry occupied the suburbs, finding that the rear guard had been almost totally destroyed by their fire, but that the French army had gotten clear of the town. They had several times attempted to carry the position of the rear guard by assault, but had been driven back by the fire of the chassepot, but their last advance, about seven o'clock in the evening, encountered no resistance. The

city was immediately occupied by the Germans. The losses on the part of the French were heavy, including 8000 prisoners, taken on the 10th and 11th. The German loss was slight.

The importance of the capture of Orleans will be seen by the following extract from the German official report :

Orleans is one of the wealthiest cities in France. The region north of it, the so-called Beauce, is certainly the most fertile district we have as yet entered. It provides Paris with enormous quantities of excellent wheat, ground by the steam and water mills in the province. It also abounds in oats (which will be a great acquisition for our cavalry), and produces grapes and every variety of fruit in such plenty, that, in addition to supplying Paris, its choice articles are exported to foreign countries. The possession of the Beauce will sensibly diminish the number of our provision trains from Germany.

The occupation of Orleans is also important from a strategical point of view. Situate on the right bank of the Loire, and being the point of junction for the Central railway, and the lines from Nantes, Bordeaux, and Toulouse, it protects our army from attack from the south, and all but prevents our enemies in the north holding communications with the south. By blowing up a single arch of the two magnificent bridges over the Loire, each of which has cost 2,000,000 francs, we render it difficult for a southern enemy to penetrate north, the next two bridges at Jargeau and Beaugency not being strong enough for artillery to pass over. Gien, higher up the river, is already ours, and the Sologne, which is the name of the country lower down, beyond Blois, is so barren and destitute of roads, that it serves as a natural safeguard from that side. Orleans is known for the pacific disposition of its inhabitants, and has large barracks and other buildings, which will be useful should the campaign be prolonged.*

* The following incidents of the German occupation of Orleans are interesting :

"Here there has occurred a touching episode which will always have a place in the annals of the city as well as in the ineffaceable history of the war. At the moment when the Prussians were passing through a village near the gates of Orleans, some of their soldiers were struck by shots fired in the dark. As soon as possible the village was surrounded, and the general, summoning the curé before him, inquired of him, as being the man whose statement would inspire most confidence, whether the inhabitants of the commune had rifles in their possession. The priest replied that his parishioners had had arms, but that they no longer possessed them. The Prussians, however, wished to make sure on this point. They rummaged the houses, and even the church, and discovered sixty rifles which were hidden under the

The Army of the Loire fell back from Orleans towards Bourges, where it began the work of reorganization. General La Motterouge was relieved of his command by M. Gambetta, and General Bourbaki, who had reached Tours after the failure of his mission from Metz to the Empress Eugenie, was appointed his successor. Bourbaki held the command for a few days only, during which time he worked hard to get the troops in readiness for the field, but he soon resigned his position, and was succeeded by General Aurelles de Paladines. Bourbaki's nominal reason for resigning was his unwillingness "to supersede so excellent an officer as General De Paladines;" but the real cause of his action is said to have been his inability to agree with the Tours Government upon any definite plan of action.

While the Germans employed themselves in collecting the supplies which the capture of Orleans had opened to them, General De Paladines went to work with energy to make an army out of the mob placed under his orders. There was

altar, probably without the knowledge of the curé. As soon as possible, by order of the general, sixty inhabitants of the village were arrested and conveyed to Orleans, in order to be shot the next morning. They also arrested in a neighboring hamlet an old man and his son, sixteen years of age, who were accused of having fired upon the Prussians, and who were also destined to expiate that act by their lives. The next morning, a short time before the execution, the Bishop of Orleans was informed of the frightful immolation which was being prepared. This generous soul was indignant, and, without losing an instant, he wrote to the Prussian general, imploring him in the name of heaven and of humanity not to dishonor his cause by so barbarous an act. 'Can you,' said the prelate, with emotion, 'strike an old man and a child?' After having read the impassioned letter of the holy bishop, the general proceeded to the barrack of Saint Charles, where the prisoners were confined. He ordered them to go down into the court-yard, and when they were marshalled before him, pale and disheartened, he said: 'You have deserved death, and military justice has condemned you, but I grant you a pardon! Only,' added he, solemnly, 'do not forget that you owe your lives to your bishop!' The tears started from the eyes of these poor people, who, being at once set at liberty, went to kiss with gratitude the paternal hand which had just saved them. M. Dupanloup, moreover, is treated with the greatest respect by the Bavarian officers, who fill the town. All of them are aware of his European reputation, his prestige, and his great contests, and they seek opportunities to lavish upon him tokens of deference and admira-

absolutely no discipline among either officials or men, and the new commander promptly inaugurated a rigid, but wholesome severity, which resulted in a number of executions, but which also gave something like order and efficiency to the Army of the Loire.

Meanwhile, M. Gambetta flew rapidly about the country, organizing the defence. New armies were commenced, and their organization pushed forward with vigor. By the middle of October, the country was divided into the following military divisions:

Division of the North.—General Bourbaki commanding; headquarters at Lille.

Division of the West.—General Fierek commanding; headquarters at Le Mans.

Division of the Centre (Army of the Loire).—General Aurelles de Paladines commanding; headquarters at Bourges.

Division of the East.—General Cambriels commanding; headquarters at Besançon.

The Army of the Loire, being the chief hope of the Repub-

tion. Most of them are very religious, and on the Sunday following the occupation they asked for employment in the different churches—at the cathedral, at St. Paterne, at St. Paul's—in order that they might be able to assist at mass with their soldiers. Every day of the week many of them, and a very large number of soldiers, go into the churches, where they kneel down and take prayer-books out of their knapsacks. Is not this a circumstance remarkable in itself, and also on account of its contrast with the habits of garrison life in France? We might add a good many other details, but two will suffice to complete the picture of this Prussian occupation, which still continues. One morning the city believed itself to be threatened with destruction in consequence of the wrath of the Commander-in-Chief. A non-commissioned Bavarian officer had been found stabbed in his bed. Who was the author of the murder? Was it attributable to the irritated patriotism of some inhabitant? General Von der Tann announced, by a proclamation, that the culprit would be sought out and the house destroyed; but that if such a thing occurred again, the whole city would be pitilessly burnt. On the other hand, the municipal council wished to express, at a solemn meeting, the gratitude of the public with regard to M. Dupanloup, 'whose great soul has been, under grave circumstances, the safeguard and the providence of the city;' and the council proceeded to the residence of the illustrious bishop, in order to lay before him this eloquent and imperishable testimony of the patriotism of the faith."

lie, received the principal attention of M. Gambetta. Vigorous efforts were made to provide it with arms and artillery, which were purchased in the United States and other countries, and were manufactured in France as far as was possible. Stores of all kinds were accumulated, and, under the rigorous measures of General De Paladines, the army began to give promise of accomplishing something really beneficial to the country. General De Paladines announced his intention of causing the first man who gave the signal to retreat before the enemy to be shot, and invited his men to deal likewise with him. M. Gambetta, with the hope of stimulating the troops to greater efforts, decreed that a private or officer, in cases of great bravery or services, might be promoted as far over his superior's head as his gallantry merited. This promotion was to be provisional, however, and seniority was to assert its rights after the war.

Count Kérâtry, about the middle of October, was sent by Gambetta to Madrid, to obtain the consent of the Spanish Government to the exportation of arms and material of war into France, but he was unsuccessful. He was then given the task of raising an army in Brittany, which he successfully accomplished, and, by the last of October, he had collected a force of 25,000 well armed Bretons about Le Mans. This force was designed to be used as a reserve army, but the necessities of the campaign soon required its active presence in the field.

The other armies received a full share of Gambetta's attention. Quarrels occurring between the commanders in the Eastern Departments, he hastened thither, and succeeded in restoring harmony. Early in November, he issued a decree, ordering a levy en masse of all Frenchmen between the ages of twenty and forty years. The Prefects were directed to mobilize and organize the citizens of their departments, subject to military duty, and to have them in readiness for service in the field by the 19th of November. M. Gambetta declared that the Republic would take upon itself the maintenance of all children or others left without support in con-

sequence of the levy, and that it would adopt the children of all citizens, who might fall in the defence of the country. By this same decree he declared that the Minister of War was authorized to take possession of all the workshops and factories in France, for the purpose of manufacturing arms and military stores; and, in consequence of the scarcity of field artillery, he ordered that each department should furnish, within the space of two months, "as many field batteries as its population contains of times 100,000 souls." Each battery was to be mounted, equipped, manned, and officered, and a chef d'escadron must be provided for every three batteries. The first of these batteries was to be in readiness within thirty days. He ordered that a telegraphic service should be attached to each corps d'armée, to establish rapid communication between headquarters and the nearest permanent line, and between headquarters and the different divisions of the army. Other energetic measures were inaugurated, and were carried forward as rapidly as possible.

M. Gambetta's great mistake lay in endeavoring to arouse the enthusiasm of the people of France by exaggerated proclamations. He often claimed substantial successes where the events did not justify his assertions, and where but a few days were needed to prove them untrue. Decisive German victories were claimed by him as highly favorable to the French cause, and when the truth became known, the people began to lose confidence in him. His very sanguineness of disposition led him into blunders, by inducing him to underestimate the difficulties he had to encounter, and at the close of the war, when the country was thoroughly exhausted and disheartened, we find him sincerely convinced that the struggle could be successfully continued. His interference with the military commanders was another error, and the political complexion which he gave to all his acts lowered him in the popular estimation. He had proclaimed that his mission was to save France and to drive out the enemy; and the people viewed with distrust his efforts to perpetuate the authority of himself and his colleagues.

Yet he did much for his country, though he failed to accomplish that which he declared certain in his hands. He was the cause of the enthusiasm which lifted up France from her first reverses, and inspired the whole people with a determination to continue the war. He made unity, organization, and courage not only possible to the French people, but gave to them a real existence. He made the Army of the Loire, and armed France.* He was the most capable, the most energetic, and the most determined of all the members of the Provisional Government, but, after all, he was not the deliverer France needed. Much though he accomplished, he gave his country the right to expect more of him, and he disappointed that expectation.

The efforts of the Provisional Government to borrow money

* In justice to M. Gambetta, we quote here a portion of a conversation between the ex-Dictator and the correspondent of the *New York Herald*, at Bordeaux, on the 28th of February, in which the former seeks to explain the causes of his failure:

"Correspondent. Do you think France in a condition to continue the struggle?

"Gambetta. I do. If the people would show only ordinary courage and energy, they would yet drive the invader from their soil. But the monarchists don't want the Republic to save France, and they have, therefore, thrown every possible obstacle in the way. They prefer that France should be lost rather than saved by the Republic. They have not only discouraged the soldiers by every possible means, but they have imposed the resistance of *inertia*, which is something immense, to every effort that could be made, and they hope by signing a dishonorable peace to turn popular feeling against the Republic. And you will see within a very short time that these very men who are now crying 'Peace, peace,' will be the first to denounce the Republic for having concluded a dishonorable bargain with Bismarck. If they had let me go on two months longer, I am sure I would have succeeded. I would have had two millions of men under arms, well armed and equipped; I would have carried on pitiless war against the Prussians, who are as tired as we are, and who would have been glad to go home and defend themselves. I am satisfied, that if the American people were placed in exactly the same position as the French, they would drive out the invader in thirty days.

"Correspondent. I am much flattered for your opinion of the American people, but must say that I think you are right.

"Gambetta. I am sure of it. The whole population would have retired as the enemy advanced, carrying off as much of their property as possible and destroying the rest. Every man, married or single, old or young,

were successful—Frenchmen of all shades of opinion endorsing the assertion that, whatever Government the future might bring to France, every franc loaned for the conduct of the war would be scrupulously repaid, with the promised interest. Towards the last of October, the new loan of 250,000,000 francs, bearing six per cent. interest, was introduced into the London money market, and was favorably received at the London stock exchange. It was soon taken up.

While the French were making these efforts, the German

would have taken his gun and would have carried on a war of extermination against the invader. You would have had 4,000,000 of men under arms in a month, shooting them down from every bush and every hillside. It would be impossible to advance far into a country under such circumstances.

“Correspondent. Why did you not attempt to carry out this plan?”

“Gambetta. I did. I sent decrees ordering the evacuation of the country before the advance of the enemy, but the *préfets* found it impossible to execute them. Not a man would hudge; and not only that, they threatened to shoot any *préfet* that would attempt to execute my orders. They said, ‘If we go away and leave our houses, the Prussians will burn them; if they come they will take half, perhaps, but we have half left, which is better than nothing.’”

“Correspondent. What do you think of the Government of Paris?”

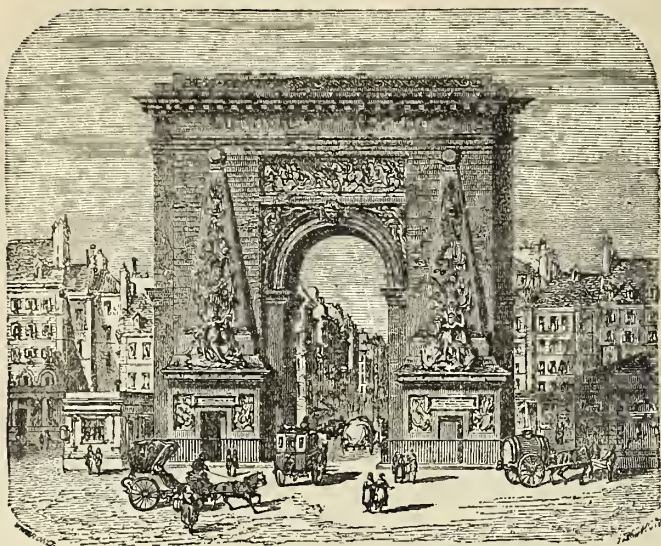
“Gambetta. Utterly incapable. If Trochu had been a man of resolution, he would have cut a way through the army of besiegers.

“Correspondent. In what particular point did he fail?”

“Gambetta. Want of activity. He should have attacked and harassed the enemy continually—have kept them in a perpetual state of alarm—so that they would never know on what point an assault was to be made. He would have inured his soldiers to fatigue, he would have accustomed them to stand under fire; he had the time, in fact, to make a splendid army, ready to undertake, at the call of its leader, any desperate attempt for the salvation of the country. As it was, he remained quietly within the walls, gave the enemy time to fortify himself at his ease, and only made one really serious attempt to break through. The old story—want of perseverance. Because he failed once, he thought success was impossible, and lay inactive until he was starved out.

“Correspondent. Well, to sum up all, what are the general causes which have led to the failure in this war?”

“Gambetta. Want of capacity in the officers I was obliged to employ—officers of the Empire; I had no others—and want of energy in the people themselves. I did all in my power to save them. I gave them 1,000,000 guns, with uniforms, munitions, artillery, horses, provisions—everything that was necessary to defend themselves—but they stood still and expected me alone



Porte St. Denis : Paris.

forces were busy also. Soissons having fallen, the Duke of Mecklenburg marched upon St. Quentin, which surrendered to him on the 21st of October. On the same day Prince Albrecht's cavalry occupied the city of Chartres, one of the wealthiest cities and largest corn markets in France. On the 18th, a detachment of General Von der Tann's army, from

to drive the enemy from the country. *Que voulez-vous?* You cannot save a people in spite of themselves. I have done my duty, *et salvavi animam meam*.

"Correspondent. Were the officers generally incapable?

"Gambetta. Yes, sir. The officers of the Empire generally, *ne valaient pas le diable*, and I had no others. Why, at Beaumont, 40,000 Prussians marched right into the French camp and took them by surprise; and it has been since proven that they did not have out a single picket. The officers were playing cards somewhere, I suppose.

"Correspondent. Do you think the Republic is safe?

"Gambetta. It is doubtful. If it falls, it will be by a dishonorable peace. The monarchists are active and powerful, and will hesitate at no means to accomplish their ends. Nevertheless, they cannot succeed long. We intend to wage them a bitter and implacable war. I believe that the Republican sentiment is now too strong in France to ever be crushed out, and woe to the monarch that tries it."

Orleans, occupied Chateaudun, for the purpose of covering his right flank and watching the French forces collecting in the direction of Le Mans. On the 23d, the Duke of Mecklenburg evacuated St. Quentin, and marched towards Le Mans, with the intention of attacking the Breton army at that place. The force, including the cavalry of Prince Albrecht, sent by Von der Tann to Chartres, was 20,000 strong, and, not counting the detachment at Chateaudun, the rest of his army lay around, or to the south of Orleans. The 22d Prussian division was recalled to Paris soon after the capture of Orleans, and, thus weakened, Von der Tann remained inactive, watching the French, of whose efforts to place an army in the field he was but imperfectly informed. Lest the French should succeed in forming this army sooner than he expected, and slip around Von der Tann's position and fall upon the rear of the armies before Paris, General Von Moltke detached columns of various strength from the investing forces, and placed them in positions to command the various roads leading to the capital, thus forming a huge semicircle of posts extending from Orleans on the south, through Chateaudun, Chartres, Evreux, Beauvais, Breteuil, and Montdidier, to Compiègne on the north.

Meanwhile the hopes of the French received a severe shock in the surrender of Metz, on the 27th of October, and on the 11th of November the fortress of Verdun capitulated. These two surrenders set free upwards of 200,000 German troops, and added these to the forces against which the French armies then in the field had to contend. The depression produced by the fall of Metz was very general throughout France, but had the French commanders been possessed of the proper decision and energy, it need not have had a very damaging effect upon the prospects of the Army of the Loire.

That army had been increased to a strength of 120,000 men, of which a goodly number were old soldiers, Papal Zouaves, Foreign Legionaries, &c. It had been tolerably well supplied with field artillery by the energy of Gambetta, and the severe measures of General De Paladines had succeeded in bringing

about a state of discipline which had not been witnessed in any French force since the opening of the war. It was tolerably well clothed, and was well provided with small arms, although some of these were muzzle loading guns. Provisions and ammunition were abundant, and the troops were once more hopeful of success. The army was divided into four corps, the 15th, General Pallière, the 16th, General Chanzy, the 17th, General Sonnis, and the 20th, General Crouzat.

One corps of this army had been stationed at Mer, on the north bank of the Loire, to cover the city of Tours, while the rest lay south of the river, the headquarters of the army being at La Ferté St Aubin, twelve miles south of Orleans. On the 6th of November, General De Paladines broke up his camp, crossed the river at Beaugency, and took position on the north bank, his general line, including the corps at Mer, extending from the Loire on the right to Marchenoir on the left, with the forest of Marchenoir in his front. This disposition seriously threatened Von der Tann's communications with Paris. The German commander had with him in the vicinity of Orleans about 25,000 men, and De Paladines had formed the resolution of crushing him before assistance could be received from the army of Prince Frederick Charles, which was known to be approaching.

The news of the approach of the French army filled General Von der Tann with grave misgivings, but he manfully collected his whole force, and leaving only a regiment in Orleans marched towards the French position to develop their intentions. He was not able to withdraw his troops from either Chartres or Chateaudun until the intentions of the French were fully understood, and in order to test their strength he sent, on the 7th of November, a force of 6000 men to drive them out of the wood of Marchenoir. This force was repulsed with considerable loss by the French advanced guard.

There never was a time during the whole war when a more brilliant success, or series of successes offered themselves to the French, but it was the misfortune of that country—whose boast it was that its officers were trained in the school of the great Napoleon—never to have a commander of sufficient

vigor and daring to profit by his chances. It is true that there were difficulties in the way of De Paladines. His army was untried, and he doubted its discipline, but the sequel proved that it could fight well, and there is every reason to believe that with a daring and skilful leader it would have won great successes. Von der Tann lay at Orleans, with more than twenty thousand of his troops thrown out to Chateaudun and Chartres; the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg, with about 20,000 men, was marching by Paris towards Le Mans; and Prince Frederick Charles, with 75,000 men, was approaching in the direction of the upper Yonne. The junction of these forces was certain within a week, if nothing unfavorable to them occurred, and this concentration would oppose about 125,000 veteran troops to the army of the Loire. When De Paladines began his movement, the distance between these forces was sufficient to admit of their being attacked in detail; and he should have risked everything to crush Von der Tann at once, and then have thrown his command, superior to either of the German columns, against the others as he came up with them. Von der Tann and the Duke of Mecklenburg could have been crushed, and if the French commander had not been able to beat Frederick Charles' three corps, he could at least have driven the Germans to such extremities that they would have been compelled to make serious changes in their plan of operations, and he could to a great extent have neutralized the advantages which the release of the Red Prince's army from Metz had placed in their hands. The army investing Paris would have been necessarily weakened to reënforce the troops acting against Von der Tann, and Ducrot would not have met with such obstacles in his effort to break out of Paris. We are far from asserting that it was in the power of the French either to raise the siege of Paris or to inflict a defeat upon the combined forces which the Germans would finally have brought to bear upon them; but they could have compelled most important changes in the German plan, and have at least placed the defence of their country upon a better footing than it had held up to that time.

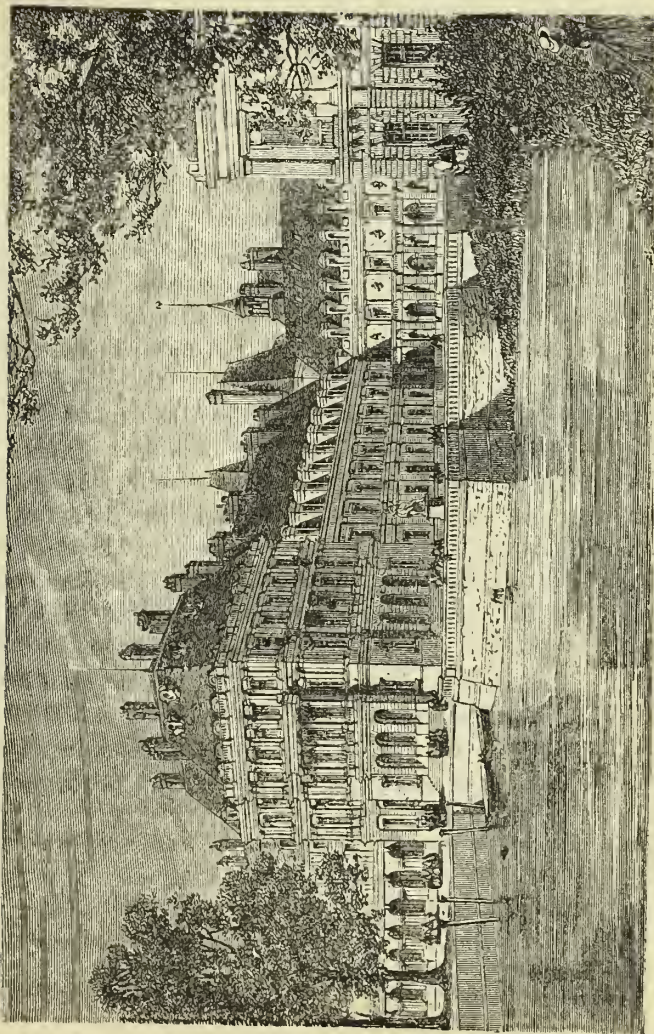
After the engagement of the 7th, De Paladines continued to approach the German lines. Moving from his position on the right bank of the Loire, on the 8th, he advanced his left and held back his right, so as to swing his force around Orleans, and seize the roads to Chateaudun and Toury, which the Germans had been using for their communications for several weeks previous. He also sent a column along the left bank of the river to attack Orleans from the south, and a strong cavalry force, under General Pallières was directed to cross the Loire near Chateauneuf, and endeavor to cut off the German retreat.

Von der Tann had taken position on the Chateaudun road, to the northwest of Orleans, with his main body, and on the morning of the 9th of November he was sharply attacked by the right wing of the French army, moving to the north of Coulmiers. The attack fell upon the First Bavarian Corps, which was greatly outnumbered by the French; and which was beaten back after a gallant struggle, covering the greater part of the day. Von der Tann now resolved to abandon the Chateaudun road, and retreat to Toury on the direct line to Paris, where he hoped to be reënforced, as he had promptly apprized the King of his danger. His retreat was made on the night of the 9th, in good order. On the 10th, the Germans made a stand at Baccon, a few miles north of Orleans, beyond the forest of Cercottes, but were forced to continue their retreat to Toury.* The French took two guns, a number of provision and ammunition wagons from the Germans, and one thousand prisoners, a portion of whom comprised the

* General De Paladines announced his victory to the Tours Government in the following bulletin:

"We have taken possession of the city of Orleans after a fight which has lasted two days. Our aggregate losses in killed and wounded do not reach 2000, while those of the enemy are much larger.

"We have made more than 1000 prisoners thus far, and are continually adding to them as we follow up the fleeing enemy. Among the property captured are two cannon of the Prussian model, twenty ammunition wagons, and a great number of vans and provision wagons. The hottest of the fight took place around Coulmiers, on Wednesday, the 9th. Notwithstanding the



Palace of Fontainebleau. The Fountain Court.

German sick and wounded left in Orleans. Upon reaching Toury, General Von der Tann was reënforced by the troops which had been called in from Chartres and Chateaudun, and on the 11th the arrival of the Thirteenth Corps, under the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg, the direction of whose march had been changed after the advance of the French, increased the German force to 60,000 men. The command of the whole force was assumed by the Grand Duke.

The French occupied Orleans immediately after the battle, and were greatly elated by their success. "Cowed by losing every battle since Saarbrück, they had lost all hopes. Now, as they mounted guard around the captured caissons and guns, they looked proud and cheerful, and a new 'fire was up in their eye.'" General De Paladines issued a ringing address, thanking the troops for what they had accomplished, and M. Gambetta tendered them the thanks of the nation in an eloquent proclamation. All over France the news of the victory of Baccon was hailed with the greatest enthusiasm, an enthusiasm which should have been fostered by further efforts. Reënforcements were sent forward with speed to De Paladines, and M. Gambetta publicly announced that the Army of the Loire had taken the road to Paris.

It has been said that the fall of Metz prevented De Paladines from making a successful effort for the relief of Paris. To a certain extent this is true; but the delay exhibited by that General after his victory over Von der Tann justifies us in believing that he would not have displayed the vigor and

bad weather and other unfavorable circumstances, the *Élan* displayed by the troops was remarkable."

King William sent the following to the Queen of Prussia:

"VERSAILLES, November 11th.

"To Queen Augusta:

"General Von der Tann yesterday retired from Orleans to Toury before a superior force of the enemy. He fought the French, however, all the way. He has already been reënforced by General Wittich and Prince Ollrich. The latter came up from Chartres. The Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin will also join his forces to those of Von der Tann to-day.

"WILHELM."

decision necessary to the task of raising the siege of the capital, even had Frederick Charles been still at Metz. The necessity for promptness and decision was very great, but General De Paladines exhibited neither quality. His army was vastly superior to that of the Duke of Mecklenburg, and was flushed with its success. The army of Frederick Charles was several days off, and could not possibly have reached the Grand Duke in time to assist him if the French had followed up their advantages as they should have done. Neither could the Duke have received reënforcements from Paris before his fate would have been decided. The Germans fully expected such a movement on the part of the French, and there was no little uneasiness at the royal headquarters in consequence of that anticipation.

But General De Paladines was not the man for the occasion. He never put forth his hand to seize the success within his grasp. He seemed paralyzed by the approaching concentration of the German forces, and remained idle around Orleans, exerting himself only to cover his position with a series of entrenchments which he proceeded to arm with heavy ship guns brought from the arsenal at Rochefort.

Meanwhile strong columns of French troops had made their appearance on the roads leading from Dreux (to which place the Breton army had advanced), Evreux, and Rouen. Prince Frederick Charles, who was marching to attack De Paladines in the rear, was ordered to move towards the position of the Duke of Mecklenburg, where he arrived on the 19th, and took command of all the German forces present. Manteuffel, who had been advancing from Metz towards Lille for the conquest of northern France, and had reached Tergnier, the junction of the railways branching to Lille and Amiens, was ordered to make a forced march on the latter place; it being Von Moltke's intention to cover the armies before Paris with a strong cordon of troops, extending from Beauvais on the north, by Mantes, Dreux and Chartres, to Etampes and Fontainebleau, on the south.

The Duke of Mecklenburg at once moved with his own

force to occupy the positions assigned him, and on the 17th and 18th of November drove the Breton Army under Fierek and Kérâtry out of Evreux and Dreux, compelling it to retreat towards Le Mans. Prince Frederick Charles immediately upon his arrival, moved his forces forward toward the French, his general line extended from Beaune-la-Rolande near Montargis on the left, to Dreux on the right, these points being distant from each other about sixty miles in an air line. The headquarters of Prince Frederick Charles were at Pithiviers, and those of the Duke of Mecklenburg were at Chartres. Von der Tann's Corps was between Bonneval (9 miles north of Chateaudun) and the Paris and Orleans Railway; the Ninth Prussian Corps was across that road in front of Toury; the Third Corps was in front of Pithiviers, and the Tenth Corps, which held the extreme left, was at Beaune-la-Rolande.

The French line extended from Marchenoir on the left to the Gien and Montargis road on the right. The left was held by the Sixteenth Corps under General Chanzy, and the Seventeenth Corps under General Sonnis; the Fifteenth Corps under General Pallières, was in the rear of Artenay; the Twentieth Corps under General Crouzat, was in the vicinity of Ladon, seven miles southeast of Beaune-la-Rolande, and nine miles due west of Montargis. The Eighteenth (raised at Nevers) under General Bourbaki, who had been recalled from Lille, arrived a few days later, and was posted four miles south of Montargis. In addition to his force, was the Army of the West, at Le Mans, consisting of the Twenty-first Corps and 25,000 Bretons under Kérâtry. It became necessary to place the whole force under the orders of General Fierek, commanding the Twenty-first Corps; whereupon the "good patriot" Kérâtry resigned his position in an insulting letter to the Minister of War, and gave convincing proof of what had long been suspected—that he was more mindful of the ambition and interest of Count Kérâtry than of the good of France.

The French commanders now determined to make a decisive effort to raise the siege of Paris. It was agreed between Generals Trochu and De Paladines that the latter should at

tack and drive back the army of Prince Frederick Charles, and march upon Paris by way of Fontainebleau, and that at the same time the former should break through the investing line of the Germans on the Marne, and occupy a position from which he could coöperate with the Army of the Loire in its approach from Fontainebleau. Both movements were to begin on the 28th of November; and it was expected that the Army of the Loire, if successful in its efforts, would reach the vicinity of Paris about the 1st of December. We shall pass for the present over the details of Trochu's part of the movement, and shall refer to it at length in another chapter. Trochu collected a strong column under the immediate command of General Ducrot, and was in readiness to begin his attack on the 29th of November, but was compelled to postpone it until the next day, in consequence of a sudden rise in the Marne. On the 30th, he commenced his effort to break through the German line.

De Paladines exerted himself with energy to carry out his part of the arrangement. On the 28th of November, he moved the Twentieth Corps from Ladon and the Eighteenth Corps from Montargis, both under General Bourbaki, against the Prussian Tenth Corps under Voights-Rhetz, at Beaunela-Rolande. Could he succeed in forcing back the Germans from this position, which was the key to their whole line, as well as of the great plain of Beuce, which extends from Paris to Orleans, there would be nothing to hinder his rapid march to Paris to the assistance of Trochu. Bourbaki made his attack with the Twentieth Corps, at two o'clock in the afternoon, and for six hours the battle raged furiously. The Tenth Corps made a gallant resistance, but it was steadily beaten back by the superior numbers of the French, who fought with a resolution which surprised the Germans. Towards nightfall Prince Frederick Charles arrived from Pithiviers with a part of the Third Prussian Corps. He came in good time, for the men of the Tenth Corps had exhausted their ammunition and were giving way. Had his arrival been delayed one hour he would have found Voights-Rhetz in full

retreat and the French on the road to Paris. The Prince at once threw his fresh troops into the fight, checked the advance of the French, and finally compelled them to withdraw towards their position of the morning. The Germans bivouacked on the battle-field that night, having lost 1000 men and a few officers in the operations of the day. The French left 1000 dead on the field, 1600 were taken prisoners, and their wounded were supposed to number 4000.*

Prince Frederick Charles, warned by his narrow escape of the danger of holding so extended a line, now ordered the Duke of Mecklenburg to close in from Chartres on the centre, as he intended to concentrate his army on a shorter front. Mecklenburg's troops had been engaged in hard marching and frequent encounters with the French since the 9th of November, and the men were in many instances without shoes, but in spite of this, he promptly obeyed the order to close in on the right of the Bavarians.

The 29th and 30th of November were passed by both the German and French commanders in manoeuvring for position, the movements of Frederick Charles being hampered to some extent by the necessity to await news of the result of Ducrot's sortie on the Marne. On the evening of the 30th news was received at the French headquarters that Ducrot had succeeded in securing a favorable position across the Marne, and it was decided to resume hostilities the next day. This time, however, the effort was to be made by the left wing, under General Chanzy. Accordingly, on the 1st of December, Chanzy, with the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Corps, fell upon Von der Tann near Patay, driving him back, and at nightfall occupied all the positions the Bavarians had held in the morning. The Duke of Mecklenburg had not yet completed his closing in movement, and had Chanzy followed up his success by a further advance, he would have thrust his two corps between the Duke and Von der Tann, and have prevented their junction. He failed to do this, however, and

* King William's estimate.

Prince Frederick Charles at once sent word to Mecklenburg to quicken his pace and close in upon the Bavarians, and directed him when his junction with Von der Tann was fairly accomplished, to attack the French with his combined force and drive them back upon Orleans. Enough had been learned of Ducrot's effort to make it certain that the Red Prince would not be needed at Paris, and he was determined to turn without delay upon De Paladines and beat him. His own army was in the neighborhood of 125,000 strong, while the French forces before him numbered nearly 200,000 men.

Mecklenburg succeeded in joining Von der Tann on the night of the 1st of December. He at once made his dispositions for the attack, which he meant to deliver the next morning; but at eight o'clock, on the 2d of December, Chanzy anticipated him by opening the battle with a sharp assault on the Bavarians. The Germans at once brought their troops into action, and though fortune at first seemed to favor the French, the latter were driven back with severe loss towards their original position. "All day long the battle raged. Hundreds of houses were in flames from the bursting shells, and villages burned all along the line. As night approached, on one side the moon shown brightly, and on the other the whole horizon was illumined by the glare of burning houses and villages. The ground was very well adapted for cavalry charges, and opposite Artenay the Fourth (Prussian) cavalry division was very active. At one time was to be seen along the road a herd of over 100 riderless horses, which galloped along in great terror, most of them being very badly wounded, and covered with blood. A whole cavalry regiment had been broken by a deadly mitrailleuse fire."

The Duke of Mecklenburg succeeded not only in driving back Chanzy's two corps, but also in thrusting his force between them and Pallières' Fifteenth Corps, which held the position near Artenay. The left flank of this corps being exposed by this movement, it fell back from Artenay to Chevilly, closely followed by the Prussian Ninth Corps.

Frederick Charles saw the advantage which the defeat of

the French left, and the enforced retreat of their centre placed in his hands, and he was brought to profit by it. On the morning of the 3d, he directed the Ninth Prussian Corps to attack the French Fifteenth Corps at Chevilly, and at the same time he threw the Third Prussian Corps against the French Twentieth Corps at Chilleure-au-Bois (due east from Artenay on the road from Orleans to Pithiviers); and in order to prevent assistance being sent to the French right, he thrust the Tenth Prussian Corps between the Twentieth and the Eighteenth French Corps, the latter of which was posted at Ladon. At the same time Mecklenburg was ordered to continue to press Chanzy back towards Orleans. The entire German plan was successful. De Paladines, who on the previous night had been so hopeful of success as to assure the Bishop of Orleans that he would have the pleasure of apprising him of a victory on the morrow, was astonished to find himself assailed by the Germans along his whole line. He made a gallant resistance, but though his force was nearly double that of the Germans, he was no match for the great soldier who was directing the movements against him. His entire army was forced back. Chanzy, with the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Corps, withdrew sullenly towards Meung, being unable to reach Orleans, and the Fifteenth Corps alone succeeded in occupying the defences of the city. The Twentieth French Corps was cut off from Orleans by the turning of its left flank, and was obliged to retire across the Loire at Jargeau, whence it retreated upon Vierzon. The Eighteenth Corps was thus entirely isolated, and General Bourbaki retired to Sully on the Loire, whence he marched to Gien, where he crossed the Loire, and continued his retreat to Bourges. The Twentieth Corps subsequently withdrew to the same place, and after the evacuation of Orleans, the Fifteenth Corps also retired to Bourges, where all three were united under the command of General Bourbaki.

The morning of the 4th of December found the Army of the Loire broken into three parts. The right was retreating in two portions on Bourges, every step carrying it further



Burial of French Soldiers in Trenches at Chevilly, near Orleans, by the Sanitary Corps.

from the remainder of the army; the centre was holding Orleans; and the left was withdrawing westwardly towards Blois and Tours. The army was hopelessly ruined,* and on the previous night General De Paladines had sorrowfully informed Gambetta that it would not be possible to hold Orleans. Gambetta had at first urged him to endeavor to hold the city at all hazards, and had protested against the proposed evacuation, but had finally yielded to De Paladines. On the morning of the 4th, however, the Dictator was informed by the General that he had changed his mind, and would endeavor to retain the city. Gambetta was at Blois when he received this message, and he instantly started for Orleans. "The train was ordered forward at lightning speed. At La Chapelle, a few miles south-west of Orleans, the engineer rang his bell in terror, and came to a sudden halt, while Mecklenburg's Fourth Cavalry fired a volley of bullets, filling the War Secretary with fear and consternation. 'What is that?' exclaimed Gambetta; and then again came a flash,—a crash, and the Mecklenburg bullets tore through the car, while down towards Gambetta's carriage rushed the speechless railroad official, with his eyes wide open. 'All right, Henri!' said the Minister, in affected composure; 'back to Beaugency—quick!' Like lightning buzzed the reversed wheels of the locomotive on the icy track. The moment's delay seemed an age, for in front was a squadron of terrible uhlans, galloping at breakneck speed after the flying Minister. At first the uhlans gained on the train, and Gambetta fumbled nervously

* Gambetta announced the disaster to the nation in the following proclamation :

"CITIZENS:—The Army of the Loire has discontinued its forward movement, owing to the resistance of the enemy, who has concentrated large masses of troops between Pithiviers, Artenay, and Angerville. The army occupies strongly intrenched positions, in which it will remain for the present, postponing its advance until a better opportunity is offered. In the meanwhile General Ducrot, with the army which he led out of Paris, is disengaged, and will be able to act more freely, not finding before him the masses of the enemy which it was supposed were going to meet him, but which are really retained north of Orleans.

GAMBETTA."

for his pistols, but in a moment more the light train sped away, and the last shots of the Prussians only brought a derisive screech from the locomotive. At Beaugency, Gambetta found himself surrounded by an excited crowd. 'What news, —where are the rascals?' asked a dozen voices. 'All is well,' said the ever-sanguine Minister—'it is all v-e-r-y well;—my mind is relieved; my doubts are at rest. Our countrymen are defending Orleans as becomes true Frenchmen. At La Chapelle I heard the Orleans cannons,—I know we are victorious. I must now get a carriage for the south road to Blois as soon as possible; there good news awaits me. Take courage, my friends,—France shall yet be saved.' So saying, he darted into a carriage, and his horses were soon trotting over the frozen ground towards Blois. On he flew, past the astonished villages. The night was now dark, and the roads were as slippery as when Dickens says:

'There's frost upon the pathway and there's mud upon the track,
And the ice it isn't water and the water isn't free,
And you couldn't say that anything is what it ought to be.'

"No news! On sped the Minister. Now a messenger arrives on a panting horse with a dispatch. In a moment Gambetta caught its contents. '*Mon Dieu!* it is all lost. Freycinet says D'Aurelles has surrendered Orleans!' The Minister's eyes gleamed vengeance for a moment, and then hope seemed to come. 'It is terrible,' he said, 'but the Army of the Loire is still there; the Republic has yet 200,000 soldiers, well provided with the material of war. No one shall doubt—we will save the country yet.' Back flew Gambetta to Tours, where, jaded and worn, in the early morning he found a dispatch from Pallières announcing that Prince Charles had demanded the evacuation of Orleans under a threat that he would bombard the place, and that he had agreed, in the name of Paladines to comply with the demand."

Following up his successes, Frederick Charles, on the 4th, pressed Chanzy back, along the north bank of the Loire, toward Blois, pursuing him closely with the army of the Grand

Duke of Mecklenburg. Late in the afternoon the Ninth Prussian Corps stormed the suburb of St. Jean near Orleans, capturing 30 guns and 1000 prisoners. The city was then summoned to surrender, and the demand was complied with by General Pallières, who held it with the Fifteenth French Corps. Pallières withdrew from the city at midnight, and crossing the Loire retreated upon Bourges. The Germans entered the city at 2 A.M., on the 5th.

Leaving the Tenth Corps to garrison Orleans, Frederick Charles divided his army, and sending Mecklenburg and the Bavarians to pursue Chanzy along the north branch of the Loire, he directed the Ninth Corps upon Blois by the south bank, while the Third Prussian Corps and a division of cavalry were sent to follow the French Corps which had retreated upon Bourges and prevent them from seeking to regain their comrades on the northren shore of the Loire.

The losses on both sides were very heavy during the engagements we have described. The number of killed and wounded is not yet known with certainty, but 14,000 prisoners and seventy pieces of artillery fell into the hands of the Germans.

The excitement at Tours and throughout France, when the disasters of the army of the Loire became known, was intense. General De Paladines was severely censured, and was relieved of his command and ordered to duty at Cherbourg. He declined the new appointment, however, and retired to his estate. He was succeeded on the 8th by General Chanzy, who was given the command of what remained of the Army of the Loire. This force consisted of about half the number of men with which De Paladines had opened the campaign.

Chanzy's first duty was to secure the withdrawal of his army. Mecklenburg was pressing him in front, on the north bank of the Loire; and the Ninth Prussian Corps, advancing towards Blois along the south bank, was threatening to gain his rear and cut off his retreat. The small force at Chambord was captured by the Ninth Corps on the 9th of Decem-

ber. Chanzy, meanwhile, continued to retire before the bulk of the German forces on the right bank of the Loire. His withdrawal was executed deliberately and in good order. Each day was marked by severe fighting, for the Germans hung closely upon him, and endeavored, by repeated attacks, to throw his army into confusion. On the 7th, there was sharp fighting about Meung and Beaugency, the Duke of Mecklenburg endeavoring to break the French line. General Chanzy held his ground, however; and the next day, the 8th, the battle was renewed by the Germans, and was continued during the greater part of the day. The result was indecisive, though the French suffered severely, as did the Germans; but the latter captured six guns, and 1000 prisoners.

The newly organized Twenty-first Corps had now reached Chanzy from Blois and Tours, and adding this to his force, he determined to turn the tables upon Frederick Charles and put a stop to the pursuit. Sending a small force to hold the bridge over the Loire at Blois and prevent the passage of the river by the Ninth Corps, he wheeled suddenly on the Duke of Mecklenburg, and attacked him furiously on the 9th. The battle took place near Beaugency, and was sharply contested on both sides. Both commanders claimed the victory,* but the advantage lay mainly with the French, who put a stop to

* Chanzy's report was as follows :

"We were attacked all along the lines, from Meung to St. Laurent, last night (8th). To-day the principal effort of the evening was at Beaugency. The Germans were very strong at that place, having no less than eighty-six cannon. Their forces consisted of two divisions of Bavarians, one division of Prussians, 2000 cavalry, and strong reserves. They were under the command of Prince Frederick Charles and the Duke of Mecklenburg. We slept to-night on the positions we had this morning. The prisoners taken acknowledge that the Prussians suffered heavy losses. The battle lasted till night. I have not yet received a complete list of our losses. We may be attacked again to-morrow, but we are prepared to resist to the utmost. Three French corps were engaged."

The Grand Duke of Mecklenburg telegraphed to his wife, after the battle :

"The enemy attacked us violently, but was victoriously repulsed by the advance of the 17th and 22d divisions. God was with us. Our losses were smaller than yesterday."

the pursuit for the time, and threw the Germans on the defensive.

The Duke of Mecklenburg had intended resting his army on the 10th of December, for his men were literally broken down by their constant marching and fighting; but on that day Chanzy compelled him to defer this intention by assailing him furiously. The attack fell mainly on the Bavarians, who were so sorely pressed that they were on the point of giving way in confusion, when Voights-Rhetz arrived from Orleans with the Tenth Corps to their assistance. By seriously threatening Chanzy's right, Voights-Rhetz compelled the French Commander to withdraw towards Blois. On the 11th the Bavarian Corps of Von der Tann was marched back to Orleans to garrison the city. This splendid command sadly needed rest. It had been marching and fighting incessantly for thirty days, and of the 30,000 men who composed it at the outbreak of the war, it is stated that but 5000 effective troops remained; sickness and its losses in battle made up the difference.

Two courses were now open to General Chanzy: either to retire at once towards Le Mans, where reënforcements were gathering for him, or to continue to move down the Loire and endeavor to cover Tours, bringing his reënforcements forward from Le Mans. He chose the former, and as this course would leave Tours open to the enemy, the moveable branch of the French Republican Government at once left Tours, and went to Bordeaux, which city it continued to occupy until the close of the war. Chanzy's decision was hastened by the information which reached him on the 12th that the Prussian Ninth Corps had occupied the southern suburbs of Blois. The bridge over the Loire had been broken at that place, and the Germans had opened fire on Blois, and as there was no adequate force at that place to resist them, there was danger that they would cross the river and move upon the rear of the army of the Loire. Chanzy, therefore, withdrew from his position near Beaugency, on the night of the 12th, and wheeling to the northward, marched

owards the Loir, an affluent of the Loire. He crossed that river at Vendôme, and occupied its right bank from Morée to Vendôme in front of the forest of Freteval, and in the rear of the village of that name. Blois being evacuated by the French, was occupied by the Germans on the 13th.

Chanzy effected his withdrawal with such skill that not only was he uninterrupted, but the Germans seemed at a loss to determine in which direction their adversary had disappeared. Indeed a portion of his force, 2000 strong, which came in sight of the Duke of Mecklenburg's outposts, were believed by the Germans to be merely a body of stragglers, and were reported as such. As soon as the direction of the French retreat was known, however, Frederick Charles, leaving the Third Corps to watch Bourbaki in the direction of Bourges, hastened after the Army of the Loire, which was found in its strong position on the Loir. The Germans opened the attack on the 14th, and the battle was continued through the 15th. The French stood their ground manfully. Freteval was twice taken and retaken, and was finally carried by the forces of the Duke of Mecklenburg on the night of the 15th; and Vendôme, which was less stubbornly defended, was captured by Prince Frederick Charles on the morning of the 16th. Chanzy then continued his withdrawal towards Le Mans, and on the 17th heavy skirmishing took place between his rear-guard and the German advance between Epui-say and St. Calais. Here the pursuit ceased, and the French continued their retreat to Le Mans, while the Germans withdrew towards Orleans and Chartres; the Tenth Corps was the last to withdraw. One of its divisions was sent to break the bridge over the Loire at Tours. On the morning of the 20th of December, this division encountered a division of the Twenty-first French Corps at Monnaye, a few miles north of Tours, and defeated it. Proceeding to the Loire, opposite Tours, fire was immediately opened upon the town by the artillery, and in a short time a flag of truce arrived from the Mayor, surrendering the place, which had no defences of any kind. The bombardment was at once discontinued, and the Germans,

crossing the Loire, marched through the city, destroying the bridge behind them, and passed on to Orleans.

Although unsuccessful in the effort to relieve Paris, and beaten back from Orleans, the French were by no means disheartened. The campaign had proved that their new levies could fight, and that they could hold their ground against the German veterans, who were compelled in the closing engagements to put forth unusual exertions to beat them. Within thirteen days ten severe battles had been fought, and the retreat from the upper Loire had been conducted with skill and success on the part of General Chanzy. The Germans had not been able to cut off a single brigade of the force under Chanzy, nor had they been able at any time to prevent him from withdrawing along the route he had selected. Above all, the army had not become demoralized. It had stood by its colors, and had fought its way to Le Mans with a steadiness and gallantry which were full of promise for the future.

We shall soon be called upon to relate the fate of the three corps which were rallied at Bourges under Bourbaki. For the present, we must content ourselves with stating that they were organized into an independent force known as the First Army, which, for the present, continued to hold its position about Bourges.

Every effort was made to supply Chanzy with men and arms after his arrival at Le Mans. A considerable force of recruits had been gathered in an intrenched camp at Conlie for the defence of Brittany. M. Gambetta, appreciating the folly of leaving such a force to be captured by the enemy, broke up the camp, and after distributing the best armed of the recruits through Chanzy's army, scattered the remainder in small camps over Brittany. By the close of the first week in January, 1871, Chanzy found himself at the head of an army of about 150,000 men, well armed with the Remington and chassepot rifle, and provided with 300 pieces of artillery.

The presence of Bourbaki, with his three corps d'armée at Bourges, had made it dangerous for Prince Frederick Charles to continue his pursuit of Chanzy; and his army was

so greatly weakened by losses in battle and sickness as to make it necessary to recruit it before encountering the French again. Upon returning to Orleans, the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg was stationed to hold the roads leading from Chartres and Dreux to Paris, while Prince Frederick Charles posted his own forces around Orleans. A German division from Von Werder's army was sent to hold Auxerre on the Yonne, to watch the French in that direction. Reënforcements were brought up from Germany, the depleted regiments were filled up, and every thing was gotten in readiness to take the field again as soon as the French should reveal their intentions. For the present, however, the Red Prince contented himself with watching his adversary vigilantly, and lying within supporting distance of the armies before Paris.

Meanwhile, Chanzy threw out a column toward the Loir to observe the army of the Duke of Mecklenburg; but Bourbaki maintained a profound silence in his position to the north of Bourges, merely keeping his outposts well out towards the upper Loire in the vicinity of Gien and Bonny. Considerable doubt existed in the mind of the German Commander as to the intentions of the French, but it was believed that Chanzy would occupy the attention of the Duke of Mecklenburg, while Bourbaki, pivoting on the Loire and throwing forward his right, would endeavor to seize the communications of Frederick Charles with Paris. The French were considerably superior to the Germans in numbers, and it became necessary for the Red Prince to watch them cautiously. He made several efforts to push his reconnoissances close up to their main lines. On the 1st of January a German column, consisting of a regiment of cavalry and two regiments of infantry, was engaged in this duty between Chateau Renault and Vendôme, when it was attacked by a French force, and pursued nearly to Vendôme, which it regained only after suffering severe losses. On the 31st of December, a column of 2000 men, under Prince Louis of Hesse, endeavoring to reconnoitre Bourbaki's lines, was attacked at Bonny and driven back with loss.

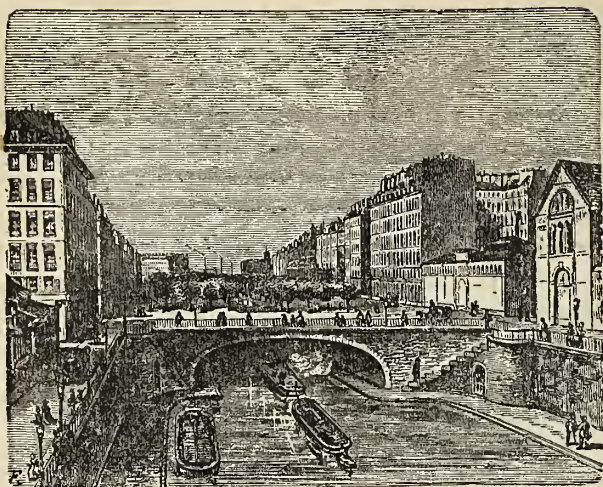
The true policy of the French, who were seriously intending another effort for the relief of Paris, was to use the armies of Chanzy and Bourbaki in concert with each other, and to endeavor to crush the army of Frederick Charles at the earliest possible moment. The plan resolved upon by the Bordeaux Government was very different from this, and is said to have been the work of M. Gambetta. By this plan, Chanzy was to advance by forced marches upon Paris, by way of Alençon, Dreux, and Versailles. Bourbaki, instead of supporting Chanzy, was to leave the Loire, march eastward, and in conjunction with Garibaldi and the new Army of Lyons, to raise the siege of Belfort, enter the Vosges region, and sever the communications of the Germans with their own country, at the very frontier. While these movements were in progress, General Faidherbe, with the Army of the North, was to wheel suddenly on Manteuffel, turn his left wing, and seize the railways by which the Germans at Paris drew their supplies from Northern France and from Germany. Such a plan, if successful, would of necessity result in great misfortunes to the Germans, whose ranks the French believed to be thinned out by battle and disease. But the German ranks had been refilled with new troops brought from over the Rhine, and their army was once more prepared to take the field. The French plan might have succeeded had its execution been entrusted to veteran troops led by commanders of great energy and daring; but the most important portion of the whole, the movement assigned to Bourbaki, was executed with a feebleness and hesitancy which were simply appalling, and the superior promptness and daring of the German Commander prevented the rest of the plan from being put into execution at all. It was a most unfortunate decision, and very bad strategy, under the circumstances, that sent Bourbaki to the Jura and left Chanzy to be overwhelmed by the forces of Frederick Charles and the Duke of Mecklenburg.

Bourbaki moved off from the Loire about the 5th of January, and his march was promptly reported to Prince Frederick Charles, who, divining its object, resolved to leave Bour-

baki, to be dealt with by the forces of General Von Werder, and to march at once with his own army upon the French at Le Mans. Not a moment was lost. As soon as he was fairly satisfied of Bourbaki's movement to the eastward, he began his march, setting out on the 6th of January. The Duke of Mecklenburg moved forward from Chartres, and was suffered to proceed more rapidly than the left wing, the Prince's object being to get his army fairly between Chanzy and Versailles, so as to be able to check him should the latter attempt to advance in that direction.

Chanzy, however, lay with his main army near Le Mans. Keeping advanced forces only pushed across the thirty miles of country intervening between Vendôme and that place. Moving on through Vendôme, the Tenth Prussian Corps encountered these forces on the 6th at Azay, and after a sharp fight drove them back. The French made a stand at Montoire, five miles further on, but were again driven back. On the 7th, the German armies were at Nogent-le-Rotrou, Sarge, Savigny, and La Chartre, skirmishing nearly all the way with the French. On the 8th, Frederick Charles was at St Calais, while the Duke of Mecklenburg, advancing from the north, was forcing his way along the river Huisne. The Duke was opposed in his march by a strong French force, and on the 9th he struck this body a severe blow at Ardenay, and succeeded in forcing it to retreat to the northward, thus preventing it from being of any assistance to Chanzy in the subsequent battles. On the night of the 9th, the combined armies of Frederick Charles and Mecklenburg were united before the French position.

Chanzy took position on the night of the 9th, within seven miles of Le Mans, near Montfort and L'Eveque. His force, estimated at 150,000 men, well supplied with artillery, and well armed, was divided into three corps d'armée—the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Twenty-first—commanded respectively by Generals Juarezibery, Colomb, and Jouffroy. A large part of the French troops consisted of new levies who had never been under fire, but the remainder were the men who



Boulevard Richard Lenoir : Paris.

had given the Red Prince so much trouble during their retreat from the Loire.

The Germans were about equal to the French in numbers, and had the advantage of being nearly all tried veterans, and their artillery was not only numerous, but was the finest in the world. Therefore, in spite of Chanzy's strong position and superior numbers, Frederick Charles had good reasons for the confidence with which he advanced to attack his adversary.

The Prince Marshal approached the French position from its right and in front of it, and the Duke of Mecklenburg, advancing from the north, threatened its left. The opposing forces came opposite each other on the night of the 9th, the ground was covered with a foot of snow, which rendered manœuvring difficult, and the weather was intensely cold. The two armies occupied each a line of heights on opposite sides of a valley which curved in the form of a semicircle. The artillery of each army was posted on the hills overlooking the valley, and at dawn on the morning of the 10th of January, the German guns opened fire. The French promptly

replied, and for some time an indecisive artillery duel went on. Towards noon, however, Frederick Charles moved his infantry across the valley, pressing the French right and centre heavily, while the Duke of Mecklenburg made a sharp attack on their left. The fighting took place principally in the valley, in advance of the French defensive line, and for awhile the army of General Chanzy maintained its position with firmness. The fighting was at close quarters, and was exceedingly determined in character. An overwhelming charge of the Third and Ninth Prussian Corps finally shook the Mobiles stationed in the centre, and they gave way. Chanzy, seeing his line broken, now ordered a withdrawal to a new position nearer to Le Mans, which was accomplished in good order. The Germans made no effort to pursue him with vigor, reserving their last blow for the next day. The losses on both sides were severe, and the snow was red with the blood of thousands of brave men as the French slowly withdrew, and the darkness coming on soon gave a friendly cover to their movements.

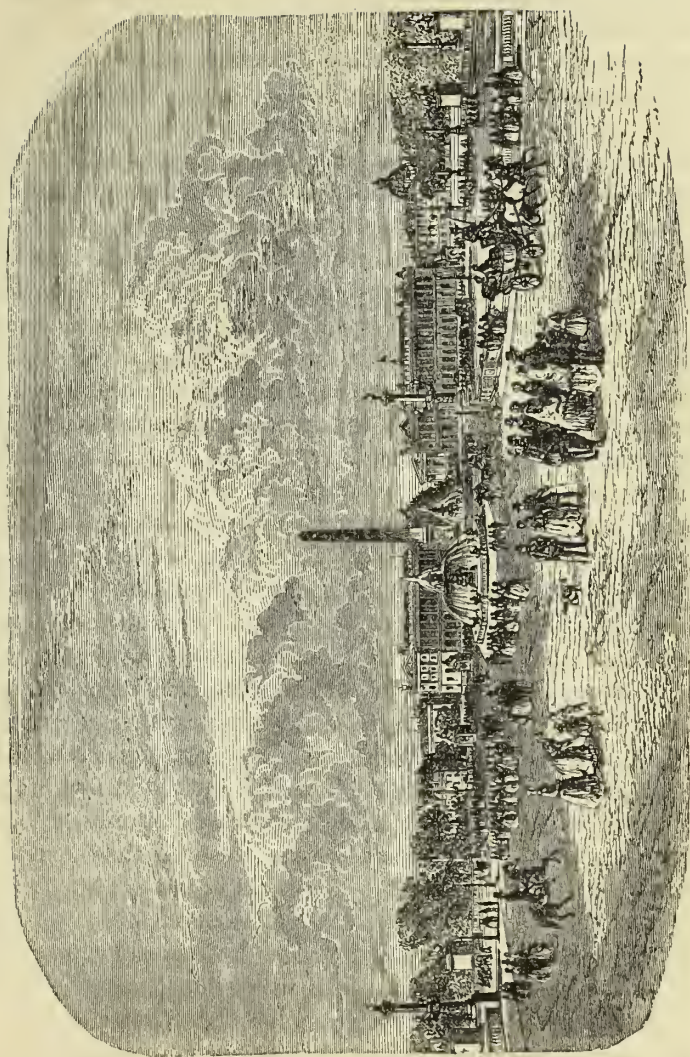
Chanzy was not disheartened, however, and he passed the night working energetically to prepare his army in its new line for the attack which he knew he would have to meet in the morning. He occupied now a better position than he had held on the tenth. His right wing, under Jouffroy, covered the village of Brette, a few miles to the northeast of Le Mans; the centre, under Colomb, held the plateau of Auvours; and the left, under Juarezibery, held the right bank of the Huisne, towards La Ferte. His artillery was posted in advance of the infantry, and a strong cavalry force covered each flank.

At daylight on the 11th of January, the Red Prince put his army in motion again, but as the French had fallen back, he did not reach their position till about ten o'clock. The Duke of Mecklenburg moved against the French left on the Huisne, and covering his advance with a terrible artillery fire, struck boldly at the right of Juarezibery's corps, endeavoring to separate it from the rest of Chanzy's line. The

French met the attack with spirit, and poured a heavy fire, in which the mitrailleuse played a prominent part, into the German ranks. It was in vain, however, and the Germans not only succeeded in taking up an advantageous position on the Huisne, but pressed Juarezibery so hard that he was obliged to ask for assistance. The reserves were promptly sent to reënforce him, and with the aid of these he succeeded in holding Mecklenburg in check along the river. While this movement was in progress Prince Marshal directed a heavy attack upon the French centre, Colomb's corps. This command held its ground well until its centre was broken by a determined effort of the Germans, when it was ordered to fall back. Colomb withdrew to a position where the rising ground gave his artillery a commanding range. During his withdrawal the German field batteries posted to the left of the Chartres railway did great execution in his ranks, and he endeavored several times, but without success, to dislodge them from their position. Upon reaching his new line, he halted, and for two hours held it stubbornly against the repeated attacks of his adversary.

It was now four o'clock, and the battle was still doubtful. Frederick Charles relinquished his effort against the centre, and made a rapid and heavy concentration of troops in the wood which lies before the village of Brette, which village was held by the corps of Jouffroy, constituting the French right wing. His artillery was well covered by the wood, and as soon as the positions were gained a sharp cannonade was opened upon Brette. The French infantry at once advanced to clear the wood, but were met with a fire before which they recoiled, and the Germans moving forward hotly upon the heels of this success, carried the village of Brette, and forced the French back towards Le Mans.

Chanzy now withdrew his right to the immediate vicinity of Le Mans, and, as darkness had fallen over the field, and the Germans did not seem disposed to follow up their success on the right by a general attack, he proceeded to take up a new position nearer the city, intending to renew the fight the next morning.



Place de la Concorde : Paris.

Frederick Charles, however, was quietly preparing for a bold venture for the success of which he relied upon the very darkness which the French regarded as a protection to them against further molestation. The French right had been withdrawn to within a short distance of Le Mans. The key-point of the position was the hill of La Tuilerie, lying at the point where the Huisne flows into the Sarthe, and between the two rivers. Here General Chanzy had posted a strong force of Breton Mobiles, with orders to hold the position at any cost. The Prince moved up a number of his batteries in front of this hill, and at midnight, when a deep silence had fallen over both armies, opened an artillery fire upon the position of the Mobiles which shook the very earth under them. The discharges of cannon and explosions of shells were incessant and appalling. The Prince had not expected to accomplish much by the actual damage inflicted by this fire, but he shrewdly judged that such a terrific cannonade would be apt to strike terror to the Mobiles, suddenly aroused from their slumbers and worn out with the fatigues of a hotly contested day.

He was right. The bursting shells did comparatively little harm, but the noise was fearful. The Mobiles, aroused from sleep, and utterly disconcerted, looked in vain to their officers for instructions. They, too, were confounded by the *feu d'enfer* directed against them, and were incapable of giving orders. The cry was raised that all was lost, and a confused and disorderly retreat set in. The Mobiles fled through the streets of the Le Mans, spreading terror and confusion wherever they went. The Germans gave them no time to rally, and as soon as they detected the signs of wavering, threw forward a strong column and seized the coveted hill. They had now turned Chanzy's right, and had gained a position which would enable them the next day to assail his rear. There was nothing left for the French Commander but a retreat, and he at once withdrew through Le Mans to the westward. The Duke of Mecklenburg following him promptly, succeeded in cutting off his left wing, which retreated towards Alençon, while the main body retired on Laval. The with-

drawal was finally accomplished on the morning of the 12th, and at noon Frederick Charles occupied Le Mans.

The German Army was now divided. Mecklenburg, who was still north of Le Mans with his army, was sent in pursuit of Juarezibery's corps, which had retreated towards Alençon, and the Prince marched after Chanzy. Mecklenburg occupied Beaumont on the 14th, captured 1000 prisoners and some stores, and the next day his cavalry cut the railway, and compelled a large body of French troops coming from Cherbourg to reënforce Juarezibery, to return to that place. On the 16th Alençon was occupied, after a slight resistance on the part of the French.

Frederick Charles came up with the retreating French on the morning of the 14th at Bernay, 12 miles west of Le Mans, and making a fierce attack upon them, drove them farther westward. The camp at Conlie, with a considerable quantity of arms and stores, was captured after a slight resistance. On the 16th another encounter took place at Vaiges, in which the French were worsted with the loss of 2000 prisoners. Chanzy then continued his withdrawal towards Laval, taking position finally to the westward of that town. Frederick Charles followed him no farther, but, halting to rest his men, and to make arrangements for the safe transportation of his supplies from Orleans, distributed his forces across the country, shutting up Chanzy within the peninsula of Brittany, disposing his own army in such a manner as to enable him to prevent the French from marching either to the eastward or southward should they attempt to do so.

The losses on both sides were severe. Between the 6th and the 12th, the Germans lost 177 officers and 3203 men killed and wounded. The French loss in killed and wounded was greater. The Germans took in this period 22,000 unwounded prisoners (making their captures foot up near 25,000 prisoners, to the 16th) and 19 guns, besides 100 loaded wagons, locomotives, stores, etc.

Though beaten at Le Mans, Chanzy was not crushed. He had proved himself the best commander France had yet placed

in the field, and it was no slight accomplishment to have held his ground so well against the efforts of such a leader as Frederick Charles. He had nearly 100,000 men with him. The sea was at his back, from which supplies could be sent him, and 50,000 fresh troops were at Cherbourg in readiness to march to his assistance, the distance across the country being slight.

Such was the situation in Brittany when the armistice, on the 28th of January, put an end to hostilities.

In the north of France there was but little of interest to note during the early part of the siege of Paris. The surrender of Soissons threw open a large portion of the northern departments to the foraging parties of the Germans, who availed themselves of the opportunity to collect supplies. The Prussian cavalry, supported by detachments of artillery, and occasionally by an infantry force, went everywhere, and though frequent encounters with the Mobiles and Francs-Tireurs took place, nothing rising to the dignity of a battle occurred in northern France until near the close of the year. Rouen and Amiens were prompt to arm their citizens and to collect the Mobiles of their immediate vicinity, but no effort at a systematic defence was made until after the middle of October. Then General Bourbaki, having resigned the command of the Army of the Loire, was sent by Gambetta to organize a force in the north, to resist the advance of General Manteuffel, who was approaching from Metz with the First and Eight Prussian Corps, for the purpose of attacking Lille and the northern fortresses. Bourbaki worked energetically to raise and equip an army, and was succeeding fairly in his efforts, when M. Gambetta removed him from his command, and placed him in charge of the Eighteenth Corps just organized at Nevers, which formed a part of the Army of the Loire. He was succeeded in the command of the Army of the North by General Faidherbe, an officer of skill and distinction, who took up the work as it fell from Bourbaki's hands, and carried it on until he had between 40,000 and 50,000 men armed and equipped for the campaign. These were di-

vided into two bodies, one of which held Lille, where General Faidherbe had his headquarters. The other held Amiens. General Manteuffel marched from Metz immediately after the surrender of that place, his route lying by Verdun and Mézières, which places he was to reduce before passing by them. Verdun surrendered before he could take any part in the attack, and his army was towards the middle of November relieved of this duty by the Seventeenth Prussian Corps, under General Treskow. Thus relieved, he continued his advance towards Lille, sending one of his regiments to blockade the small fortress of La Fère, on the Oise, which lay almost on his line of march, and which, with its garrison of 2000 men and seventy guns, surrendered after a fortnight's siege. Upon reaching Tergnier, the junction of the railway lines branching to Amiens and Lille, he was met by an order from the Royal headquarters to march with speed upon Amiens in order to be within supporting distance of the Army of Prince Frederick Charles if that commander should need his aid, and to assist in covering the armies before Paris from any attack by the French forces which were gathering on the Loire, at Le Mans, and in the north of France. He arrived in the vicinity of Amiens on the 25th. During that day and the next, some unimportant fighting took place, in which the advantage lay with the French; but on the 27th, Manteuffel moved up Von Gœben's Eighth Corps, and delivered battle to the French force, the strength of which is estimated at 20,000, but is not known with certainty. He defeated this with ease, the Mobs breaking without an effort to hold their ground upon the first attempt to turn their flank. The French then retired at all points, their retreat being made in good order, owing to the gallant exertions of the brigade of marines, which constituted the covering force. Their retreat was in the direction of Arras and Lille. The next morning, the 28th, the city of Amiens was surrendered to Von Gœben, who garrisoned it with a small force from his own corps. The French lost four guns and a considerable number killed and wounded in the battle of the 27th, the majority of the

injured men belonging to the Marine Corps whose gallant resistance cost the Germans 1300 men.

The advance of the Army of the Loire, and the effort of Ducrot to cut his way out through the armies around Paris, made it necessary for Manteuffel to remain inactive about Amiens for some days. While awaiting the result of these battles, he sent a force of 1000 men to seize and hold the important town of Abbeville near the north of the Somme, and a similar force was thrown out towards Albert on the Amiens and Lille Railway, to watch the French, who had retreated in that direction, and blown up the bridge at that place, after their defeat. His cavalry was sent towards Rouen, where the Mobile Guards of Normandy were reported to be in force. On the 30th of November, General Briand, with the Mobiles just mentioned, inflicted a sharp defeat upon the German troopers at Etrepagny, and drove them back to Gisors.

The defeat of De Paladines and Ducrot relieved Manteuffel of the necessity of remaining about Amiens, and on the 3d of December, after leaving a sufficient garrison in that city, he marched with his whole army upon Rouen. On the 5th he encountered Briand's force, 20,000 strong, at Buchy, seventeen miles from Rouen. He had no trouble in breaking and driving off this force, which made scarcely any effort at resistance, but stampeded as soon as the Germans opened fire from their artillery. Rouen was then occupied, and, according to the *Gazette de France*, a fine of fifteen millions of francs was levied upon it by the conqueror. Four hundred prisoners and ten guns were captured here.

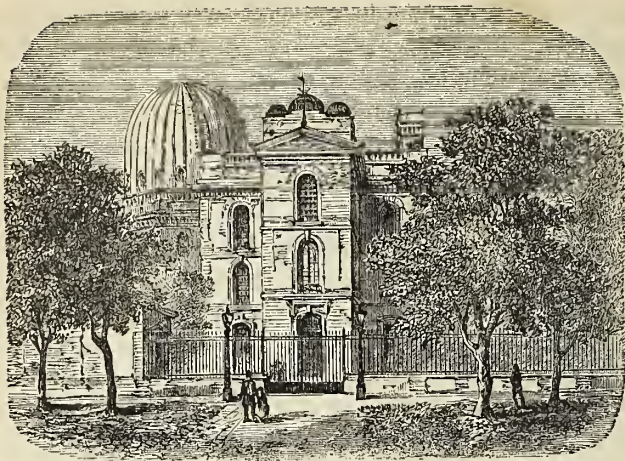
Rouen lies at the head of ship navigation on the Seine, and is consequently a point of great importance; and, having gained possession of it, Manteuffel resolved to threaten Havre at the mouth of the river. Havre was well fortified, and was defended by a considerable force, including the command of General Briand, which had returned there after the fight at Buchy. He advanced towards Havre with the First Corps, and sent Von Gœben to occupy Dieppe on the English Channel. Von Gœben occupied Dieppe on the 8th, but soon aban-

doned it, after levying a heavy contribution upon it. On the 13th, he returned to Dieppe with 8000 men, which he billeted upon the inhabitants.

In the meantime General Faidherbe, who was not present at the battle before Amiens, had taken command of the Army of the North, and had gotten together a force of about 60,000 men, nearly all raw troops. They were indifferently armed, and were decidedly lacking in discipline. With this force he left Lille, about the middle of December, and marched rapidly to the southward. He surprised and captured a considerable German post at Ham, but passed by La Fère without even threatening it. It was believed at the time that his march, which he endeavored to conceal from Manteuffel as long as possible, was an effort to relieve Paris from the north. This is very probable, for he wheeled to the left after passing Ham, and marched rapidly towards Amiens. It was not long before he heard that Manteuffel was coming by forced marches to meet him ere he could reach that city.

Manteuffel heard of Faidherbe's march to the southward very soon after it was begun, and divining its object, determined to turn upon him and compel him to give battle. Collecting a force of about 30,000 men, well supplied with artillery, he set out for Amiens by forced marches. On the 23d of December, he encountered the French army, about 50,000 strong, drawn up on a line of eminences along the left bank of a little brook called La Hallue, which falls into the Somme at Daours. This position was on the old post-road from Amiens to Arras, and was six miles from the former city. It was naturally very strong, and was held by a force nearly double that of the Germans. Manteuffel boldly attacked his adversary, and the battle lasted during the greater part of the day. The French succeeded in maintaining their main position, but Manteuffel took the villages in their front,* and

* General Faidherbe in his report of the battle says: "General Faidherbe had ordered the troops only to offer a slight resistance to the villages with a few skirmishes, and at once to retire to the commanding heights in the rear."



Observatory : Paris.

pressed them so heavily that they withdrew towards Arras on the 24th. The battle received the name of Pont Noyelles, from the village which formed the French centre, and was creditably sustained by the French troops, which, if superior in numbers to the Germans, were, it must be remembered, raw levies.

Manteuffel followed the French army slowly, and dividing his forces, sent a portion to invest the second class fortress of Péronne, while, with the rest, about 16,000 in all, he advanced to Bapaume, a fortified town fourteen miles southeast of Arras, the object of this advance being to cover the siege of Péronne. A small reënforcement marched from St. Quentin to Manteuffel's assistance, and a column was sent to Abbeville from Dieppe to threaten Faidherbe's right.

On the 2d of January, 1871, Faidherbe, who had received considerable reënforcements, advanced upon Manteuffel and attacked him with a greatly superior force near Bapaume. The battle was a severe one, and lasted from eight in the morning until six in the evening, but was indecisive. The Germans held their ground against the overwhelming masses of the French. The next day, January 3d, the fight was re-

newed. Manteuffel had been reënforced, however, from the troops besieging Péronne and by the detachment from St. Quentin, and he now compelled the French to abandon the field, and to retreat to the northward. Faidherbe withdrew sullenly towards Arras, and the Germans made no effort at pursuit, being well content to retain the position they had held on to so gallantly.

Manteuffel was now ordered by Von Moltke to turn over the command of his army to Von Gœben, and hasten to the east of France, to take charge of the movements against Bourbaki in that quarter. Von Gœben's first care was to press the siege of Péronne, which surrendered on the 10th, after a severe bombardment. The Germans had with great difficulty maintained this siege in the face of the superior forces of the French, and it is asserted that, had not the latter withdrawn after the battle of the 3d at Bapaume, Von Gœben would have raised the siege and have retreated from Péronne, being in readiness to take that step.

On the 11th, the very day after the surrender of Péronne, Faidherbe advanced again, and occupied Bapaume after serious skirmishing with the German advanced forces. After several unimportant manœuvres along the Somme, Faidherbe suddenly withdrew and marched towards St. Quentin. On the 16th, his cavalry drove the Prussians out of that town, and on the 17th his main body reached Fins, a little to the northeast of Péronne. Von Gœben at once went after him, as his movement threatened the German right flank, and on the 18th encountered his rear guard between Péronne and St. Quentin, and forced it back to the latter place. On the 19th, Faidherbe took position to the south of St. Quentin, and awaited the German attack. Von Gœben, who had been strongly reënforced by detachments from the Saxon Corps before Paris, at once assailed him, and after four hours' hard fighting entirely defeated him, driving his army through St. Quentin, towards Cambrai. The entry of the retreating army into Cambrai was a sad scene of disorder. The men were shoeless and in rags, and scarcely any command maintained

its proper order. Faidherbe passed rapidly through this place, and took refuge under the guns of Douai and Lille.

The French lost 15,000 men, including 11,000 prisoners, in this battle. The German loss was ninety-four officers and 3000 men.

On the 23d of January, Von Gœben, who had followed the retreating French to Cambrai, bombarded that town, but was compelled to raise the siege a day or two later. His further progress to the northward was stopped by the French, who cut the embankments and flooded the entire district around Lille, Valenciennes and Arras.

Under the cover of the northern fortresses, Faidherbe went to work to reorganize his army, and get it in condition to take the field again. Gambetta, as soon as he heard of Faidherbe's disaster, hurried to Lille, where he sought to infuse a spirit of fresh resistance into the troops and people; but he found all parties heartily sick of the war. He told them France would be saved in three months. They treated his assertion with doubt, however, and so completely disheartened the Dictator by their apathy that he hastened to more promising fields. The truth is, M. Gambetta's enthusiastic promises had been so constantly belied by events that the people had come to think him but little better than a madman bent on sacrificing them for no useful end.

Meanwhile the force left by Manteuffel on the Lower Seine held the town of Yvetot, about twenty-five miles from Havre. Early in January they withdrew towards Rouen, for the purpose of more easily sending aid to Manteuffel on the Somme, if he needed it, as well as to meet the efforts of the French on both sides of the Seine to force them back from Rouen. General Roy, advancing by the left bank, was twice defeated, and the detachments sent out from Havre were repulsed with ease.

This part of the German force drew upon itself much notoriety by a circumstance which caused considerable comment at the time. On the 27th of December, six English vessels descending the Seine from Rouen, were seized and

sunk by the Germans at Duclair, twelve miles below that city. These vessels had taken each a load of coal to Rouen, under permission from the Germans, and had started on their return without a similar protection. The Germans were apprehensive that the French would seize and use them for the transportation of troops when they reached the mouth of the river, and they opened fire on them to bring them to, and afterwards sunk them to obstruct the channel. It was supposed that this act would cause trouble between England and Prussia, but Count Bismarck at once apologized to the British Government for the occurrence, and after explaining the circumstances of the case, agreed, on the part of Prussia, to indemnify the owners of the vessels for their losses. So the matter blew over.

The corps of General Von Zastrow had been all this while engaged in reducing the fortresses on the northeastern frontier of France. Mézières surrendered on the 29th of December, with 2000 men and 106 guns; Rocroy, with 3000 men, capitulated on the 5th of January, 1871, without awaiting the arrival of the German siege guns; Montmedy, as has been stated, fell on the 13th of January; and on the 25th of January Longwy, with 4000 men and 200 guns, surrendered, after a severe bombardment.

On the 28th of January the Armistice closed the campaign in Northern France.

Efforts were made early in the war to place Lyons, one of the most important fortresses of France, in a condition of defence, as it was believed that the German force engaged in besieging Strasbourg would seek to overrun Eastern and Southeastern France as soon as Strasbourg should fall. The fortresses along the Rhine, Schlestadt, Neuf Brissach, and Belfort, were prepared as far as possible for the efforts which would be made to reduce them, and measures were taken for the formation of an army in the east which should be sufficient to give succor to these fortresses, and make the task of the German armies besieging them one of great danger. The organization of this force was begun under the Empire, and

the command confided to General Cambriels. It was continued under the Republic, but was greatly embarrassed by the disorderly course of the Red Republicans at Lyons. Towards the last of September, however, Cambriels succeeded in getting a small army in the field, the greater part consisting of Mobiles. With this force he moved up towards Belfort, sending a portion of his troops to Epinal to watch the Germans then concentrating in Alsace.

Immediately after the fall of Strasbourg, Von Werder commanded the concentration of his army to the westward of that place, sending a column to harass and levy contributions upon the rich district of Mulhouse. On the 3d of October, he was joined by a Baden division of Landwehr, which crossed the Upper Rhine, and laid siege to Neuf Brissach, while Von Werder sent a portion of his own command to invest the fortress of Schlestadt.

Cambriels moved a column of 10,000 men to break up the investment of Neuf Brissach, about the 5th of October, but the Germans did not wait for his attack. As soon as informed of the approach of the French, Von Werder detached a division of Baden troops, under General Gegenfeld, to drive them back. The opposing forces met in the hill country, half way between St. Dié and Epinal, on the 6th of October, and after a sharp conflict, the French were driven back upon Epinal. The Germans followed them leisurely, and on the 11th of October occupied that place, the French retreating towards Vesoul. At Epinal Gegenfeld halted to await the arrival of the main body of Von Werder's forces, which arrived about a week later. The sieges of Schlestadt and Neuf Brissach were pressed vigorously, and both places were at length reduced—the former capitulating on the 23d of October, and the latter on the 11th of November. This left the Germans master of every stronghold in Alsace except Belfort.

Meanwhile a new leader had made his appearance in Eastern France. This was no less a personage than General Garibaldi, who had come from his retirement at Caprera to

offer his services to the Republic. He reached Marseilles on the 7th of October, and at once proceeded to Tours, where he arrived, simultaneously with Gambetta, on the 9th. His offer was accepted by the Dictator, and he was assigned an independent command of irregular forces in Eastern France. He at once proceeded to the region assigned him, where he was soon joined by his sons and a large number of his old followers. By the last of October he formed himself at the head of three brigades of partisan troops representing almost every nationality in Europe. The 1st Brigade consisted of one regiment of Mables, a battalion of Francs-Tireurs, and a body of Irishmen and Spaniards; the 2d Brigade, under Colonel Maire, was composed almost entirely of Frenchmen; the 3d Brigade, under Menotti Garibaldi, consisted of a battalion of Mables, two battalions of Italians, and one battalion of men from Nice. These troops were designed for partisan service in the Vosges; they were sadly deficient in discipline, and were but indifferently armed.

The appointment of Garibaldi to an independent command, in the very heart of a district occupied by the regular forces of France, was the source of considerable trouble. He soon became involved in a series of disputes with General Cambriels and other regular officers, who accused him of unwarrantable interference with their commands. These quarrels became so bitter that it was necessary for Gambetta to visit the East in person in order to effect an amicable agreement. Cambriels finally came to ignore Garibaldi's existence altogether, and the trouble was only quieted by the subsequent removal of the former commander.

It had been expected that the presence of Garibaldi would produce an amount of enthusiasm amongst the French which would arouse them to extraordinary exertions, and great things were expected from the "Liberator of Italy." These expectations were doomed to disappointment. The people received him with apathy. The clergy and the more religious portions of the provincials regarded him as the uncompromising enemy of their religion, and openly declared that

they "preferred the Prussians to Garibaldi." This feeling was increased by the contempt which the General openly expressed for the priests, and by the unrebuked conduct of his followers, who were permitted to desecrate the churches and take up free quarters in the Jesuit convents. The Bishop of Autun publicly accused his men of plundering the episcopal palace under the pretext of searching for a Prussian spy; and the women everywhere, incited no doubt by their confessors, discouraged their husbands, sons and lovers from joining his ranks. Matters were so bad that Garibaldi himself became discouraged, and declared to the correspondent of an English journal that he feared he could be of no use in the position assigned him. He had expected to be given the command of a regularly organized Army Corps; and his actual position was all the more trying to him as his health was almost too infirm to admit of his enduring the fatigues of an active campaign.

Meanwhile General Cambriels exerted himself to increase his force, which lay about Belfort, with a strong column at Vesoul, the chief town in the Department of the Upper Saone. Von Werder advanced towards this place on the 18th of October, and the French abandoning it, separated into two bodies, one of which retreated towards Dijon and the other towards Belfort to join General Cambriels, who, fearing to be cut off by the German advance, at once left Belfort and fell back to Besançon. Garibaldi, who was at Besançon, withdrew to Dôle. Von Werder moved from Vesoul towards Besançon, and on the 22d of October attacked Cambriels on the Ognon, about ten miles from the latter place, carrying the passages of that stream with slight loss to himself, and forcing the French back in disorder. It was expected that he would follow up this success by an attack upon Besançon, but, to the surprise of the French, he lingered on the Ognon for a few days, and then wheeled suddenly to the right and marched upon Dijon, which was held by a French force under General Ernest. On the 30th he attacked the city, and, after a cannonade which lasted nearly the whole day, drove the French out of it. Ernest retreated towards Dôle.

Von Werder halted here, as Dijon was an excellent point of observation. From it he could watch the French immediately opposed to him, or march to the assistance of the Germans at Paris or on the Loire. Frederick Charles was moving towards the Loire, and as a general advance of the German forces to the southward was in contemplation, Von Werder was ordered by the King to remain at Dijon until the Red Prince should take up the position assigned him—to close the gap between Dijon and Chartres. Meanwhile, he sent a division of his reserves to lay siège to Belfort, the capture of which would give him a new and more convenient line of communication with his own country. Belfort was invested on the 2d of November.

On the 4th of November Garibaldi's advanced guard, under General Bossak, fell back from its advanced position about ten miles north of Dôle, in consequence of the disorganized condition of the men. On the 6th, he was attacked near Dôle by a German detachment and driven back towards that place. On the same day, in obedience to an order from Gambetta, Garibaldi evacuated Dôle and withdrew to Autun, about sixty miles southwest of Dôle. From this position, situated at the foot of the Vosges, he could move upon the right flank of Von Werder, should he advance south of Dijon. The General, however, was at this time in the midst of the difficulties to which we have referred, and it seemed that the opposition of the French people, which was growing stronger every day, would effectually put an end to his usefulness there. A brilliant success gained by one of his sons, however, had the effect of turning the tide in his favor to a great extent.

On the 17th of November, Ricciotti Garibaldi was at Saullieu, about twenty-five miles north of Autun, with his brigade. On the same day he learned that a detachment of 800 men, belonging to the Seventh Army Corps, of the army of Prince Frederick Charles, which was marching from Metz to the Upper Loire, was at Châtillon-sur-Seine, and he determined to surprise it. He at once proceeded to the northward by forced marches, with his command, 560 strong, halting at

Culmier-le-Sec, on the afternoon of the 18th. As he approached Châtillon, he sent 150 men to reconnoitre the country towards the main line of the march of the Germans, and at six o'clock on the morning of the 19th, surprised Châtillon with the remainder of his force. The Germans were caught in bed, and were either shot down as they rushed into the streets or made prisoners. They lost 100 men killed and wounded, including 2 colonels and 2 majors, and 167 prisoners, of whom 11 officers were taken by Garibaldi. The remainder of the Germans threw themselves into the town hall, which they resolved to hold at all hazards. Their position was very strong, and reënforcements, to the number of several thousands, were coming from Laignes and Chaumont. Ricciotti Garibaldi, therefore, withdrew at once with his prisoners, having lost 3 killed and 12 wounded in the affair, and hastened to rejoin his father, who moved on the 20th from Autun to the northward.

Elated by this success, and wishing to profit by the moral effect which it seemed to have produced upon his troops, General Garibaldi determined to make an attack on Von Werder's main column at Dijon. On the 26th he attacked the German outposts at Pasques, about twelve miles to the northwest of Dijon. The attack was a surprise to the Germans, who were driven back after a short resistance. Garibaldi then pushed on towards the town, but the Germans being heavily reënforced from Dijon made a stand a few miles beyond Pasques, and succeeded in turning the tide of the battle. The Mobile Guards broke in utter dismay, and resisted every effort of their officers to rally them, and Garibaldi was forced to retreat with all speed. Von Werder gave pursuit with three brigades, and the next day came up with the French at Plombières station, where he attacked them again, inflicting a loss of about 400 men upon them, and driving them back towards Autun. The Germans continued the pursuit to that place, and on the 30th of November and 2d of December, endeavored to drive Garibaldi from it, but were each time repulsed with loss. While this column was with-

drawing from Autun, a considerable French force from the fortress of Langres took position on the railway some twenty-five miles north of Dijon. Von Goltz, the commander who had been repulsed at Autun, was directed to march against this force. He attacked it on the 16th of December, and drove it into Langres, which was temporarily blockaded.

In the meantime, General Cambriels had been relieved of his command, and had been succeeded by General Michel, who, in his turn, was succeeded by General Crouzat early in December. Upon the occupation of Dijon, the French had abandoned Besançon and had occupied Chagny, south of Dijon, and had thrown a column of about 15,000 men into Nuits, which lies on the railway from Paris to Lyons, twelve miles south of Dijon. On the 18th of December, General Von Werder moved out from Dijon, and drove the French out of Nuits, inflicting on them a loss of 1700 men. His own loss was severe, Prince William of Baden, and General Glumer being among the wounded. Beyond Nuits, however, he was not able to advance, and the French soon increased so rapidly in strength in his front, that it was with difficulty that he could hold his ground against their pressure.

As has been stated elsewhere in this chapter, General Bourbaki, after being cut off from the main body of the Army of the Loire, had been placed in command of the three Corps which retreated upon Bourges after De Paladines' defeat. He held his position on the Upper Loire until early in January, when, in accordance with the plan which has already been stated, he was ordered by Gambetta to march rapidly across the country from the Loire, drive Von Werder from Dijon, raise the siege of Belfort, and seize the German communications with Paris and Orleans at their base.

He left the Loire about the 5th of January, and passing by Nevers, marched towards Dijon. He endeavored to conceal his movement from the Germans, but he had scarcely began it when Von Werder, perceiving signs of the approach of a large force from the southeast, withdrew his columns from Nuits, Dijon and Dôle, and took position near Vesoul, to cover

that place and the roads through the mountains leading to Belfort. He had been reënforced to a considerable extent by the German Landwehr troops, but was still no match in numbers for Bourbaki, who had with him the Fifteenth, Eighteenth and Twentieth French Corps, and who was joined near Dijon by the Twenty-fourth Corps from Lyons, making about 120,000 men and 300 guns.

Bourbaki left Garibaldi in Dijon, with about 25,000 men, to watch the country to the westward, and with the rest of his army moved through Besançon upon Vesoul, and on the 9th attacked the Germans at the cross roads of Villersexel, where his line of advance from Besançon entered the pass between Vesoul and Belfort. After a sharp encounter he drove Von Werder back, and occupied Vesoul on the 10th, but failed in his effort to cut the Germans off from Belfort.

Von Werder, having succeeded in slipping by the French, hastened to the vicinity of Belfort, which was closely besieged by the corps of General Von Treskow. Uniting that General's forces with his own, and leaving enough troops to continue the siege operations, he disposed his army on the left bank of the Luisne, to the south and west of the investment of Belfort. He had about 40,000 men in all, and he covered his line with a series of intrenchments, which he strengthened at the weak points with twenty-four pounders taken from the siege train.

The movement of Bourbaki was one which required the utmost rapidity and boldness, but his advance was slow and hesitating. He moved due eastward from Vesoul, in order to approach Belfort from the south, conducting the last part of his advance up the valley of the Luisne, and along the right bank of that stream. On the 15th of January, he attacked the German position from the south, bringing four of his corps d'armée into the action.* The battle lasted nine hours, but was indecisive. Bourbaki claimed to have taken several unimportant positions, while, on the other hand, Von Werder

* Statement of General Von Werder

claimed to have repulsed the attack along the whole line. The next morning—the 16th—the fighting was renewed, and again the French failed to break the German lines. On the 17th, Bourbaki made his great effort, but the Germans, covered by their intrenchments, defended by heavy guns, repulsed all his efforts, and when night came he drew off his broken and disheartened troops, and began to take measures for withdrawing to the southwest, for news had reached him that the Germans were closing in upon his rear in heavy masses, and Von Werder's army stood unbroken in his front.

The news was correct. As soon as the true nature of Bourbaki's movement was known at Versailles, Von Moltke ordered Fansecki with the Second Prussian Corps to hasten towards the army of Von Werder, and Manteuffel was detached from his command in the north and sent to direct the operations for the relief of Von Werder. He set out on the 9th, taking with him the Seventh Corps, and halted near Langres to await the arrival of the Second Corps, which reached him about the 16th.

Manteuffel, with the eye of a true soldier, took in the whole situation at a glance. Werder was holding his ground manfully at Belfort, and was confident of success, and he resolved to plant his own force on the French line of retreat and demolish Bourbaki's army, which he knew must soon withdraw from Belfort. He skilfully avoided the fortress of Langres by sending a detachment to threaten it, and completely neutralized Garibaldi's 25,000 men at Dijon by boldly attacking him with one division on the 23d of January. Garibaldi easily repulsed this assault, and, as he was convinced that he would soon have to meet the whole of Manteuffel's forces, remained inactive at Dijon. When the Germans had finished with Bourbaki, they turned upon Garibaldi again, and that General wound up his share of the campaign by a disorderly flight towards Lyons.

Meanwhile Manteuffel, with his main force, moved upon the rear of the French army with as much speed as the progress of his provision trains would allow. He crossed the

Ognon and Doubs successively unopposed, and on the 23d occupied Dôle, and planted his army squarely upon Bourbaki's line of retreat.

Von Werder had marched out of his strong position in pursuit of the retreating French as soon as he became aware of their withdrawal; but finding it difficult to supply his troops he made slow progress. He sent a column ahead, under General Schmeling, who encountered the Twenty-fourth French Corps, which at first formed Bourbaki's rear guard, at Beaume-les-Dames, and cut it off from the main force. This corps then retreated at full speed upon Pontarlier, whence it succeeded in making its way out of the Jura, southward to Lyons, by the difficult road which runs through Mouthe on the Swiss frontier.

Bourbaki with the main body—now greatly demoralized, and scarcely capable of making an effective resistance—was retreating towards Chalons-sur-Saone, when he heard, on the night of the 24th, that Manteuffel had seized his line of retreat at Dôle. The unfortunate General, whose mind had been considerably shaken by the events of the war, and especially by his own reverses, gave way to despair beneath this new misfortune, and endeavored to take his life. He inflicted upon himself a severe, though not mortal, wound, and was succeeded in his command by General Clinchamp.

Clinchamp now turned to the southeast, and endeavored to gain Pontarlier, as the corps of General De Bressolles had done, but Manteuffel followed him up vigorously, attacking him repeatedly, broke his troops whenever they attempted a stand, and cut him off from Pontarlier in a severe engagement fought near that place on the 30th. Clinchamp had now no alternative but to surrender to the Germans or to cross the frontier, and lay down his arms in Switzerland. He chose the latter, and at once entered into negotiations with the Swiss General Herzog, who was guarding the Neuchâtel frontier. His force was about 80,000 strong, and it was agreed that it should enter Switzerland, surrender its arms and yield itself to the disposition of the Swiss Federal Government. On the

morning of the 31st the French passed through the valley of Les Verrières, and on the 1st of February crossed the frontier at the village of Travers, and by the 3d, the whole force was in Switzerland surrendered to the Swiss authorities. The scene as they crossed the border is thus described by one who witnessed it:

Such was the desperate haste that the signatures was scarcely affixed before the "Material" began to file in—two or three hundred cannon and thousands of military equipages. Although the artillery were in a much better condition than the rest of the army, its draft horses were emaciated and exhausted. They had had no food for many days. Many of the wagon-horses, their drivers said, had not been unharnessed for fifteen days; and as the sufferings of the men made them forget those of the poor beasts, the reality was far greater than could be well imagined. The horses fell dead along the road, and in all the bivouacs these miserable animals were seen gnawing the woodwork of the artillery, the bark of the trees, and even tearing out and chewing each other's manes and tails. As it was a simple impossibility to bring forward forage in sufficient quantity, the whole country was filled with horses abandoned by their owners, who, having nothing to feed them, gave them to the first comer, or turned them loose.

There is no doubt, whatever, that a very great negligence must have pervaded the French army, for otherwise the evil could not have reached this height; for nothing like the same condition is reported in the Prussian army which, notwithstanding, was operating in the same district.

Immediately after the Material followed waves of troops in tatters, completely exhausted, for the most part without arms, dragging themselves along, almost shoeless, and clothed with all sorts of rags. They were generally disorganized Mobiles, belonging to different corps, and all intermingled. They presented a touching spectacle, well calculated to recall the retreat from Moscow.

The next day the scene changed. Regiments came in in good order, their generals at their head, but always presenting a lamentable aspect. With uniforms worn and torn, the emaciated men dragged themselves along, rather than marched. An immense number were lame, or tramped with naked feet through the snow. Many had torn off the skirts of their uniforms to make coverings for their feet. Happy, indeed, those who possessed wooden shoes. It was horrible to see the sick, especially the stragglers, whose lacerated, frosted toes stained the snow.

The Swiss troops had been echeloned the whole length of the route, and constituted a hedge to the right and left through guards at intervals. The French soldiers threw their arms and accoutrements on either side of the road; and thus in the course of three days during

which this defiling lasted, high ridge sgradually formed of guns, sabres, pistols, etc., between which the men passed as along a hollow way.

Whilst the French flowed thus through its defiles across the Jura, entering Switzerland by three different routes, the Prussians, all the while, were pressing hard on their rear, harassing them, cutting them off at points, and "gobbling" prisoners.

A French column which was defiling through a depression had to suffer for several hours from Prussian shells, which, thrown from another valley, over the dividing ridge, were timed to burst on the road occupied by the French.

Nevertheless, an attack which occurred on the frontier itself proved disadvantageous to the Prussians. Several French regular battalions succeeded, by climbing the mountains, in surprising the Germans. These latter experienced such a murderous fire, that they had to fall back within range of the Fort of Joux, which commands the route from Pontarlier to Neufchâtel.

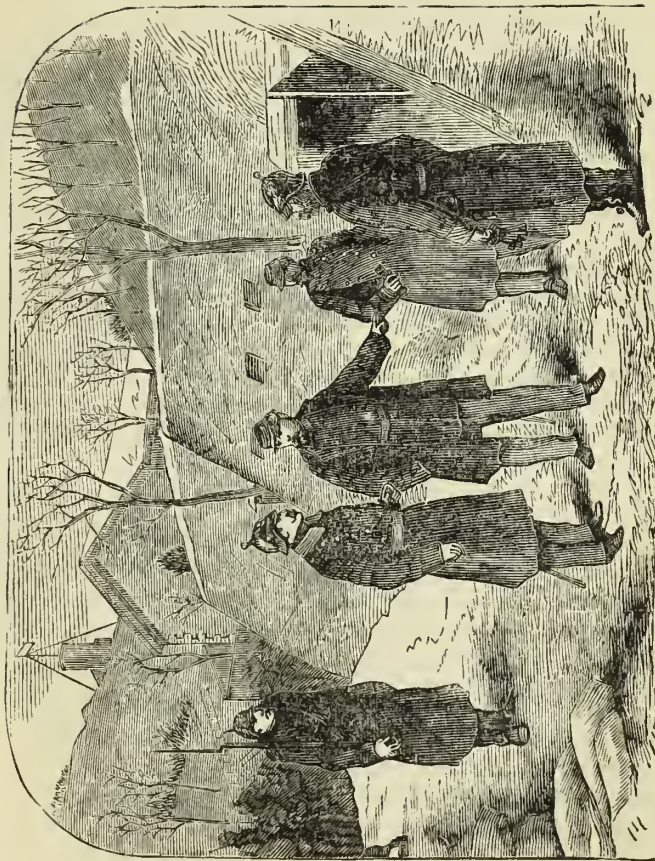
This fort has been a sort of Bastile for more than one despot. To its damp cells Louis XIX. consigned his rival in the love of Mlle. de la Valliere, Fouquet. It was the prison to which the aristocracy confined its most dangerous enemy, the celebrated "man of progress," Mirabeau, in 1774. Here it was also that the arch traitor to liberty, the first Napoleon, shut up that wonderful negro reformer, Toussaint l'Ouverture, certain that the child of the tropics must speedily perish there in a region of alternating humidity and frost.

The Prussian detachment, caught between the entangling fire of the troops and the inaccessible fortress, were routed. The French took 150 prisoners, whom they carried along into Switzerland, where they turned them over to the Federal troops.

About 45,000 men passed through Verrières during the three days which were required for the transit of that part of the army which followed this route, and kept crowding, in indescribable confusion, into this narrow valley of the Jura. In every direction immense bivouacs were established in the snow, and the men pressed around little fires of green wood, cut down as they advanced. The sight of the miseries of this army made lookers-on shudder. Sick by thousands; the dying breathing their death-rattle amid the snows; some having lost their toes by frost; others falling victims to the typhus or other maladies; everywhere a racking cough; dead horses encumbering the road—such were the sights and sounds encountered every moment.

To assuage such a mess of misery the charity of individuals and the aid of the Commissariat rivalled each other in their zeal. But how was it possible to relieve a whole army heaped up in this mountain defile?

The first view was heart-breaking; but, by and by, a beholder became accustomed to the spectacle, and soon learned to comprehend how, in



Surrender of the Fortress of Belfort.

time of war, personal sufferings finish by rendering individuals indifferent to the misfortunes of others.

In the midst of this disaster every one was looking for the ambulances. Where had they hidden themselves? They had passed on ahead with the other military equipages, leaving the army behind. One remained at Verrières, but the surgeons had abandoned it, and had gone down to Neufchâtel, where they were visiting the eating-houses.

Everywhere the same sight. At Orbe (in the Canton of Vaud); at Yverdon (at the head of the lake); at Neufchâtel itself, the French surgeons had abandoned the ambulances, leaving to the Swiss doctors the care of their innumerable sick. At Yverdon one of these gentlemen, comfortably seated at a table in an eating-house, refused to move two steps to relieve an unfortunate stretched on the sidewalk. "Since we have passed the frontier," was his answer, "we are no longer in the service."

Along the whole line the same phenomenon presented itself and aroused the indignation of the people, and left everywhere the most painful impression, since the generality of the facts demonstrated that it was not the result of unforeseen accidents, but truly one of the manifestations of the moral decomposition of France, which is the cause of all its disasters. The sentiment of duty seems to have disappeared, and the machine only moves on when a vigorous hand compels it to move.

The closing scenes of this campaign occurred after the proclamation of the Armistice on the 28th of January. The French Government, ignorant of the result in the Eastern Departments, insisted upon excluding them from the terms of that agreement; and the Germans, surprised at this ignorance, and knowing that Bourbaki's army could not escape destruction if vigorously pressed, agreed to retain the advantages they had won.

The defeat of this army decided the fate of Belfort, and on the 15th of February that fortress surrendered upon favorable terms, the garrison marching out with the honors of war. Bitsche, which had been blockaded during the whole war, held out to the last. After the surrender of Belfort, the Eastern Departments were included in the provisions of the armistice, and the military operations came to an end.

Manteuffel captured in the last three days of his brief campaign, two eagles, nineteen guns, two generals, and 15,000 men.

CHAPTER XIII.

FIRST WEEKS OF THE SIEGE OF PARIS—DESTRUCTION OF THE PALACE OF ST. CLOUD—GENERAL VON ROON ON THE SIEGE—RECONNOISSANCES OF THE 12TH, 13TH AND 14TH OF OCTOBER—REAL CHARACTER OF THE SIEGE—THE GERMAN PLAN—CAPTURE OF LE BOURGET—THE GERMANS RETAKE IT—ORGANIZATION OF THE PARIS ARMIES—TROCHU'S LETTER—RIOT OF OCTOBER 31ST—PEACE NEGOTIATIONS—M. THIERS' INTERVIEW WITH COUNT BISMARCK—THE FRENCH AND GERMAN CIRCULARS—EFFORTS TO RAISE THE SIEGE—DEFEAT OF THE ARMY OF THE LOIRE—BATTLES OF THE MARNE—DUCROT FAILS TO BREAK THE GERMAN LINE—CENSURE OF TROCHU—HIS DIFFICULTIES—HIS TRUE POLICY—HIS FAILURE—EXTENSION OF THE DEFENSIVE WORKS—MONT AVRON FORTIFIED—THE BATTLE OF THE 21ST OF DECEMBER—BOMBARDMENT OF MONT AVRON—EVACUATION OF THE FORT—IT IS OCCUPIED BY THE SAXONS—OPENING OF THE BOMBARDMENT OF THE FORTS—WHAT IT ACCOMPLISHED—BOMBARDMENT OF THE CITY OF PARIS—ARRIVAL OF GENERAL KAMEKE—SIEGE APPROACHES BEGUN—VERSAILLES UNDER GERMAN RULE—SUFFERING IN PARIS—DISSATISFACTION WITH GENERAL TROCHU—NIGHT SORTIES—THE LAST SORTIE—BATTLE OF JANUARY 19TH—DEFEAT OF THE FRENCH—TROCHU RESIGNS THE COMMAND—IS SUCCEEDED BY GENERAL VINOY—THE END AT LAST—JULES FAVRE OPENS NEGOTIATIONS WITH BISMARCK—THE ARMISTICE AGREED UPON—SURRENDER OF THE PARIS FORTS—PROVISIONS SENT INTO THE CITY—REJOICINGS OF THE GERMANS.

AFTER the action of the 30th of September, the Germans busied themselves in strengthening the lines which they had drawn around the capital of France. They pushed their advance steadily in the direction of St. Cloud and Sevres, arming the works which they threw up for their protection with their field guns, for as yet their siege train had not arrived. By the 5th of October they were in full possession of the heights from Bagneux to St. Cloud, commanding the city of Paris. Considerable skirmishing took place along the line, but no event of importance occurred. The French maintained a constant and

well directed fire from the forts upon the German lines, but while this kept the enemy from advancing, it neither forced them back, nor interfered very materially with their plan of operations, which was merely to strengthen their line, and await the arrival of their heavy guns before attempting the reduction of the city. This fire had the effect of destroying, on the 13th of October, the palace of St. Cloud. It had been made a rendezvous of Prussian officers who found pleasant quarters in its magnificent halls, and it was decided by the French Commander to destroy it. Accordingly the guns of the fortress of Mont Valérien were directed against it, and the beautiful château was soon in flames.

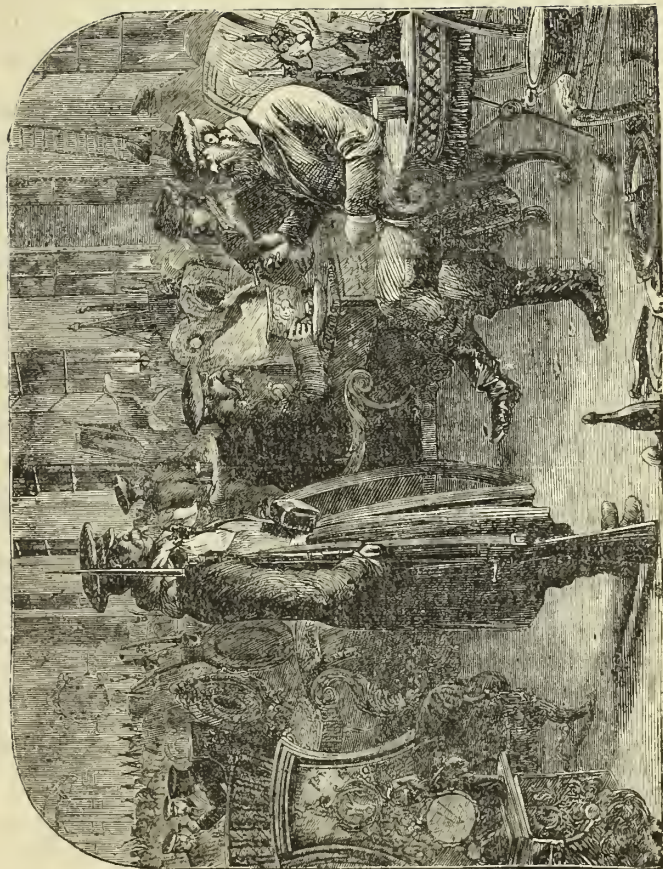
Meanwhile the Germans continued to work patiently at their investment, erecting batteries as far to the front as was possible, and screening them under the cover of the trees and shrubbery, and these were subsequently armed with the formidable Krupp guns as fast as they were received.* The fire of the forts became more accurate and powerful every day,

* The delay in the attack upon Paris caused considerable impatience in Germany; and to allay this feeling General Von Roon, the Minister of War, published the following semi-official circular in the Berlin *Staatsanzeiger* :

"Experience has taught us, that in a war with France no satisfactory peace can be obtained unless dictated at Paris. All our operations are necessarily aimed at this one object. Had Paris been in possession of an army fit to undertake its defence, a long resistance might have been offered in front of and between the various forts of the enceinte. To deprive it of this resource by annihilating one-half of the French troops and shutting up the rest, was the result of the first portion of the campaign.

"Having thus robbed Paris of the army which might have turned its fortifications to account, the efficiency of the defences was considerably diminished. Notwithstanding, however, the damage inflicted upon the enemy, the moral and material resources remaining to him are of no contemptible kind, and having been placed at the disposal of an energetic commander, render the task of our armies one of the most difficult recorded in the military history of the world.

"Considered as an object of attack, Paris can be scarcely regarded as a fortress. It is rather a fortified battle-field, with forts covering every point of access. Among these forts, some are strong enough to rank as citadels of themselves; while others, as for instance Mont Valérien and St. Denis, are well known to exceed the strength of many a fortress. Behind the forts there is a continuous rampart nearly six geographical miles in circumference. It



German Officers Bivouacking in the Palace of St. Cloud.

as the gunners acquired experience, and towards the last of October gave the besiegers more trouble than it had yet caused them. Still the latter persevered, however, and the German lines grew stronger and their batteries more formidable, as the fire of the French became more accurate. The

would take no less than twelve hours to visit the forts in succession, the sphere of their efficiency actually extending over eighteen hours.

“Directly our generals recognized that, owing to the unavoidable incompleteness of the investment and position of affairs in the interior, reduction by mere enclosure would not lead to prompt results, preparations were begun to bombard and regularly besiege the place. Although in a city of 2,000,000 inhabitants the steady decrease of provisions and the progressive disorganization of society alone may be regarded as guaranteeing ultimate surrender, still, as the inclement season is drawing near, *a partial bombardment, accompanied by an attack upon those of the advanced forts whose possession may be indispensable in certain contingencies, will be an effective means to accelerate the catastrophe.*

“We must not omit mentioning that the portion of the environs from which a bombardment can be directed, not alone against the main rampart and several suburbs, but against the very heart of the city, is the most hilly and impracticable of all.

“It is, however, probable that the bombardment of the city will not be proceeded with until the fire of several forts has been silenced. Great as might be the impression made by a bombardment, it cannot be our object to aim at a partial result. To secure all we want, and secure it safely, we require the forts. We may confidently expect that we shall not be long in conquering some. The investing army has the means to protect itself from rain and cold, and as the winter at Paris is, as a rule, much milder than in Germany, we may hope to brave the rigors of the season without any very sensible suffering. Paris, on the other hand, will get weaker every day the siege lasts. Provisions will become scarcer and scarcer, and the *proletariat* is likely to rise ultimately against the wealthy—a contingency hastened on by our hindering any fresh supplies from reaching the beleaguered town. Our numerous cavalry is quite competent to carry this out.

“The French Minister of the Interior, in his latest circular of the 9th inst., assures his countrymen that Paris can neither be taken by force, nor surprise, nor famine, nor rebellion. His self-delusion, it must be admitted, is complete. He enumerates the very calamities which will compel surrender and in his blind confidence draws a false conclusion.

“Our task is to possess ourselves of the French Capital with as little loss of time and life as possible. We are sure to master the uncommonly difficult problem, but we shall scarcely succeed so very rapidly as the anxious expectation of our countrymen would desire.”

only efforts made by the French to interfere with the investment, at this period, apart from the fire of the forts, were made about the middle of October. On the 12th of October, General Ducrot, with a strong force, made a reconnoissance to the west of the city, the French Commander having detected the withdrawal of the German 22d division, which was sent to support Von der Tann in the expedition to Orleans. Knowing that the Army of the Loire was in motion, and, doubtless believing that it had compelled the Germans to make a considerable reduction in their force on the south and southwest of Paris, General Trochu sent the corps of General Vinoy to test the strength of their line in the direction of Bagneux, Châtillon, and Clamart, and, if possible to break it. Vinoy, keeping his reserves sheltered by the fort of Montrouge, moved Blanchard's division against the villages in three columns. He advanced on the 13th, as far as Bagneux and the cross road which connects Châtillon and Clamart. Here a sharp encounter took place with the German outposts, and Vinoy, discovering that the line in the rear of these posts was too strong to be carried by his command, and that it was held by the Germans in force, withdrew his troops. On the 14th, the French succeeded in occupying Villejuif, farther to the eastward, but were driven from it on the 15th by the fire of the German field guns.

The task before the Germans—the capture of the largest and most powerful fortress in Europe, defended by an army of half a million of men—was one of no ordinary magnitude. There were four ways open to them of accomplishing their object, and of these they had to choose the most promising, that which, as Minister Von Roon declared, would enable them to accomplish it “with as little loss of time and life as possible.” These were, 1st, An immediate assault upon the defences. 2d, A bombardment of the city. 3d, The reduction of the forts and inner defences by a system of regular approaches. 4th, A blockade of the fortress and the starvation of the garrison.

There are those—and among them certain gentlemen whose judgment is entitled to great consideration—who have urged

that an attempt to carry the defences by a *coup de main* immediately upon the arrival of the Germans, would have been crowned with success. We have already stated the strength of the forts and the inner defences, and have shown what obstacles they presented to such a course. There were 80,000 trained soldiers, counting the sailors, douaniers, and foresters in the garrison, who could have opposed a formidable resistance to such an attack ; and the National Guard, although of little account in the open field, would have been of good service in the defence of the works. The taking of one or more of the forts would not of necessity have exposed the *enceinte* to capture had it been defended with vigor, as it would have been, and there were difficulties of a very serious character to be overcome with reference to the ground to be passed over. There was every reason to believe that the Germans would have failed in their assault, and that their losses would have been as heavy as those of the bloodiest battle of the war. They, themselves, appear to have been convinced of this, for they declined to adopt the first of the methods we have named, and put into execution a plan which was a combination of the other three. They began the siege with a blockade which effectually cut off the fortress from relief from without, and at a later period opened a bombardment of the southern quarter of the city, and finally began a series of regular approaches, which advances, however, were begun too late to have any influence upon the fate of Paris.

It is astonishing that so good an engineer as General Trochu should have made such a passive resistance ; but Von Moltke was well content that this should be the case. He had little fear of trouble from a Provincial army, but he was at some time naturally anxious lest the French Commander should seek to advance the defensive works, and thus increase the difficulties of the Germans. Towards the last of October he was induced to believe that such was the intention of his adversary. On the 28th, the French made a dash at the village of Le Bourget, a little to the east of St. Denis, and carried it. This capture was undertaken by General Bellemare on his own re-

sponsibility, and formed no part of Trochu's plan, but it was so obviously what should have been done that General Von Moltke determined to recover it at all hazards, as its retention by the French placed in their hands an advantage which he did not intend they should hold. He accordingly ordered Prince Augustus, commanding the Corps of Guards, to retake Le Bourget at any cost. The French had loopholed the houses and had otherwise prepared the village for defence; but on the morning of the 30th of October, they were driven from it with heavy loss after a severe engagement of four hours' duration, and the German position was reëstablished.

Since the beginning of the siege General Trochu had been exerting himself to render the forces placed under him efficient for military operations. They consisted of about 60,000 regulars, 12,000 sailors, 9000 douaniers, 4000 foresters, about 100,000 Mobiles, and about 400,000 National Guards. These were armed and equipped as rapidly as possible. The National Guard were given the task of defending the *enceinte*, the regulars and sailors were placed in the forts to work the guns, and the Mobiles and volunteers, with a small force of regulars, were organized into an active army under General Ducrot for the purpose of making reconnoissances. In order to employ the more turbulent element and keep them from giving trouble, the men who composed the clubs were put to work, under Rochefort and Flourens, to erect barricades and construct an inner line of defences, none of which General Trochu had the least idea of using. When it came to the barricades he was fully aware that a surrender would be his plain duty, but as the construction of these works amused and quieted a class which would otherwise have caused him serious trouble, he encouraged the "good patriots" to persevere. Arms, cannon, ammunition and materials of war were manufactured in considerable quantities, many of the field guns being contributed by the citizens. The people were calm and hopeful, though there was considerable impatience at the delay in attacking the Germans. The expression of this

feeling drew forth the following letter from General Trochu to the Mayor of Paris :

PARIS, October 15.

MONSIEUR LE MAIRE :—In the month of July last the French army, in all the splendor of its strength, passed through Paris, amidst shouts of "*A Berlin ! A Berlin !*" *I was far from sharing their confidence, and alone, perhaps, among all the general officers, I ventured to tell the Marshal Minister of War that I perceived in this noisy manner of entering upon a campaign, as well as the means brought into requisition, the elements of a great disaster. The will which at this period I placed in the hands of M. Ducloux, a notary of Paris, will one day testify to the painful and too well-grounded presentiments with which my soul was filled.*

To-day, in the presence of the fever which has rightly taken possession of the public mind, I meet with difficulties which present a most striking analogy with those that showed themselves in the past. I now declare that *I will not cede to the pressure of the public impatience.* Animating myself with the sense of the duties which are common to us all, and of the responsibilities which no one shares with me, I shall pursue to the end the plan which I have traced out without revealing it, and I only demand of the population of Paris, in exchange for my efforts, the continuance of that confidence with which it has hitherto honored me.

Receive, Monsieur le Maire, the assurance of my high consideration.

GENERAL TROCHU.

About the 1st of November General Trochu organized his forces into three armies, officered as follows :

Commander-in-Chief, General Trochu ; general staff, Generals Schmitz and Foy ; commander of artillery, General Guiod ; of engineers, General De Chabaud-Latour ; general intendant, General Wolff.

First Army—General Clément Thomas ; staff, Colonel Montagut ; comprises 266 battalions of the Garde Nationale Sédentaire ; cavalry legion, Colonel Quielet ; artillery, Colonel Schoelcher.

Second Army—General Ducrot ; staff, General Appert, Lieutenant-Colonel Wernet ; artillery, General Frébault ; engineers, General Tripir.

First Corps—General Vinoy ; staff, General De Valdan ; artillery, General d'Ubexi ; engineers, General Du Pouet. First division—General Malray ; brigadier-generals, Martenot, Paturel. Second division—General Le Maudhay ; brigades, Colonel Valentin, General Blaise. Third division—General Blanchard ; brigades, Colonel Comte, General De Marrouse.

Second Corps—General Renault ; staff, General Ferri-Pisani ; artillery, General Boissonnet ; engineers, Colonel Corbin. First division—General Sasbielle ; brigades, Colonel Bonnet, General Lecomte. Second di-

vision—brigades, General Bocher, Colonel Boutier. Third division—General De Maussion ; brigadier-generals, Courty, Avril de Lanclos.

Third Corps—General d'Exéa ; staff, Colonel De Belgaric ; artillery, General Princeteau ; engineers, Colonel Ragon. First division—General De Bellamare ; brigades, Colonel Fournès, Colomieu. Second division—General Mattat ; brigadier-generals, Faron, Dandel ; cavalry division—General De Champéron ; brigadier-generals, Gerbrois and Cousin ; mounted gendarmes, Colonel Allaveine.

Third Army—Under the immediate command of General Trochu. First division, General Soumaine ; staff, Lieutenant-Colonel Péchin ; brigadier-generals, Dargentolle, Chassière. Second division—Vice-Admiral De la Roncière ; brigades, Colonels Lavoignet and Haurion ; Captain-of-Frigate, Lamotte Tenet. Third division—General De Liniers ; staff, Major Morlaincourt ; brigades, Colonels, Filhol de Camas, De Chamberet. Fourth division—General De Beaufort ; staff, Major Lecoq ; brigades, General Dumoulin, Captain-of-Frigate, D'André. Fifth division—General Corréard ; staff, Major Vial ; brigades, Lieutenant-Colonel Champion, Colonel Porion. Sixth division—General D'Hugues ; staff, Major D'Eloy ; brigades, Captain-of-Frigate, De Bray, Colonel Bro. Seventh division—Rear-Admiral Pothuan ; brigades, Lieutenant-Colonel le Mais, Ship-Captain Salmon. Cavalry—First brigade, General De Bernis ; Second brigade, Lieutenant-Colonel Blondel.

The 1st army was composed of the Garde Nationale Sédentaire, and was designed to act as a home guard. It was made up mostly of middle-aged and married men, and was not designed for service beyond the walls. The 2d army was designed as an active force, and was to be used to make sorties, etc. The 3d army manned the forts and other defences. Later in the month, Trochu relinquished the immediate command of the 3d army and was succeeded by General Vinoy, whose former place was filled by General Blanchard.

On the 31st of October, the authority of the Provisional Government was seriously endangered by the Red Republican riot, which is described elsewhere in these pages. Trochu was held a prisoner for some time, and came near losing his life by a shot fired at him by one of the insurgents. The excuse offered by the Reds for this riot was their belief that the Government was contemplating a surrender of the city to the Germans.



Count Bismarck's Headquarters at Versailles.

This was not true, however. The Government was not contemplating a surrender of Paris, but it had entered into negotiations with the King of Prussia with a view to the restoration of peace. The neutral Powers of Europe, towards the last of October, informed both the Prussian and French Governments of their desire to secure the conclusion of an Armistice between the combatants, which should give the French people an opportunity of expressing their wishes with

regard to a farther prosecution of the war. M. Thiers, who had just returned to Tours from his visit to the Foreign Courts, was selected as the representative of the Provisional Government, and in order to allow him to confer fully with the members of that body, he was permitted by the Germans to enter Paris, where he had a conference with the Ministers, after which he repaired to Versailles, where he was admitted to an interview with Count Von Bismarck. His account of his mission is as follows :

He proceeded forthwith to Paris, stopping at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to confer with the Government ; passed the night in deliberation, and the next morning, the 1st of November, went to meet Bismarck, who was perfectly aware of the nature of his mission, as he had received, at the same time that France had, the notice from the Powers that an Armistice was desired to avoid the effusion of blood, and to allow France, through elections, to form a regular government with which to treat effectively. This was all the more evident from the fact that Prussia had pretended that, owing to the situation of France, she knew not to whom to apply. Bismarck made casual mention that the remains of the Government now at Cassel were the only one recognized by Europe ; that he, however, merely made the remark to establish the diplomatic situation, having no intention to meddle with the internal management of France. Thiers immediately answered that the Government which precipitated France into the abyss of a war so foolishly resolved upon, had forever terminated its existence with its fatal career at Sedan, and would be for France but a remembrancer of shame and grief. Bismarck did not contest the fact, and made with me an examination of the following questions of the Armistice proposed : To furnish France time for the expression of her will as to the Government she should choose to have ; to allow entire freedom for the elections during the Armistice, and also for the organization of the armies ; lastly, to permit the re-victualling of the besieged places, and especially of Paris. Bismarck seemed to have no insurmountable objections to allow any of these questions, and after an interview, which lasted four hours, I had the right to suppose we should agree on all points, and thus conclude the first part of a pacification so ardently desired on both hemispheres. Our conferences were three per day, as I was impatient to achieve a result which would cause as much noise as the cannon we distinctly heard. Count Von Bismarck assured me as to the principle of Armistice, that he desired as much as any of the neutrals to end hostilities, and that he desired to see established in France a power which might contract last-

ing engagements. We were thus in accord on the essential points. I demanded from twenty-five to thirty days' Armistice, as this time was needed for the votes and reunion of the elected candidates. Bismarck did not contest this, and seemed to accept twenty-five days. As to the elections, Bismarck assured me they should be free in the departments occupied by the Prussians. He made, however, a reservation concerning that portion of the territory of the French near the German frontiers and German in origin. I immediately answered that the Armistice must not be delayed by the argument of questions which came within the province of a treaty of peace. Bismarck said that it was better not to discuss these questions, and that he, if not admitting the electoral agitation in said provinces, would not refuse that they be represented in the future National Assembly by a notable, free in opinion as other representatives. After a pause, we then arranged as to the conduct of the armies. Bismarck referred this to the generals and to the King, and this was the conclusion arrived at, namely : the belligerents were to stop where they were on the day of the signing of the Armistice. Lastly came the question of revictualling, and here again Bismarck wished to consult military commanders. So matters were deferred to the next day. When, on the 3d, I saw Bismarck, he seemed uneasy and preoccupied, and asked if I had any news from Paris. I said "No." He then said, "Paris is in revolution, and a new Government is proclaimed." I replied, "If disorder for the moment has triumphed, the people's love of order and patriotism will soon restore order." I was forced, however, to suspend the negotiations, but soon received proof that I was not mistaken. I saw Bismarck that night, and resumed the negotiations on the subject of revictualling, I explaining the principle that at the end of the Armistice each belligerent must be in the same condition as at the commencement. Bismarck, speaking in the name of the military leaders, pronounced against the revictualling unless he received a military equivalent. I demanded what he meant. He answered : "A fort, perhaps more than one." I immediately stopped Bismarck, saying : "Is it Paris you ask? Paris, our force, our hope, which you are not able to vanquish after fifty days' siege." Arrived here, we could go no farther. I saw the military spirit all powerful in the Prussian resolution against the peace policy, and asked Bismarck for leave to see M. Favre and advise with him. Bismarck charged me to declare that he would not interfere with the election even if there was no Armistice, and would let Paris communicate with Tours on the subject. The Government was informed of what had occurred, and they desired me to break off the negotiations on the refusal of the revictualling, and leave Versailles; which resolution I imparted to Bismarck. The Powers must judge of the conduct of the belligerents and the efforts made to secure peace, which was not lost through the nation, but

through the fault of the late Government, the existence of which was the fault of France in abandoning its destinies to such hands.*

* Count Bismarck, immediately after the breaking off of the negotiations, addressed the following circular to the Representatives of the North German Confederation abroad:

"Your —— will know that M. Thiers expressed a desire to be admitted to negotiate with our headquarters, after having entered into communications with the different members of the Government for the national defence at Tours and Paris. In compliance with the orders of His Majesty the King, I declared my willingness to grant such an interview, and Monsieur Thiers was allowed first to proceed to Paris on the 30th ult., from whence he returned to headquarters on the 31st ult. That the first statesman of importance and experience, M. Thiers, had accepted the plenipotence of the Paris Government, led me to hope that proposals would be submitted to us, the acceptance of which would be possible, and, in the interest of a conclusion of peace, I received Monsieur Thiers with that respectful conduct to which his distinguished person—not to speak of our former relations—fully entitles him. Monsieur Thiers declared that France, induced by the desires of the neutral Powers, was ready to accept an Armistice. This His Majesty had, in the face of this declaration, to consider, that every Armistice in itself would bring Germany all the disadvantages connected with the prolongation of every campaign for every army which receives its provisions from distant resources. Besides this, we took upon ourselves the obligation to leave the German troops, which had become available by the capitulation of Metz, in the position they occupied the day the Armistice was signed, and to renounce the occupation of further territory of the enemy, which might be achieved without any or very little resistance. On the other hand, France would, by the Armistice, be enabled to develop its resources, to complete the corps now forming, and when the hostilities should reopen, after the Armistice, to oppose troops to us which at present do not exist. In spite of these considerations, the desire of His Majesty to take the first step in the interest of peace prevailed, and I was empowered to make the advance to M. Thiers by granting an Armistice of twenty-five, or—as he afterwards wished—twenty-eight days, on a basis of simple *statu quo*. On the day of signing it, I proposed to him, by a line of demarcation to be agreed on, to define the position of the troops, to interrupt hostilities for three weeks, and to proceed to elections for a constitution and of national representation of the French side. This truce would have resulted simply in the cessation of the insignificant and always disastrous sorties and a useless and incomprehensible waste of ammunition from the guns of the forts during the Armistice. With regard to the elections in Alsace, I was in a position to declare that we should not insist on any stipulation which would call in question the claim of France to the German departments before the conclusion of peace, and that we would not make any of the inhabitants of these parts responsible for their appearance at a French National Assembly as a representative of their countrymen. I was surprised

During these negotiations, the military operations went on without interruption. General Trochu intimated to the

at the French plenipotentiary declaring, after these proposals, in which all the advantages were on the part of the French, that he would accept an Armistice only in the event of our agreeing to an extensive provisioning of Paris. I replied that this would include so much more of a military concession than the *status quo* or anything reasonable to be expected. I asked him if he was in position to offer any equivalent in return. Monsieur Thiers declared that he was not in position to make any military offer in return, and was obliged to ask this concession of the provisioning of Paris, without offering anything else than the readiness of the Paris Government to accord the French nation an election of its representative body, which would probably constitute an authority with which it would be possible to treat for peace. In this way I had to submit the result of the negotiations to the King and his military advisers. His Majesty was surprised at these exorbitant military claims, and disappointed in his expectations as to the negotiations entered into with M. Thiers. The incredible demand that we should give up the fruit of all the efforts made during the last two months and the advantages gained, and bring the situation back to the moment when the investment of Paris was commenced, could but prove that in Paris they were looking for pretexts to deny the nation the elections, and were not willing to give them an opportunity to carry them out without interruption. In compliance with my desire to make another attempt to come to an understanding on another basis, M. Thiers had an interview on the line of outposts with the members of the Paris Government on the 5th inst., to propose either an Armistice on the basis of a *status quo* for a shorter time, or the simple convening of elections without any treaty of Armistice, on which I could guarantee free admission, and grant every facility not interfering with military safety. Regarding the substance of this in his interview with Messieurs Favre and Trochu, M. Thiers has not given me any approximate information. He could only tell me that the result had been the advice to break off the negotiations and leave Versailles, since an Armistice with a condition of revictualling Paris was not to be attained. His departure for Tours took place on the 7th, early. The course of the negotiations has impressed me with the conviction that the present rulers of France, from the beginning, did not sincerely wish to hear the voice of the French nation in a representative body, constituted by free elections, and that it has as little been their intention to bring about an Armistice; but that they stipulated for a concession which they knew from the first to be unacceptable, and that they only asked for these conditions in order not to give the neutral Powers, on whose support they count, a direct refusal.

"Your ———: I beg to request that you express yourself in accordance with the contents of this dispatch, to the reading of which you are empowered.

(Signed)

"BISMARCK."

people of Paris that, although the efforts to secure an Armistice had failed, the hour of their deliverance was at hand. The troops, he said, were almost ready for the field, and in a few weeks the state of affairs would be materially changed for the better. In the meantime, he exhorted the citizens to be calm and to give the Government their full support.

The movement to which he so mysteriously alluded was none other than an effort to raise the siege by a combined movement of Ducrot's army and the forces on the Loire. It was arranged between Generals Trochu and De Paladines that the latter should move forward from the Loire, turn the German left flank on that stream, beat back the army of Frederick Charles, and send a strong column of at least 100,000 men to attack the German army on the south of Paris and compel them to raise the investment. While this movement was in progress, Trochu was to advance from Paris with Ducrot's army, attack the investing force, push it back, and take such a position near the junction of the Marne and Seine as would enable him to coöperate with the army of De Paladines, which was expected to approach the capital from the direction of Fontainebleau. Both armies were to move on the 28th of November. The fate of the Army of the Loire has been related in the previous chapter.

Trochu made his preparations with great care. The 1st army, under General Thomas, was to hold Paris and the defences; detachments from the 3d army, under General Vinoy, were to make a series of feints from St. Denis, on the north, from Fort Nogent on the east, towards Mont Avron, from Forts Ivry and Bicêtre, on the south, towards Choisy-le-Roi and Chevilly, and from Mont Valérien, on the west, towards Bougival and Besons; while the 2d army, under General Ducrot, was to break through the investment at Villiers-sur-Marne, Champigny, and Brie-sur-Marne. Trochu and the Provisional Government announced the intended movement of the Parisians and the army in stirring proclamations, and all Paris was elated with the hope of a speedy victory.

On Sunday, November the 27th, the concentration of troops

towards the destined points of attack was begun. All through the 28th the streets of Paris were filled with armed men, artillery and trains, moving towards the south and southwest. At nine o'clock the *générale* was beaten and the National Guards called to arms; and at eleven o'clock Forts Charenton and Ivry opened a fearful fire upon the German lines, in which Forts Bicêtre, Vanves, Montrouge, and Issy, and the formidable redoubts which the French had constructed at Moulins Saquet and Hautes Bruyères joined. Several gunboats lay in the Seine, above Port à l'Anglais, and these too added their share to the terrible cannonade. This cannonade led the Germans to suspect that some movement of unusual importance was about to take place, and their vigilance was redoubled. About midnight, the German outposts detected unmistakable signs of a heavy movement of troops in the French lines, and these being reported to the royal headquarters, orders were telegraphed all along the circle of investment to be in readiness for an attack at any point, and preparations were made to reënforce the assailed points as rapidly and as powerfully as possible.

Ducrot, with a force of 60,000 picked troops, took position on the night of the 28th beyond the wood of Vincennes, and under the guns of Forts Nogent and Rosny, intending to begin his advance the next morning; but, about daylight on the 29th a sudden rise in the Marne carried away the bridges which had been laid down for the passage of his troops, and he was compelled to await the subsidence of the waters before pursuing his movement farther.

Not wishing to lose time, and hoping that Ducrot would be able to pass the Marne during the day, General Trochu began the *sorties* from the other quarters at the appointed hour on the 29th. In the early twilight of the morning General De Beaufort moved out from behind Mont Valérien, and advanced with his division towards Bougival and the heights of Malmaison, on the road to Versailles; and at the same time the division of General De Liniers moved from the same point upon the bridge at Besons. The advance of both

divisions was covered by a tremendous fire from the heavy guns of Mont Valérien. They soon encountered the outposts of the Prussian Fifth Corps, and became hotly engaged. Von Kirchbach was speedily reënforced, and he brought his artillery into use with good effect. The French drove in his outposts and endeavored to storm his intrenchments at Bougival and Montretout, but without success. The French Commanders did not force their advances with much vigor, however, as the whole movement was a feint to draw Von Moltke's attention to Von Kirchbach's position, and to compel him to weaken the rest of his line by reënforcing the Fifth Corps. When it was thought that this object had been accomplished, General Vinoy withdrew his divisions under the cover of the guns of Mont Valérien.

A little later the movement towards the north was made by a division under Admiral Roncière, from St. Denis towards Epinay, Drancy, and Le Bourget. It was met by the Fourth Prussian Corps and a division of the Guards, and was repulsed with considerable loss to the French.

On the east, the Marines, under Admiral Saisset, and the division of General D'Hugues succeeded in occupying Mont Avron, from which they threatened Chelles, Neuilly, Noisy, Brie, and Villiers.

On the south, Vinoy advanced in person, about nine o'clock, with two divisions, from Villejuif and L'Hay upon the position of the Prussian Sixth Corps and the Württembergers. His advance was supported by a heavy fire from a new work at Villejuif. He was met by a severe artillery fire from the Germans, who repeatedly unmasked new batteries from commanding positions, and in two hours, in spite of the efforts of their officers to hold them firm, the French were forced to retreat in disorder. In the afternoon, Vinoy made a sharp attack upon the position of the Württembergers at Mont Mesly. After five hours' fighting, the French were driven back at all points.

In the afternoon, finding it impossible to cross Ducrot's command, Trochu put a stop to all the movements.

During the night of the 29th the waters of the Marne fell, and the French at once threw eight pontoon bridges over that stream at Joinville, under the cover of the guns of the double redoubt of Gravelle and La Faisanderie, and at Nogent under the guns of the fort of the same name. At the first light, the redoubt above named, the Forts of Vincennes, Nogent, and Rosny, and the long-ranged field batteries which had been advanced to Mont Avron on the previous day, opened a heavy fire on the German lines, under cover of which the First and Second Corps, under Generals Blanchard and Renault, with their artillery, passed the river between Nogent and Joinville, and advanced upon the position of the Germans at the villages of Champigny and Villiers; while the Third Corps, under General D'Exéa, marched up the Marne, and passing the river at Neuilly, moved against the village of Brie, upon which a division of Renault's corps was also directed. Brie was held by an inferior force of Saxons, and was carried at the first attack, the French pressing the Saxons back by mere weight of numbers. The struggle for Champigny was more difficult, but the place was carried by Blanchard's corps, which paid dearly in killed and wounded for its success. Blanchard at once began to entrench his position at Champigny, while the German batteries at Chenevières endeavored to make the village untenable by their fire.

The villages of Brie and Champigny lie at the outer end of the loop of the Marne by which Ducrot had made his advance. East of them is a little sandy plain at the end of which rises a low range, scarcely a gunshot eastward of Brie and Champigny, and on this range stand the villages of Villiers and Cocuilly. These villages were held by the Saxon and Würtemberg brigades, which had been driven out of Brie and Champigny, and which were vastly inferior to the force arrayed against them. The possession of these villages was of the greatest importance to Ducrot, whose forces were hemmed in on the neck of land, barely a mile and a quarter wide, enclosed by the bend of the Marne. Once in possession of them, he could deploy his force on a wider front, and de-

rive advantage from his superior numbers ; but as long as they were held by the Germans, he could not make a proper deployment of his force, which, penned up in its close quarters, offered a better mark for the fire of the German artillery. It was believed at the French headquarters that the Army of the Loire was approaching, and it was of the highest importance that Ducrot should secure a position from which he could coöperate with De Paladines, but in order to do so the villages named must be taken.

Renault's Corps was accordingly directed against Villiers, and D'Exéa was ordered to support him from Brie. The Germans were inferior to the French in numbers, but they managed to cover their assailed line. The French advanced gallantly to the attack, and were met with that quiet determination which is so characteristic of a German defence. From noon until nightfall the battle raged in front of Villiers with varying success. Sometimes the German line was beaten back, and sometimes it advanced driving the French before it. General Renault was severely wounded about two o'clock, and the losses on both sides in killed and wounded were very heavy. When the darkness put an end to the fighting, matters stood thus : — The French had carried and still held Brie and Champigny, but they had failed to take Villiers, and were still confined to the loop of the Marne. They had made a good fight, but they had failed to accomplish the main object of the day's operations, namely, the securing of a position which would enable them to use their large force advantageously.

During the day the forces of General Vinoy continued to make sortics towards Choisy-le-Roi and Thiais, and one of his divisions advanced to Mont Mesly, which it held until nightfall. Admiral La Roncière sallied out from St. Denis, with his division, aided by the fire of a gunboat in the Seine, and captured the village of Epinay, which he barricaded. The Germans, later in the afternoon, sent six battalions to retake the village, and, after a sharp fight, the French were driven out. The forts kept up a heavy fire on the German lines all day, and continued it late into the night.

The Germans expected that the battle would be renewed the next morning, December 1st, but the French remained quiet in their positions during the entire day, and both armies passed the time in burying the dead and attending to the wounded. This failure on the part of the French to renew the attack is still unexplained. They had every reason to spare no effort to cut the investing line, for they believed that De Paladines was approaching to their assistance; but they lay perfectly quiet during the 1st of December, although they must have known that the Germans would occupy that day in strengthening their position at Villiers and in reënforsing the troops holding it, the latter of which they did by sending a large part of the Second Corps to Villiers. It is most likely that the delay was caused by Ducrot's unwillingness to risk another encounter with the Germans, with the troops who had failed to carry Villiers on the 30th. The Germans, on their part, were more active. They not only reënforsed their troops on the Marne, but Von Moltke determined to assume the offensive the next morning, to retake Brie and Champigny, and to break up the bridges by which Ducrot had crossed the Marne, and cut off his retreat.

The villages of Brie and Champigny were entirely commanded by the guns of Fort Nogent, and the former was also enfiladed by the long range guns on Mont Avron. The French held their positions here, seemingly unsuspecting of an attack by the Germans, who, on the morning of the 2d of December, soon after daylight, made a dash into Brie, with about 2500 men, surprised the French force there, and captured the village, with 500 prisoners, eight of whom were officers. The French were either in bed at the time of the attack, or engaged in cooking their morning meal, and were utterly unprepared for the sudden onset of the Germans. Fort Nogent at once opened fire on Brie, which at length became too hot to be held, and at ten o'clock the Saxons fell back from it, taking their prisoners with them. Champigny was attacked by the Würtembergers early in the morning, and was carried by them about eight o'clock.

As the Germans fell back from Brie, the French threw forward a strong column and occupied the village. At the same time they drove the Würtembergers out of Champigny, and formed a line across the neck of land from that place to Brie. Under the cover of the guns of the forts and the batteries on Mont Avron, which pounded the Germans over their heads, they threw forward a force from Champigny, which pressed the Würtembergers heavily. The Würtembergers were supported by strong detachments from the Prussian Second Corps, and steadily resisted all the efforts of their assailants to dislodge them. The main effort of the French was made at Villiers and beyond Brie from the direction of the latter village. They were supported by the fire of the forts, which caused considerable loss to the Germans, but this ceased as the French neared the line of their enemies, and a heavy infantry fire took its place. The Germans met the French advance with a counter attack, and after a severe struggle succeeded in breaking them and forcing them back. Then the forts opened fire again, and the Saxons withdrew. They were unable to get their artillery fairly into action. The ground was unfavorable to its use, and the fire of the forts silenced it whenever an effort was made to employ it.

About noon the fire of the forts began to slacken, and the infantry fire died away also. There was a lull of an hour in the battle, which was employed by each side in preparing for a final effort. At one o'clock the French made another advance, pushing forward in such numbers and with such energy that the Saxons at first gave ground; but rallying quickly, they went at the French with the bayonet, and for nearly two hours the battle was carried on with the most stubborn tenacity on each side, and at close quarters. At length the French were driven back, and the Saxons, pressing forward, endeavored to reach the Marne and cut the pontoon bridges. This, however, they were not able to accomplish, for the guns of Fort Nogent swept the approaches to the river with such a storm of shells that it was impossible to reach the water's edge with a corporal's guard. About three o'clock

the Germans withdrew to their original line, and the French remained under the cover of the guns of the forts. Brie was abandoned by both parties, being swept through and through by the fire of Fort Nogent, and Champigny remained in the possession of the French. Villiers was still held by the Germans, and the line of the investment was unbroken. The French had failed to occupy the position for which they had fought so hard, but they had successfully opposed the efforts of the Germans to reach their bridges and cut off their retreat.

The losses up to the night of the 2d were as follows: Germans, 6500 killed and wounded. French, 6030 killed and wounded, and 1800 prisoners. Among the French prisoners were one general, and twenty commissioned officers. The Germans also took seven pieces of artillery.*

The 2d of December decided the fate of the French. They had failed in their efforts to break the investing line, and it had become evident to them that a further trial was useless. News had also come that De Paladines had lost the battle of Beaune-la-Rolande, and that there was but little if any hope of assistance from the Army of the Loire. Therefore it was decided to withdraw Ducrot's army across the Marne. This was accomplished without molestation on the afternoon of the 3d of December. Garrisons were left in Brie and Champigny, and the 2d army bivouacked in the wood of Vincennes.

On the night of the 4th, Brie and Champigny were entirely abandoned. The Germans then merely occupied them with their picket posts, as they were made too hot by the fire of the forts to be held by larger forces.

The sortie was a failure. Not only had the French failed to break the German line, but they had been absolutely powerless to leave the little peninsula at which they crossed the Marne. The Germans, however, had found the fire of the forts more formidable than they had anticipated, and had discovered that, until they had completed the erection of batteries sufficiently powerful to silence the forts, it would be useless to attempt to advance their lines. The only real ad-

* King William's dispatch.

vantages gained by the French were the discoveries that Ducrot's men could fight well, and that the National Guards of Paris were worth very little in the open field.

The plan to which General Trochu so frequently referred in his orders and proclamations was simply this—to convert Paris into an impregnable fortress, and to await assistance from the provincial armies, confining his efforts merely to sorties which should prevent the besiegers from weakening themselves to send assistance to the German forces in the provinces. This would have done well enough had France possessed a reliable army in the departments, or had there been one single great general to direct such armies as were raised; but under the circumstances, General Trochu's plan amounted simply to waiting until the provisions should give out and hunger should compel a surrender. This patient waiting was sorely trying to the people of Paris, and they were loud in their demands for more sorties and for a more determined effort to break through the German lines. As the time passed on, and nothing was done, Trochu, who had entered upon his command, not only in possession of the unlimited confidence of the Parisians, but amidst their most enthusiastic rejoicings, gradually lost his popularity, and came to be regarded as but one more of the incapables with whom France was cursed.

The truth is, however, that the Parisians expected more of Trochu than he was capable of performing. He had made Paris a powerfully armed fortress, and he had provided an army in readiness to take the field; but it was not possible for him to plant that army beyond the German lines. He had tried his troops fairly in the battles on the Marne, and he had found them unequal to the task of carrying the German position. There was but little generalship to be brought into play in such an effort. It required simply good fighting to carry the German works and cut the investment. The first part of the task devolved upon the army almost entirely. Generalship would come into play afterwards. The troops failed to perform the task assigned them. Trochu could not help this.

But had Ducrot been successful, had he carried the posi-

tion on the Marne, his efforts would have been of no avail. He would have taken upwards of 60,000 men beyond the investment, but with the Army of the Loire in full retreat he would have been helpless. Without abandoning the investment—for the troops left to Trochu would not have been difficult to manage—the Germans could have detached a force sufficient to crush Ducrot. After escaping from Paris, Ducrot's army would have been without a base of operations, without supplies of any kind, and its commander compelled, even if unmolested by the Germans, to disband his force or to surrender in order to escape starvation. The highest number of effective troops which could have been carried out of Paris, had the investment been broken, would not have exceeded 150,000, and the great size of this force would merely have hastened its dissolution. The Army of the Loire being in full retreat, Ducrot would have been helpless, and would have been beaten long before he could have joined De Paladines. Had De Paladines been successful, it is difficult to see how the case would have been different at Paris, for Ducrot was beaten by an inferior force, and his fate was really decided in the first day's fight. The Germans, on their part, were so encouraged by the result of the 30th, that they could easily have spared troops enough to prevent De Paladines from compelling them to raise the siege. Trochu's plan was able, but it required victory on both the Loire and the Marne. A defeat on either river, he foresaw, would be fatal to it. As it was, it failed in every particular.

This effort seems to have satisfied General Trochu of the utter hopelessness of trying to break up the investment by mere sorties without assistance from without, and during the remainder of the siege he made no effort to carry Ducrot's army beyond the enemy's lines. Many persons have censured him for not attempting to do so, and have expressed surprise that with half a million of men at his back, he remained so passive. The truth is, however, that of all this large force Ducrot's army constituted the only troops he could depend on, if we except the few regulars in Vinoy's army. The rest—the National Guard of Paris—constituted a force

excellent for reviews, and good at making domestic revolutions, but utterly worthless for field sorties, and especially good-for-nothing in such a task as driving the German veterans from their intrenched positions. General Trochu has never expressed himself on this point, but we have every reason to believe that he understood the character of the 1st army too well to place the slightest hope upon its efforts in the field. Paris was in no condition to send out even a small army well supplied with provisions. Rations for a few days, a week at the most, could be spared, but that was all. We insist, therefore, that no censure should justly attach to General Trochu, for not seeking to send out a force from Paris after Ducrot's first failure. Even had he been able to force his way through the German lines, which were much stronger after the 2d of December than before that day, Ducrot would have been exposed to defeat and starvation without accomplishing anything of real benefit. Only the successful approach of a provincial army would have justified Trochu in forcing his way out of Paris, and it was not in his power to raise the siege with his own troops.

But although unable to break the German line by an assault, it was in the power of General Trochu to conduct the defence with energy and in a manner which would have caused the Germans no little trouble. Possessing a force numerically superior to the besiegers, and having at his command unlimited engineering resources, it was generally believed that he would from the first carry on a system of operations which would greatly advance the defences of the capital and make the investment utterly impracticable.

During the first month of the siege the Germans were entirely dependent on their field artillery. Their siege guns had not reached them. During this same period Trochu could have begun a system of intrenchments beyond the forts, but sufficiently under their guns to be protected by them, which he could have made as strong as the forts themselves. Materials of every description could have been had in Paris: tools were in abundance, and the workmen of Paris would

have been better employed as engineer troops than as National Guards or builders of barricades. Such a system of works could have been begun, if at no other place, on the very line which was selected for Ducrot's sortie, and at the villages which proved untenable for the Germans in consequence of the fire of the forts. Mont Avron offered similar advantages, as did also the ground between the Seine and the Marne, at their junction, and that beyond Mont Valérien. These works could have been built, armed, and pushed forward steadily before the arrival of the German siege guns, and had they been advanced with proper skill and vigor would have forced back the investing line until it was broken, or have cut the lines on which the besiegers depended for direct communication between the various parts of their force. Undoubtedly the Germans would have sought to put a stop to the advance of these works, but by the time the works had been advanced beyond the protection of the forts they could have been made strong enough to defy assault, or at least strong enough to require a fearful price in human lives to be paid for their capture. Had such a system been but put in practice, Trochu's National Guards would have been of service to him, for they would have made good engineer troops. Paris might even then have been taken, but it would have proved another Sebastopol, and the story of the siege might have formed one of the proudest episodes in French history.

Nothing of this kind was attempted, however, until after the close of November. Then the effort was made to push the defences of Mont Valérien further towards Versailles, and to strengthen the position which had been taken at Mont Avron ; but it was too late.

Mont Avron is the name given to a commanding plateau, lying south of the Forest of Bondy and to the east of Paris, about a mile beyond Forts Rosny and Nogent. The position was seized by a division of Vinoy's Army at the commencement of Ducrot's sortie, and upon the failure of that effort, Trochu decided to retain and fortify it. A strong redoubt was thrown up on the hill, and this work was armed with

siege guns of long range, and was well supplied with traverses for the protection of the guns and artillerymen, but no bomb proofs were built, although the French must have known that the Germans would take the first opportunity to cannonade it.

The Germans, on their part, had been well satisfied with Trochu's failure to resort to the means of defence we have indicated, while they were dependent on their field guns; and now that they had had the advantage of a delay of nearly three months, in which to strengthen their own works and receive their heavy guns, they were resolved that no such plan should be carried out. Therefore, as soon as the French works began to appear on Mont Avron, they commenced their preparations to reduce it. In order to avoid the losses which an assault would entail upon them, it was determined to bombard the new fort; and, accordingly, they began the construction of batteries, which were located at distances exceeding a mile and a half from the work to be reached. These batteries mounted seventy guns; and were located in a semicircle, extending from Raincy on the north, by Maison Blanche and Ville Evrard, to Noisy-le-Grand, south of the Marne; the most distant batteries were armed with five-and-a-half-inch rifled guns, throwing shells weighing sixty-four pounds, and the others were armed with twelve-pounders, throwing lighter missiles.

The French soon became aware of the construction of these batteries, and determined to put a stop to them. Accordingly, on the 21st of December, General Trochu sent strong columns to attack the Germans at Le Bourget and Stains, and under the cover of this attack he made a rush at Maison Blanche and Ville Evrard with Blaise's division of Ducrot's army. The attacks on Le Bourget and Stains were repulsed, but Blaise succeeded in carrying the villages in his front. In the rear of Maison Blanche and Ville Evrard were the batteries for the reduction of Fort Avron, and a few miles back of these was the great depot of Lagny on the Paris and Strasbourg Railway, the point to which the cars brought the German supplies. Having carried the villages, Trochu should not have lost a moment in strengthening them, and should

have reënforced Blaise to the extent of his ability, and have made a bold push for the railroad. The villages, however, were not strengthened, and as soon as it was dark a storming column of Saxons was directed upon them, and after a sharp fight, in which General Blaise was killed, the French were driven out. Some of the French troops were cut off from their friends by the sudden advance of the Saxons, and the next day a demonstration was made against the Saxon left, under the cover of which the isolated French parties made their way back to their own lines.

After his repulse from Le Bourget, General Ducrot began the construction of a series of earthworks in front of and beyond the village of Drancy, and under the cover of the guns of the northern forts. General Trochu continued to push forward the works he had begun in the bend of the Seine beyond Mont Valérien. The construction of Fort Avron was hastened, and the Germans, on their part, hurried forward the batteries on which they were engaged. A day or two after the battle, a heavy frost set in, and, by freezing the roads, greatly lightened the task of hauling the guns and the heavy shells.

At length all was in readiness, and on the morning of the 27th of December the German batteries, comprising the semi-circle around Mont Avron, opened simultaneously on the doomed fort. The firing was heavy and overpowering, and was not lessened by the snow which commenced falling soon after the bombardment began. It was continued through the day and kept up all night, the rate at night being one discharge per hour from each gun, or more than one shell per minute thrown into the fort. At first Fort Avron replied with spirit, but as the range of the German guns became more accurate, its fire began to slacken, and in a short while ceased altogether. The guns of the fort had been made to face outwards, and it was impossible to change their direction so as to concentrate their fire upon any of the batteries but those immediately in front, and as there were no boom-proofs to shelter the men, it soon became impossible to afford them any relief from the constant dropping of the German shells.

The traverses were practically of no use under a vertical fire, and the infantry stationed in the work to support the gunners became so much demoralized by their exposure that they refused to remain, and the gunners declared they could not work the guns if left without the support of the infantry. All the while the German shells came crashing into the open work, increasing the dismay of the garrison. On the afternoon of the 28th, orders were given to dismantle the fort and evacuate it, and this was done during the night. On the 29th, surprised at the long silence of Fort Avron, and noticing signs of its desertion by the garrison, the Germans made a reconnoissance towards it, and discovered that it was empty. That night the Saxons occupied it.

The fire of the German batteries at Roincy was also directed at the works thrown up by Ducrot towards Le Bourget. These were silenced for the time.

Having taken Mont Avron the Germans pushed forward their preparations for bombarding the forts. Their batteries were well constructed, and were well armed, many of their guns possessing a range which would enable them to throw shells over the forts into Paris. Two hundred and sixty guns were mounted in the batteries extending from the Park of St. Cloud along the heights south of the city. These were screened to a great extent by the trees and inequalities of the ground; but on the 29th of December, the trees, which had been sawn through, were levelled, and the German guns opened fire on forts on the south, east and northeast of Paris. The greatest exertions were made to complete the batteries on the north and west of the city, in order to batter the forts in that direction. Towards the middle of January these were completed, were armed with the guns which had been used in the reduction of Mézières, and were opened on the works opposite them. The fire of the German batteries was continued without interruption from this time until the close of the siege. The forts at first replied with spirit, but on the second day of the bombardment became silent. It was at first thought by the Germans that their guns had been silenced, but it was found that

the garrisons had simply retired to the shelter of the bomb-proofs, and that the forts, though considerably battered, were fully capable to the last of making a powerful defence. None of them were disabled, and when the Armistice closed the fighting, all were in a condition to continue the defence of the city; so that in a military sense the bombardment really did little more than exasperate and frighten the citizens of Paris. The loss to the garrisons of the forts was but trifling. During the first seven days of the firing, Forts Noisy, Nogent, and Rosny lost but thirty-eight men killed and wounded. A correspondent of the London *Times*, who visited the forts during the bombardment, writes as follows concerning it:

The shells were coming at about the rate, I calculate, of two per minute, and with a precision which struck me—this being my first experience of bombardment—as very marvellous, until a little later, at Rosny, I saw firing far superior. Nearly all struck some portion of the fort (Nogent), and yet I could not see that any damage was done. A few did not burst; others struck harmlessly mounds of earth, sometimes burying themselves in it, sometimes scattering showers of it high into the air. Many fell into the paved court-yard, and exploded with a noise and vibration which seemed to shake the house we were in from roof to base. As far as I could judge, they were of enormous size and weight, and I was considerably surprised—having very vague notions of what a bombardment ought to do—to see that they did apparently so little mischief. They might have killed and wounded to any extent if there had been anybody to kill and wound, but as the fort guns were not being worked, the men were, I presume, stored away in safe corners; at any rate they were out of sight, and the deserted aspect and death-like stillness of the fort, broken only when every now and then a shell burst like a thunder clap in the middle of it, had a most singular effect. I looked in vain for the breached walls, crumbling ramparts, or dismounted guns which I had always imagined to be among the effects of bombarding so vigorous as I was then watching. “*You may go on in that way for two years,*” said one of the few *Mobiles* who shared our observatory. *It seems to me they might “go on in that way” for twenty years unless the continuous dropping of shells upon a fort produces anything like the effect which the constant falling of drops of water on the head is said to work on the brain.* Yet the firing was first-rate, so good that we had felt in no sort of danger until at last one shell came out of the usual line right in the direction of our house, but luckily falling short.

At Fort Rosny I was struck, even more than at Nogent, by the dis-

proportion between the terrific character of the bombardment and its apparently harmless results. The shells were whizzing in at the rate of about four a minute. They were of enormous size, judging from one I saw which had not burst. They scarcely missed hitting some portion of the fort, the target which they were firing at. Directed against troops in the open field, without shelter, I could easily imagine their effect positively irresistible. But terrific as such a bombardment might be against troops on an exposed plateau, it seemed to do very little harm to a fort. There was an unprotected building on the Rosny fort which might have been knocked to pieces in an hour, but the Prussians had not apparently cared to waste their ammunition on it, and had fired only at the guns and the works of defence, apparently with very little result. I can easily credit the statements of the *Officiel* that, after a hard day's cannonading, two or three men are killed and half a dozen wounded. As the Parisians have seen, without losing heart, three or four thousand killed and wounded in one sortie, a bombardment on these terms ought to take a long time to bring them to reason, unless, indeed, it be but the preliminary to an assault.

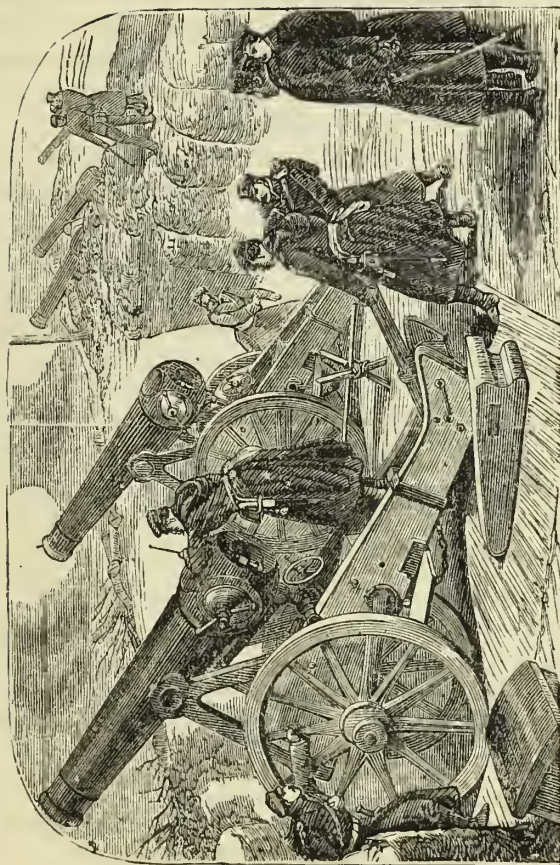
The same correspondent, describing a visit to Fort De Rosny on the 2d of January, says: "Why so few men are hurt, we began to understand when we found ourselves under the casemate to which our guide took us to look for the Commandant. . . . We were assured we were as safe from the shells as if we had been sitting a mile under ground." Even the gunners and those necessarily exposed to the German fire suffered comparatively little from it.

As was to have been expected, some of the shells fired at the forts went beyond them, and fell into the inhabited quarters in their rear, some even falling in the suburbs of the Capital. These shots were accidental, but on the 5th of January the Germans advanced some of their most powerful batteries, and opened fire on the city of Paris itself. During the remainder of the siege they continued to throw shells into the city. They did considerable damage to the buildings, especially the churches and hospitals, which were repeatedly struck, though they deny that these were aimed at; and in the first ten days of the bombardment they killed eighty citizens and wounded 194, fifty-two children being among the casualties. The effects of this bombardment are related in the next chapter, and we pass them by here.

The Germans have been severely censured, even by their friends, for the bombardment of the city. They had a perfect right to direct their guns upon Paris, for the city, having been made a fortress, was liable to be treated as a fortress; but it cannot be denied that the bombardment was a useless addition to the horrors of the war. It accomplished nothing save to inflict an increase of suffering upon the citizens of Paris. The 1st of February had long since been fixed, by persons well informed as to the capacity of Paris for resistance, as the latest period to which the defence could be prolonged. The provisions would be exhausted by that time, and then the city must fall. This was well known to the German Commander, who must also have been fully aware that no decisive military result could be achieved by firing on the city. The garrison and citizens were already reduced to great extremes, and Paris, "the gayest city in all the world," was full of suffering. It was mid-winter. Fuel was almost impossible to procure, and people were perishing with the cold. Cases of actual starvation were occurring, and everybody was suffering privation of some kind. It was impossible to doubt that the end was close at hand, and since the throwing of shells into the city was not likely to hasten the result at all, there was no good reason why a bombardment should have been resorted to. It was a cruel and useless measure, and reflects no credit upon either the humanity or the sagacity of the German commanders.

Meanwhile the French had endeavored to strengthen their defensive line, throwing up new batteries at exposed points, and mounting new and more formidable guns. Their fire was maintained with spirit from all their works, and occasionally caused considerable damage to the besiegers. The guns of Mont Valérien laid the town of Sevres in ruins, and Von Moltke himself had a narrow escape from death during one of his rides along the lines, a huge shell exploding within a few feet of his carriage.

Having failed to silence the forts by the bombardment, Von Moltke now determined to reduce them by a system of



A German Siege Battery before Paris.

regular approaches. General Karneke, who had been engaged in conducting the operations against the frontier fortresses, was summoned to Paris, and given charge of the engineering operations of the siege. New batteries were constructed, and early in January approaches were marked out, to be begun as soon as the condition of the ground should allow a free use of the pick and spade. The cessation of hostilities came too soon, however, for this portion of the German operations to have any effect upon the fate of the city.

The construction of the batteries on the north was pushed forward vigorously, and on the 21st of January they opened fire on the town of St. Denis and the neighboring forts. Says a writer in the London *Daily News*:

This morning the German batteries opened fire on the group of forts surrounding St. Denis. The armament of these batteries consists chiefly of the siege-train employed in the reduction of Mézières, and it was brought down by the railway to Villers-le-Bel, whence it was brought, partly the night before last and partly last night, into the emplacements which had been stealthily prepared for it more than a week past. The batteries now directed against St. Denis are ten in number, mounting, therefore, about sixty guns, chiefly German twenty-four-pounders, and there are also at least two mortars in position behind the Stains batteries. The guns might have been earlier pushed forward, but there was no occasion for hurry in this respect, pending the accumulation of a sufficiency of ammunition. Commencing on the right, there is no battery in the neighborhood of Epinay. The nimble gunboats might enfilade batteries here. The batteries on Mont d'Orgemont will take care that they do not do so as regards the other two, which might otherwise be affected by them. These are: (1) one battery of six twenty-four-pounders in front of St. Gratien, in front of Rouen Railway, directed against La Briche; (2) one battery of short twenty-four-pounders at La Barbe, a little nearer Montmorency. At La Chevette, almost directly in front of Montmorency, there is a third battery. The height known indifferently as Richebourg, or Pierrefitte (lying between the village of the latter name and Montmagny), presents on its summit nearer St. Denis a splendid offensive position for artillery, dominating alike all the forts; but the position is so much exposed that it has been wisely avoided, without any detriment to efficiency. This long bluff, whose nose looks out to St. Denis, contracts about its middle, so that its promontorium throws forward, as it were, two sheltering wings for batteries stationed in the narrow waist behind. This configuration of ground has

been admirably utilized. The summit has not been loaded with guns, but two batteries have been, as it were, slung panier-wise across the narrow waist, one on either side, and they can throw a telling, indirect, and plunging fire down into the forts, while the bastion-like bluff in front of each is an effective screen against the French return-fire. On the slope behind the village of Stains (further round to the east), with the butt ends of the guns towards Garges, are four batteries with the howitzers. On the verge of the elevated table-land between Garges and Dugny is the ninth battery, and close to Le Bourget, between it and Dugny, is the tenth. I believe that the guns manning the two latter have already been in use in positions further to the rear, and more southward. Thus there is a converging fire on the focus of the forts from the radius of at least a semicircle. The French had not, to all appearance, the remotest cognizance of the preparations, and it was some time before the forts shook off their surprise sufficiently to reply with vigor. Up till the present (midday) the cannonade is active on both sides.

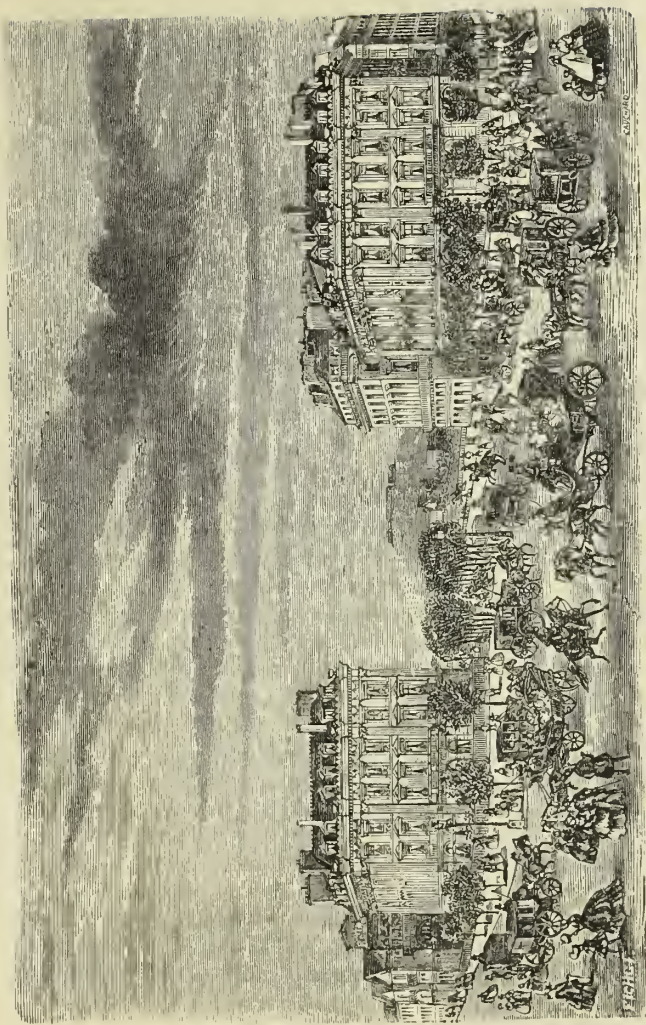
During the four months and a half of the siege, the German armies around Paris suffered considerably from sickness. When the cold weather set in they were much inconvenienced by it, and cases of frost bite were numerous. They were comfortable, as a rule, however, taking advantage of the good quarters afforded by the villages along their line.

Versailles being the headquarters of the King and the Crown Prince, was the chief point of interest. A letter from a resident of that town to the *New York World*, thus describes the manner in which the conquerors conducted themselves during its occupation. This description will serve as a specimen of the manner in which other towns held by the German armies, were treated :

We cannot enter the great court without meeting, on all hands, with the signs of conquest. At the gates a row of soldiers, with pointed helmets, ready to rush out and take up their arms as often as resounds the shrill nasal command of their officers. The court itself is full of cattle, carts, and carriages ; of wagons belonging to the field hospitals, or black hearses, capacious enough to hold several coffins ; full of aides-de-camp, prancing on their steeds, of men coming in for billets or going out loaded with spoil ; a perpetual going and coming of officers and officials of all ranks and uniforms. Let us elbow in, however, get up the steps and enter. We are in the hall. It is strewn over with every sort of goods and implements, mattresses, blankets, jugs, brooms, candlesticks, and what not. On the right hand open a series of very humble rooms,

where the Maire and his assessors transact business, where clerks write and applicants wait; on the left, the state apartments of old times, with remains of their former splendor, such as elegant wainscoting, and mythological pictures. Along this last runs a long and handsome gallery, used for great solemnities; another large room is appropriated to the sittings of the Municipal Council, a third to the legal celebration of marriages. Just now, however, the usual destination of the building is entirely overlooked. The only thing like order or method that strikes a stranger, as he walks in, is the distinction between the conquerors and the conquered. These last are represented by a crowd of poor people who throng the offices on the right, and wait for some charitable allowance. For Versailles has not the invading army only to support, but also a number of country people expelled from places situated within the lines of attack, inhabitants of Sevres, Saint Cloud, and Garches, and now without home or bread, not to speak of the poor of the town itself, workmen without work, day-laborers without labor, thousands whose means of living have been cut off, and whose sufferings are increased by the approach of winter. Nor is this all. How many are there who have a decent coat on their back, who fill some public situation with a fair salary, or live upon a small income secured by past labor and thrift, but who are precluded by the focus of Paris from receiving their annuity or their salary? All these sufferings the authorities of Versailles have undertaken to relieve as much as possible; they find a home for the immigrants, support the starving functionary, give bread and work to the poor, and therefore it is that the door to the right hand within the town hall is besieged by so many people, with sad looks, who wear smock frocks most of them and jabber French, while on the left congregate a larger crowd still, but dressed with foreign uniform, a cigar between their teeth, an unknown language on their lips, and come, not to ask for the free gifts of charity, but to claim the spoils due to the conqueror.

When they come out they seem to be empty-handed, holding nothing but a slip of paper; but that paper is a requisition. And what is a requisition? Such a question would be enough to show that you are a stranger, for no word just now holds a larger place in the language of Versailles. A requisition is an order addressed to the occupant of a house, or to the tenant of a shop, or to any one who has at his command any commodity of any sort, and requiring him to deliver it to the bearer. With this order in his hand the German soldier gets a home when the barracks are too full to admit him; he gets food where the commissariat has provided none for him; he gets a carriage for his officer's drive, and medicines for the hospitals; he gets a blanket when he is cold, and a shirt when he is short of linen; gets shoes for himself and for his horse; gets, in fact, all that can be wanted by an army, or thought of by the ingenuity of a commissary of stores. If you want to know what is war,



Avenue of the Empress : Paris ; showing the Fortress of Mont Valérien in the distance.

Kaiserin-Alee : Paris, mit der Festung Mont Valerien in der Ferne.

not under its heroical aspects and in a day of battle, but what it carries along with it in the shape of necessities to foresee and needs to supply, you cannot do better than to enter behind these soldiers into the Town Hall of Versailles, and to attend there to the signing of requisitions.

Method, from the first, had to be applied to the satisfaction of the innuumerable wants of our unwelcome guests. The members of the Municipal Council took the work to themselves, secured the services of interpreters, and formed into four commissions. These commissions sit throughout the day in the rooms I have described above—the state apartments of the dukes and princesses of old. The more busy of the four commissions is that which has to provide the sundry necessities of an army. Meat, bread, wine, and provender are the objects of a distinct administration; but here it is that soldiers come for all the rest, down to the most trifling articles, a table or a chair, I might say a nail or a pin. There is not a German with the least authority who does not prefer applying to the commission for an order upon a tradesman rather than to inquire himself for a shop and having to pay for the article he requires. The more so as the commission is sure to comply. Discussion or remonstrance, they are aware, would be of no use. It must be a glaring impossibility indeed that is received as an excuse. I know but of two or three cases in which disobedience was overlooked. On the first day, as an instance, when the commissariat asked for 150,000 cigars; as they had begun by plundering all the tobacco shops and the public stores, they could hardly insist upon their demand. A fortnight later they applied to the municipality for 180,000 flannel shirts; the town was searched, not more than 260 were discovered, and the requisition was dropped. Another time again it was a saddle that was required, but a very peculiar saddle; the officer who had occasion for it would have it so and so, and not otherwise. Unluckily people do not ride much here in Versailles, saddle-makers are but few in number and poorly supplied, and the exact saddle could not be got. The town this time was fined 2000 francs, but the fine was never paid. Such, in truth, is the system. Demands are always accompanied with an expressed or an implied threat, generally with the threat of a fine to be paid by the city; but on the other hand, a fine of 100 francs because a cab is not procured in time, or of 500 francs because a map is asked for in vain, or of 2000 francs because a saddle is not to be had, such a punishment might provoke resistance, necessitate the use of violence, bring all to confusion, and they have always thought it wise not to carry their threats out. As to the commissions, they never refused anything that was to be had. The only exception I have heard of was a demand for petroleum. This substance being used to fill incendiary shells, the demand was met with a decided negative. "You may take me out into the court and shoot me," declared the old, honest burgher who had received the application, "but you will

never make me sign a requisition for materials of war to be used against my countrymen." And here the matter was allowed to rest.

Another commission, hardly less busy than the first, has to provide lodgings for officers and such men as find no room in the barracks. Such troops as pass through the town, or detachments that come back after having done duty at the outposts, are billeted upon the inhabitants, where some behave properly and try to alleviate the discomfort they bring along with them, while others seem to pride themselves upon their exactions and bluster. The soldiers are not to be fed, but cook themselves the food that is supplied them by the commissariat. The officers receive from the town a daily allowance of six francs, which pays their breakfast and dinner at a restaurant. The obligation of lodging our unfriendly guests is not the less one of the most painfully felt consequences of the war. Too numerous often to be provided each with a bed of his own, the soldiers huddle together, take everything they can appropriate, eat, spit, and smoke everywhere, and leave behind them a peculiar stink which science has not yet accounted for, and which cannot be got rid of. Besides, they are hardly gone and the house swept clean than others take their place. Nor, personal as this sort of taxation seems to be, is the municipality without its share of the burden. It has to defray the expenses of many an august personage, to supply wood and light to king and prince, table and lodgings for the chief officers. I wish you could see some of these gentlemen's bills and what a flattering appreciation they show of our best wines, our champagne especially!

I have only two more commissions to mention, one which has undertaken to supply the wants of hospitals, and another which commands over the few horses, carts, and carriages still extant in the town.

Beyond the rooms occupied by the commissions is a larger one, adorned with a large picture of "Leda and the Swan," after Correggio (the original is in Berlin), and almost entirely taken up by a large table covered with green baize. It is there where the Parliament of Versailles, I mean the Municipal Council, hold their sittings. At the beginning of the occupation they sat daily, sometimes more than once in the day, but now that the machinery is in working order, the committees meet only three times a week—a burdensome duty under other circumstances, and which no man who had any business of his own could submit to—but all avocations are in abeyance just now, nor has anybody anything better to do than to try to alleviate the public calamities. The sittings are presided over by the Maire, whose business-like habits and fluency of speech specially qualify him for such functions. The debates being private, I could not, if I would, penetrate into the sanctuary, much less introduce the reader amongst our venerable representatives. Nor, perhaps, would it be worth their while. Nothing there but a set of plain men, discharging to the best of their abilities the most ungrateful of

duties. Warm debates sometimes, angry words perhaps, but upon the whole real harmony, because real patriotism. There are, as in most other assemblies, two sides, a right and a left, the timid and the bold, the men of tradition and the men of innovation; but one thing is sure, the differences merge into efficiency. The mixture of conciliation and spirit which has marked the measures of the Council may be ascribed to the simultaneous influence of those who are disposed to give up most points for fear of bringing new calamities upon their fellow-citizens, and of those who consider the dignity of the city as one of the public interests with which they have been intrusted.

A little pride was the more needful here, as the plan of the German authorities was evidently to intimidate without having recourse to actual measures of coercion. Fines, as I have said, have been pronounced, but none has been levied. A contribution of war of 400,000 francs was laid upon the town, and then withdrawn. A sum of 650,000 francs was asked for to make up, as was alleged, the difference between the stores that had been required and those that had been supplied—an intolerable demand, which the town never could have met, and which was overruled. Still, once applied, the screw has ever been turning, the pressure ever been increasing, and a wonderful deal of substance has been got from the unfortunate city. The Council, of course, does not enter into the details of the requisitions delivered by its commissions, and takes only cognizance of the general demands of the German authorities. Its aim is to throw off as much as possible on the future the demands of the present, and to put to the charge of the town the demands which the inhabitants could not individually answer without parting with their own property, but this extremity could not always be avoided. As the cold weather set in, it brought along new and worse exigencies of the enemy. The soldiers wanted blankets; 6000 were to be got within twenty-four hours, and as the shops had sold all they had, nothing was left but to apply to the inhabitants. In this plight, the members of the Council undertook to go themselves from house to house, explaining the necessity of the case, and exhorting the citizens to strip their beds if they wished to avoid worse. A strange and melancholy sight, I assure you, that, magistrates passing along our streets followed by carts on which they heaped their plunder. The blankets were found, but the demand had been too successful not to bring up others in the train. A few days later, the municipality had to find 5000 mattresses, then 5000 shirts, and then again 2000 pairs of boots. As to this last, the Germans had to put up with shoes, as the old boot which they are faithful to has long been out of use in France.

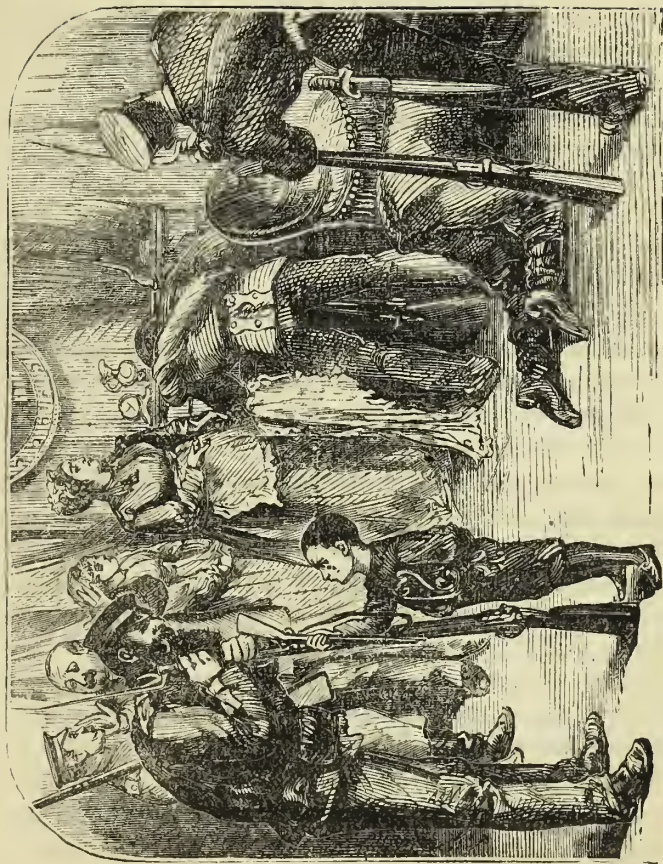
So much for the requirements of the military authorities; but there is also a civil administration, and not less intent upon getting something out of us. Considering himself as invested with all the rights of

the French Government, the German prefect levies taxes, fells timber in the state's forests, dries up all the sources of public revenue. The situation of the town is this, that it must pay its own current expenses, disburse large sums on the Government's account, supply the wants of this German commissariat, answer the demands of the German civil administration—and all this with an empty exchequer, since the toll duties and other taxes which make up its income have naturally been affected by the lawlessness and misery of war. Happy if the enemy would allow the plea of poverty! But no; the Germans may have the reputation of being an honest and dreamy nation—I can answer for their being as practical as any. Their object just now is to induce the town of Versailles to borrow a large sum, which, once in our coffers, would then be easily transferred into theirs. But how to borrow, since Versailles is shut out both from Paris and from the rest of the moneyed world? But lo! they have just the man! There is one, M. Betzold, a banker, a follower of the army, who has millions at his command, and who would be happy to oblige the town with a few. The interest is not exorbitant, and as Versailles might scruple to enter into an engagement which it would not be able to meet, M. Betzold declares that the payment will be put to the charge of the French Government by an article of the future treaty of peace!

Towards the close of December, it was announced by the German authorities that a plot for the assassination of King William had been discovered, and in order to render the inhabitants powerless to aid its execution, or to assist their countrymen in case of a dash of the French troops into the town, the residences of the citizens of Versailles were rigorously searched for concealed arms. Searches were frequently made for *Francs-Tireurs*, who were from time to time reported to be concealed in the town, but none were found.

Christmas Day was celebrated by the besiegers with true German heartiness, and on New Year's Day the King held a grand levée at the Prefecture of Versailles, which was attended by all the great dignitaries of the army and court.

Meanwhile matters in Paris were growing sadder. The stock of fuel was giving out, and the weather was very cold. Food was becoming scarcer every day, and the inhabitants had been driven to subsisting on dogs, cats, and rats. The German shells were dropping into the city at the rate of one per minute, and the relief which was to come from the Pro-



German Soldiers searching for concealed Arms in a Mansion at Versailles.

vines had not yet made its appearance. Every carrier pigeon from Bordeaux, every flag of truce from the German lines, brought bad news. Trochu's popularity was gone. Murmurs against him were open, and cries of "*A bas Trochu!*" were even heard on the Boulevards. It became plain even to the most ignorant that the plan of the Governor, the development of which they had awaited so patiently, was a failure, and on every side the demand was repeated that General Trochu should either make a supreme effort to raise the siege or resign the position he was incompetent to fill. The demand was natural, and, although, as we have shown, it was to a certain extent unjust, Trochu deserved a large share of his unpopularity for his failure to avail himself of the means within his grasp.

General Trochu was not unmoved by these murmurs. He had hitherto firmly refused to sacrifice his men in a hopeless undertaking; but now he yielded to the popular clamor, and began a series of attempts which his better judgment must have told him would be unsuccessful.

On the 13th and 14th of January, bold sorties were made at night against the Prussian Guards at Le Bourget, the Eleventh Corps at Meudon, and the Second Bavarian Corps at Clamart. The fighting was severe, but the French were everywhere repulsed, and in some cases fell back in considerable disorder.

The great effort, and the last one, was appointed for the 19th of January. On the 18th, the Government issued a stirring proclamation to the Parisians, telling them that "tomorrow we go forth against the foe which kills our wives and our children." During the day the streets of the city were filled with regiments of the line, tattered and worn, and the showy marching battalions of the National Guard, all hurrying towards the Port de Neuilly, by which they passed out of the city to the bivouac assigned them on the Peninsula of Gencvilliers. One hundred thousand men and three hundred pieces of artillery were assembled here under the immediate command of General Trochu. The force was divided

into three columns of about equal strength. General Vinoy, commanding the left wing, was ordered to take Montretout, a height between St. Cloud and Garches; General Bellemare in the centre, was to attack Buzenval and the heights of La Bergerie; while General Ducrot, on the right, was to carry La Malmaison and Reuil. The whole front to be attacked was about four miles in length, and constituted the neck of the peninsula on which the fortress of Mont Valérien is situated. Six o'clock on the morning of the 19th of January was the hour appointed for the attack, but in consequence of a heavy fog which shrouded the valley, and the delay in the arrival of Ducrot's column which had been kept back by the fire of the German batteries, the attack was delayed several hours.

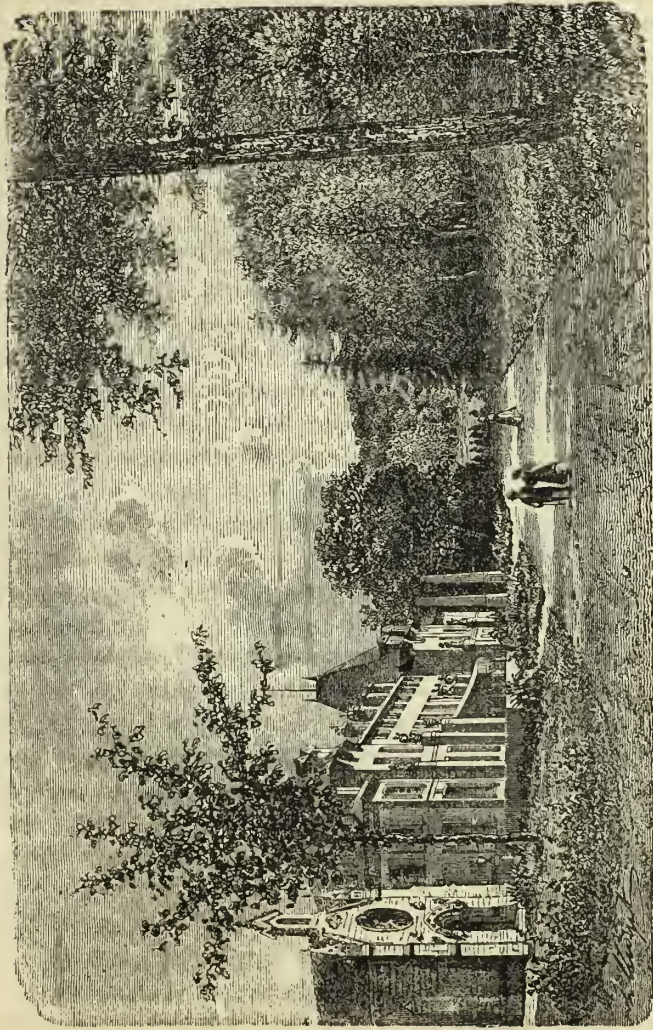
At precisely ten o'clock, Ducrot being in position, the battle was opened on the left by Vinoy's corps. Moving out rapidly from his bivouac behind Mont Valérien, he marched by the road parallel to the Seine, his advance being for some time sheltered by the hillock of La Fouilleuse. After passing this hillock, he quickened his pace, and, still partially protected by the fog, soon reached Montretout. An overwhelming rush of the Zouaves, the 106th of the Line, and a force of National Guards, carried the hill and the redoubt erected on it for its defence. The Prussian Jagers, who held the hill, were surprised by the sudden attack of the French, and after a sharp encounter at close quarters were driven back. Vinoy then extended his attack to the village of St. Cloud, which he captured.

General Bellemare moved off with his corps as soon as Vinoy had gotten fairly started. Upon reaching the farm of La Fouilleuse, he was met by a stout resistance from the German force stationed there, and was twice repulsed in his efforts to carry the position. He was determined to trust to the bayonet alone, and again ordering a charge, succeeded in capturing the farm. Advancing rapidly, he attacked the German position between La Fouilleuse and St. Cloud with the bayonet, and carried it. This success established com

munication between his left and the right of Vinoy's corps, and preparations were now made for an advance against the German main line, which was strongly intrenched in the rear of the ground which had been won.

Meanwhile, Ducrot, who had advanced up the peninsula from the direction of St. Denis, by Nanterre and Reuil, had been stopped by the fire of the German batteries posted in the quarries of St. Denis. He endeavored to reply to them with his field artillery, but was unable to make progress until Trochu dispatched to his relief a locomotive covered with armor and carrying two powerful guns. This novel "war steamer" was run out on the St. Germain Railway to a point from which it could reply to the German guns, and with its assistance Ducrot succeeded in forcing his way to La Malmaison, from which place he endeavored to reach La Celle St. Cloud, to the assistance of his comrades. He reached La Malmaison soon after the successes of the columns in the centre and on the left.

Trochu now endeavored to concentrate the action of his whole army upon a point south of La Bergerie, and the guns of the *enceinte* of Paris were opened on the Park of St. Cloud, and the village of Sevres. It was in vain, however. The attack had scarcely been made upon Montretout, when the alarm was given at Versailles. Crown Prince Fritz at once set off for the field, and reinforcements were hurried forward to the threatened points. These had now arrived, and consisted of the Bavarians, the Landwehr of the Guard, and some batteries of the reserve artillery. Bellemare's troops had scarcely occupied the Buzenval and the heights of La Bergerie, when the Germans from their entrenched position opened on them a steady fire of artillery and small arms. The French were fully exposed to this fire, and suffered very much from it. The National Guards became demoralized by it, and the Mobiles were prompt to follow the example thus set them. All regular formation soon became lost. A series of detached fights took place, without order and without system, and Bellemare's corps was on the point of breaking



La Malmaison.

into a disorderly flight. Vinoy's men were steadier, but they were not unaffected by the confusion on their right. Ducrot was held back from La Celle St. Cloud with a hand of iron, and the Germans were receiving fresh troops all along their line. A little later their artillery fire increased in strength and effectiveness, and the panic in the French ranks grew greater. For two hours matters stood thus, the fire of the French guns gradually growing weaker. To advance under such circumstances was impossible, and it was very plain that the army was in no condition to resist a counter attack, of which the Germans began to give unmistakable signs. The centre would not hold its ground half an hour in such a case; and so, seeing all hope of success at an end, Trochu gave the order for a general withdrawal. At three o'clock in the afternoon the army began to fall back to the shelter of Mont Valérien, followed by a heavy fire from the German batteries. In the evening the Germans reoccupied Montretout without opposition, and reestablished their whole line.

The German loss in this engagement was 39 officers and 616 men. That of the French was much heavier, and was estimated by the Germans at nearly 6000, since 1000 dead were left on the field.

The beaten army withdrew to the shelter of the guns of Mont Valérien,* and General Trochu the next day sent Count D'Herison to the German headquarters to ask a forty-eight hours' truce, in order to bury the dead. The messenger was informed that the commanders of outposts had been given the usual orders to allow the removal of the wounded by both combatants, but that a truce could not be granted without a written application.

When the failure of the sortie became known in Paris, the

* Trochu announced his failure in the following bulletin :

"The day, which commenced successfully, did not terminate as we could have wished. The enemy were at first surprised, but subsequently concentrated great masses of artillery and infantry, and at three o'clock in the afternoon our left receded. We resumed at nightfall the offensive movement, but were unable to hold the heights which we had taken. The struggle was sanguinary. We have asked for an Armistice."

most profound despair settled down upon the city. The "good patriots" of Belleville made it the occasion of an unsuccessful attack upon the Government, which is related elsewhere, and there was a universal demand that General Trochu should relinquish the command of the army.

On the morning of the 20th of January, while the defeated battalions were filing into Paris, the members of the Government met in Council to consider the situation before them. General Trochu is said to have declared that the time for the surrender of Paris had come, that as there was no hope of relief from the provinces, that as it had been found impossible to raise the siege by the unaided exertions of the Paris army, and that as the provisions of the city would be entirely exhausted in a few days, a prolongation of the defence would be madness. He was warmly opposed by some of the members, and immediately tendered his resignation. No one was found willing to assume the responsibility of continuing the defence, however, and the matter was compromised by accepting General Trochu's resignation of the command of the army, which was conferred upon General Vinoy. The office of Governor of Paris was abolished, and General Trochu remained merely the President of the Government of the National Defence.

Trochu had spoken the truth; the time for the surrender of Paris had come, and the city was to fall not before the bombardment, nor by an assault, but before the rigid blockade established by the German armies which from the first had made starvation merely a question of time. Starvation was close at hand now, and in a few days would be upon the city in all its terrors. Two millions of people craving for bread would be difficult to manage, and it would be impossible to provide them with food for at least a week after the gates were reopened. The Government had to decide promptly whether it would continue the defence until the food was all gone, and thus incur the responsibility of the fearful sufferings which the famine would entail upon the citizens, or surrender at once and take measures to avert such a calamity. A surrender in either case was inevitable. They chose the latter course.

Their decision was formed none too soon. General Trochu's unpopularity had been shared by the Government, and the appointment of Vinoy to the military command did not lessen this feeling, for Paris had lost confidence in the army and its leaders. The disaffection was growing stronger every day. The Red Republicans were becoming more violent, and it was not uncertain that the "good patriot" Flourens and his friends would very soon meet with more success than they obtained on the 23d of January. There was no escape. Paris must fall.

On the 23d of January, M. Jules Favre, with the approval of his colleagues, set out for the German headquarters to obtain the most favorable terms he could for the city and army. He was forwarded from the outpost at which he entered the German lines, to Count Bismarck's headquarters at Versailles, where he arrived an hour or two later. Count Bismarck met him with kindness and respectful courtesy, his voice often becoming husky with emotion.

"My dear friend," said he, "I know the cause of your visit; you would stop the further shedding of blood."

"Yes, M. Bismarck," replied M. Favre, much affected; "my object is to stop the terrible sufferings of my unhappy countrymen in Paris, for all hope of relief from without seems lost, and Paris must needs seek peace."

"We respect the gallantry of the French nation," said Bismarck, "and we pity their sufferings. We will do what we can for peace, consistent with the safety and honor of Germany. This, my dear M. Favre, has been the desire of the Emperor William and his advisers since the unhappy war was forced upon him. What has Paris to offer?"

This meeting began a series of conferences between the two ministers, M. Favre several times returning to Paris to consult his colleagues, which resulted in the capitulation of Paris and the conclusion of an Armistice for three weeks. The Armistice was signed on the 28th of January. The text was as follows:

CONVENTION

Between the Count Bismarck, Chancellor of the Germanic Confederation, acting in the name of His Majesty the Emperor of Germany. King of Prussia, and M. Jules Favre, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the National Defence, armed with regular powers, the following agreements are concluded :

ARTICLE 1. A general Armistice over the whole line of military operations in course of execution between the German armies and the French armies will commence at Paris this same day ; in the departments, after a delay of three days. The continuance of the Armistice will be twenty-one days, to date from to-day ; so that, saving the case of its being renewed the Armistice will terminate everywhere on February 19, at noon.

The belligerent armies will retain their respective positions, which will be separated by a line of demarcation. That line will extend from Pont l'Eveque, upon the border of the department of Calvados, to Lignieres in the northeast of the department of the Mayenne, passing between Briouze and Fromentel; touching the department of the Mayenne at Lignieres, it will follow the boundary which separates that department from that of the Orne and of the Sarthe to the north of Morannes, and will continue in such a way as to leave to the German occupation the departments of the Sarthe, Indre-et-Loire, Loir-et-Cher, Loiret, and the Yonne, as far as a point east of Quare-les-Tombes, touching the departments of the Cote d'Or, of the Nièvre, and of the Yonne. From this point, the course of the line will be left to an agreement which will take place as soon as the contracting parties are informed upon the actual situation of military operations in execution in the departments of the Cote d'Or, the Doubs, and the Jura. In any case it will traverse the territory composed of these three departments ; leaving to the German occupation the departments situated to the north, and to the French army those situated to the south of that territory.

The departments of the north and of the Pas de Calais, the fortresses of Givet and of Langres, with the territory which surrounds them for a distance of ten kilometres, and the peninsula of Havre as far as a line drawn from D'Etretat in the direction of St. Romain, will remain without the German occupation. The two belligerent armies and their advance posts on both sides will hold themselves at a distance of at least ten kilometres from the lines traced to separate their positions.

Each of the two armies reserves to itself the right to maintain its authority in the territory which it occupies, and to employ the means which its commandants judge necessary to arrive at that end.

The armistice is equally applied to the naval forces of the two countries, adopting the meridian of Dunkerque as the line of demarcation, to the west of which the French fleet will hold itself, and to the east of which the German vessels of war which are found in eastern waters will

retire as soon as they can be notified. The captures which may be made after the conclusion and before the notification of the Armistice will be restored; as well as the prisoners which may be made on one side or the other, in engagements which may take place in the interval indicated. The military operations upon the region of the departments of the Doubs, of the Jura, and of the Cote d'Or, as well as the siege of Belfort, will continue, independent of the Armistice, up to the moment of agreeing upon the line of demarcation, of which the course across the three departments mentioned has been reserved for a subsequent understanding.

ARTICLE 2. The Armistice thus agreed upon has for its object to permit the Government of the National Defence to convoke an Assembly freely elected, which shall pronounce upon the question, to wit: Whether the war shall be continued, or upon what conditions peace ought to be made.

The Assembly will meet in the city of Bordeaux.

Every facility will be given by the commanders of the German armies for the election and meeting of the deputies who are to compose it.

ARTICLE 3. There will be made immediately a surrender to the German army by the French military authority of all the forts forming the perimeter of the exterior defence of Paris, as well as of their material of war. The communes and the houses situated outside of that perimeter or between the forts may be occupied by the German troops as far as a line to be traced by the military commissaries. The ground remaining between that line and the fortified wall of the city of Paris will be forbidden to armed forces of both parties. The manner of surrendering the forts and the course of the line mentioned will form the object of a protocol to be annexed to the present convention.

ARTICLE 4. During the continuance of the Armistice the German army will not enter within the city of Paris.

ARTICLE 5. The wall (*enceinte*) will be disarmed of its cannons, the carriages of which will be transported to the forts to be designated by a commissary of the German army.

ARTICLE 6. The garrisons (army of the line, mobile guards, and marines) of the forts and of Paris will be prisoners of war, save a division of 12,000 men, which the military authority in Paris will preserve for interior service.

The troops, prisoners of war, will deposit their arms, which will be collected in the designated places and delivered according to rule by commissaries according to custom; the troops will remain in the interior of the city, the wall of which they may not pass during the Armistice. The French authorities will have the charge of watching that every individual belonging to the army and to the mobile guard will remain consigned to the interior of the city.



Hoisting the German Flag on Mont Valérien.

The officers of the imprisoned troops will be designated by a list to be sent to the German authorities.

At the expiration of the Armistice all the soldiers belonging to the army consigned in Paris will have to constitute themselves prisoners of war to the German army if the peace is not concluded by then.

The surrendered officers will retain their arms.

ARTICLE 7. The Garde Nationale will retain its arms; it will be charged with the guard of Paris and the maintenance of order. It will be the same with the gendarmerie and the assimilated troops employed in the municipal service, such as the republican guard, custom-house officers, and firemen; the total of this category shall not exceed 3500 men.

All the corps of Francs-Tireurs will be dissolved by an ordinance of the French government.

ARTICLE 8. As soon as possible after the signature of these presents and before taking possession of the forts the commander-in-chief of the German armies will give every facility to the commissaries whom the French government may send, as well to the departments as abroad, to prepare the revictualling, and to bring near to the city the merchandise which is destined there.

ARTICLE 9. After the surrender of the forts, and after the disarmament of the *enceinte* and of the garrison stipulated in articles 5 and 6, the revictualling of Paris shall go on freely by means of the railways and rivers.

The provisions destined for this revictualling cannot be drawn from the region occupied by the German troops, and the French government engages to make the acquisition outside of the line of demarcation which surrounds the positions of the German armies by means of the counter authorization given by the commandant of the latter.

ARTICLE 10. All persons who wish to quit the city of Paris must be provided with regular permits delivered by the French military authority, and submitted to the inspection of the German advance posts. These permits and *visas* will be accorded by right to the candidates to the deputation from the country and to the deputies to the Assembly.

The circulation of the persons who may have obtained the authorization indicated will not be permitted except between the hours of six in the morning and six at night.

ARTICLE 11. The city of Paris will pay a municipal contribution of war of the sum of two hundred millions of francs. This payment will have to be completed before the fifteenth day of the Armistice. The mode of payment will be determined by a mixed commission, German and French.

ARTICLE 12. During the continuance of the Armistice there will be nothing removed from the public property capable of serving as gage for the recovery of the contributions of war.

ARTICLE 13. The importation into Paris of arms, of munitions, or of matters serving for their fabrication, will be interdicted during the continuance of the Armistice.

ARTICLE 14. The exchange of all the prisoners of war who have been made by the French army since the commencement of the war will be immediately proceeded with. To this end the French authorities, after the shortest delay, will send lists naming the German prisoners of war to the military authorities at Amiens, Le Mans, Orleans, and Vesoul. The liberation of the German prisoners of war will take place at the points nearest to the frontier. The German authorities will send in exchange to the same point, and after the least possible delay, an equal number of French prisoners of war of corresponding grades to the French military authorities.

The exchange will extend to prisoners of the *bourgeoise* condition, such as the captains of vessels of the German merchant marine and the French civil prisoners who have been confined in Germany.

ARTICLE 15. A postal service for letters not sealed will be organized between Paris and the departments by way of the general headquarters at Versailles.

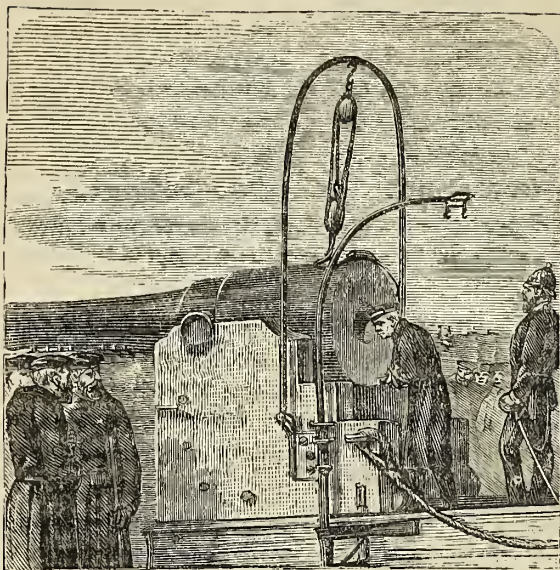
In faith of which the undersigned have invested the present convention with their signatures and their seals.

Done at Versailles, January 28, 1871

BISMARCK.

FAYRE.

As the reader will see, the Eastern Departments, in which the fortress of Belfort was located, and in which Bourbaki's army was operating, were excepted from the provisions of this Armistice. This exception had been insisted upon by M. Favre, who, on the 28th of January, was in such utter ignorance of the true state of affairs in the East, that he supposed that Bourbaki's movement for the relief of Belfort was successful. Believing this, he desired to leave Bourbaki unfettered and free to gain any advantage that lay within his reach. Count Bismarck did not enlighten M. Favre on the subject. He demanded the surrender of Belfort, and upon the refusal of his demand, insisted that the siege operations should go on. M. Favre then stipulated that if Von Werder were left at liberty to besiege Belfort, Bourbaki should be free to attempt to raise the siege. Count Bismarck was surprised at the ignorance of the French Minister, but promptly accepted the proposal, well knowing that Manteuffel would destroy the French army in the East in a few days. The Armistice



Von Moltke at Mont Valérien.

was at once submitted to the Bordeaux Government, and approved by the members of that delegation. M. Gambetta, while accepting it, urged the nation to prepare for a renewal of the struggle at the close of the twenty-one days of peace.


At midnight, on the 27th of January, the fire of the German batteries and the French forts ceased, and in accordance with the terms of the Armistice, the forts were evacuated by the French on the evening of the 28th. On the 29th, the German detachments occupied the forts, and hoisted their colors over them. On the 30th, the fortress of Mont Valérien was visited by the Emperor of Germany, Crown Prince Fritz, and General Von Moltke, who inspected the works and the guns. One of these guns, named Sainte Valérie, was the object of much curiosity. It was slung by chains in a peculiar manner within an iron frame-work rising above its carriage. The largest gun of this fortress had sent a ball during the siege across the Seine as far as the terrace at St. Germain. The forts were found to be considerably battered by the Ger-

man fire, but were still in a condition to continue the defence so far as their armament was concerned. The Germans also took up the other positions assigned them by the terms of the agreement, and measures were at once set on foot for supplying the city with food. The immediate wants of the citizens were generously supplied by the conquerors, and by the 3d of February trains of provisions purchased in the provinces and in England began to arrive in Paris. For some time, however, the distress continued to be very great, but was gradually lessened until an abundance of food of all kinds was on hand.

The news of the Armistice was received throughout the German camps, and in the German land beyond the Rhine, with the most unqualified delight. It was truly felt that the war was at an end, and the gallant fellows who had won the peace were outspoken in their joy at being able to return home before the Spring.

CHAPTER XIV.

DIARY OF THE SIEGE OF PARIS.

FFAIRS within the walls of Paris were of great interest during the siege. As a means of presenting to the reader a connected and comprehensive account of the condition of the city during this period, we have decided to devote this chapter to a diary of the events which are not discussed elsewhere in these pages.

September 19th.—The gates of the city were shut on this day, and no one was allowed from this time to leave Paris without a permit from General Trochu. The city was greatly excited over the battle at Le Petit Bicêtre. Stragglers came in from the battle-fields in considerable numbers, bringing the most alarming reports. They were arrested at night by order of General Trochu.

September 20th.—The investment completed. A barricade committee has been formed within the walls, of which Henri Rochefort is President, and Gustave Flourens Vice-President. Under the supervision of this committee the main streets of the city will be barricaded.

September 21st.—The anniversary of the formation of the Republic of 1792. In the afternoon enthusiastic popular demonstrations were held in the Place de la Concorde, the Place de la Bastille, and before the Hotel de Ville.

September 22d.—Provisions plentiful. The measures for the defence of the city going forward with energy. Cannonading on the lines of the army.

September 23d.—Three skirmishes in front of Paris—at Drancy, Pierrefitte, and Villejuif. The first balloon from Paris ascends from the heights of Montmartre.

September 24th.—Continued skirmishing before Paris. City quiet.

September 25th.—Cannonading from the forts. The day being Sunday, the citizens, in holiday attire, thronged the vicinity of the Arc de Triomphe to watch the firing from Fort du Mont Valérien.

September 26th.—City quiet. The price of provisions regulated by the military authorities, but they really command much higher prices. Fears of a scarcity beginning to be entertained by the citizens.

September 27th.—Troops drilled daily.

September 28th and 29th.—The work of building barricades goes on. General Trochu, it is said, has no idea that these will ever be of use, but builds them merely to keep the dangerous classes of Paris busy. The leading Red Republicans are made officers of barricades. The Red Republican clubs meet every night, and pass the most extreme resolutions. One of these demands that the column in the Place Vendôme, which is of bronze, shall be pulled down and made into coins. They also demand the confiscation of the property of such citizens as have left Paris. The Provisional Government engaged in publishing the private correspondence of the Emperor.

September 30th.—Battle of Villejuif. Great excitement in the city.

October 1st.—City quiet. A balloon left in the afternoon for Tours. General Burnside arrived in Paris. Had an interview with the Ministers.

October 2d.—The surrender of Strasbourg and Toul announced to the Parisians by the Minister of the Interior. The announcement at first produced considerable depression, but this feeling at length changed to a greater determination to resist the enemy. A decree was issued by the Government ordering the statue of the city of Strasbourg in the Place de la Concorde to be "reproduced in enduring bronze." General Burnside left Paris under flag of truce. It is known that his object in visiting the city was to endeavor to effect an arrangement for securing peace. The Government orders the postponement of the Michaelmas quarter's rent for three months. The Prussian lines cannonaded by the forts.

October 3d.—Ten thousand armed National Guards, headed by Gustave Flourens, assembled before the Hotel de Ville to press certain demands upon the Government, such as the immediate abandonment of what they termed the military tactics of the Empire—viz., the constant opposition of one Frenchman to three Prussians, the levy en masse of the entire nation, the immediate appeal to republican Europe, the immediate election of a municipal Commune, the discharge of all suspected Government functionaries in a position to betray the Republic, and the distribution by the medium of the proposed municipal Commune of all articles of subsistence existing in the capital.

October 4th.—Persons owning spirits stored in the entrepôt of Bercy were ordered to remove them and bury them in the sand until the close of the siege. The Government issues directions to the people as to the proper steps to be taken to guard against the effects of a bombardment. This brought the prospect of a rain of shells home to the Parisians for the first time, and was the topic of discussion in all quarters.

October 5th.—Heavy bombardment of the woods near St. Cloud by Fort Mont Valérien.

October 6th.—Under the cover of a heavy fog, such of the inhabitants of the town of St. Cloud as had not abandoned their homes at the approach of the Germans, made their way into Paris, headed by their Mayor. A report of Count Kératry published by the Government, advising the suppression of the Prefecture of Police, and confiding such of the functions as it now exercises, and which it is desirable to maintain, to the magistracy, the municipality, and the Minister of the Interior—the police no longer to be allowed to interfere in political matters. A terrific explosion of a building—said to be a powder mill—in the Rue Javal, adjoining the Chiffonniers' quarter, at Grenelle; thirteen persons killed, and five wounded.

October 7th.—One of M. Nadar's balloons, the Armand Barbès, made its ascent from Montmartre. It contained M. Gambetta, the Minister of the Interior, and his Secretary, bound for Tours. A second balloon followed it, containing two Americans.

October 8th.—A decree published, announcing the intention of the Government to take possession of all the supplies of food and forage stored in the magazines of the various railways, the price to be paid for them to be settled between the railway companies and the Minister of Commerce.

The Reds made another demonstration to-day. The Central Republican Committee, in conjunction with citizens Ledru Rollin, Felix Pyat, Blanqui, Delescuze, and Flourens, accompanied by several thousand people without arms, assembled in the square before the Hotel de Ville, to force the Government to consent to the immediate election of a Municipal Commune. Several members of the Government were seen seated at the windows of the Hotel de Ville, and the mob at once raised the cry of *Vive la Commune!* A battalion of the National Guard, and several companies of the Garde Mobile, with fixed bayonets, now took position in front of the building and behind the railings. The mob demanded that their delegates should be admitted, and the demand was at length complied with. The delegates were informed by M. Jules Ferry that the Government would not comply with their demand. The crowd in the square had now swollenn to many thousands, and General Trochu, who had arrived on horseback, was assailed with shouts of *Vive la Commune!* uttered in a menacing tone. He made no response to the cries, but, being joined by his staff, rode off towards the Quais. The gates of the Hotel de Ville were closed, and the *rappel* beaten, which brought to the spot several companies of National Guards, prepared to support the decision of the Government. The Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard rode from group to group, haranguing each, but all to no purpose. The rioters demanded, and declared that they would have the Commune of Paris; and it was only on the Place being completely occupied by the National Guards friendly to the Provisional Government, and who pronounced emphatically against the election of the Commune, that the agitators became quiet. The members of the Government then passed along the line of the National Guard, and were received with enthusiastic cheers.

October 9th.—The thanks of the Government tendered to the National Guard for its patriotic conduct yesterday afternoon. General Trochu forbids the Parisians from promenading on the military road in the rear of the ramparts, as the crowds of citizens which collect there interfere with the movements of the troops.

October 10th.—The news of Gambetta's safe arrival within the French lines, brought to Paris by a carrier pigeon. In the afternoon, the Mayor of Belleville telegraphed the Government that Gustave Flourens had ordered the *rappel* to be beaten, with the intention of marching the men under his command against the Hotel de Ville. The *générale* was at once beaten all over Paris, and the Place de l'Hotel de Ville was occupied with troops for the protection of the Government. Flourens' men refused to follow him, and the danger passed by.

October 11th.—Flourens, having resigned his command, attempts to resume it, although his resignation has been accepted. The Government warns him that he will be handed over to the tender mercies of a court-martial unless he remains quiet. The National Guard of Belleville are visited by Jules Ferry. They declare their determination to support the Government. A court-martial meets to try the stragglers who ran from the field in the fight of the 19th of September. Five were condemned to death. Count Kérâtry resigns his functions as Prefect of Police, and is succeeded by M. Edmond Adam.

October 12th.—The city placarded during the previous night with a summons to the women of Paris to form themselves into a corps, to be called the "Amazons of the Seine." The corps was to consist of ten battalions. The members were to be women of good character, and were to be distributed in companies among the National Guard, to share with them the duty of guarding the ramparts, making sorties, etc. Their officers were to be selected from the wives and daughters of officers of the army. Their uniform was minutely prescribed, and their weapon was to be a light rifle. The citizens were much amused by the appeal, but a number of women, thinking it serious, enrolled themselves in the first battalion.



Palace of St. Cloud.

October 13th.—A reconnoissance in force, under General Vinoy, on the plateaux of Bagneux and Châtillon. Fighting lasted five hours. During the evening the Palace of St. Cloud was set on fire by shells from Mont Valérien. It was burned to the ground.

October 14th.—City quiet. Provisions found on the farms near Creteil sent into the city.

October 15th.—Heavy cannonade from the forts. Colonel Lloyd Lindsay arrives in Paris, bringing 500,000 francs, subscribed in England for the relief of the French sick and wounded. The meat supply of the city has been confided to the different Mayors, who give great dissatisfaction by their mode of issuing it. To obtain a few ounces of meat at a butcher's shop, it is necessary to wait from three to six hours. People in certain districts commence to assemble in front of these establishments at half-past twelve the night before, and always as early as three o'clock the same morning.

October 16th.—The Tuileries gardens are occupied by an artillery camp. Camps are forming in the Champs Elysées, and huts are being built for the troops along the outer boulevards.

October 17th.—Outpost fighting on the lines of the army, and sharp cannonading from the forts.

October 18th.—The French had collected large reservoirs of petroleum at Buttes Chaumont, near the Strasbourg railway station. These took fire and burned until the oil was exhausted.

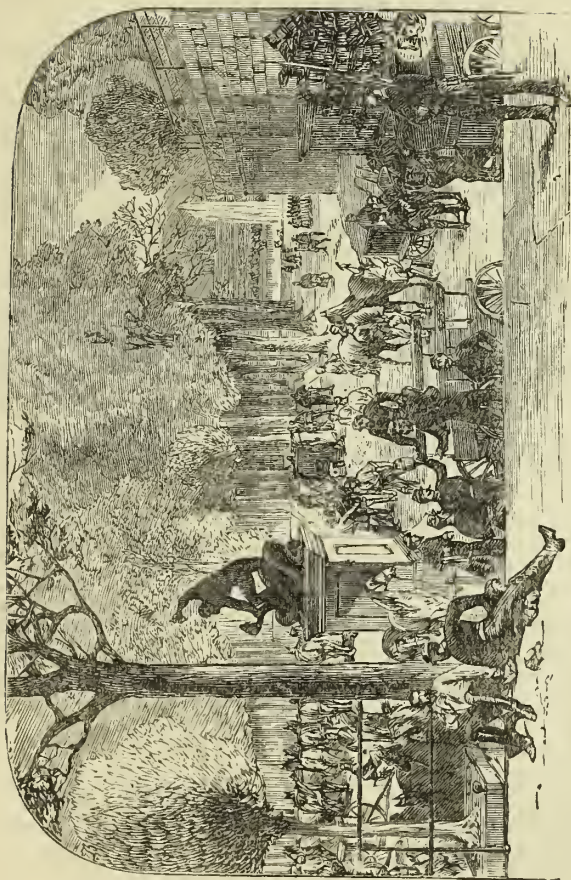
October 19th.—Meat is scarce but not dear, the price being one franc twenty cents per pound. Bread sells for ninety centimes for four pounds. Milk is scarcely to be bought at all; eggs are eight sous a piece; butter six francs per pound; lard two francs and a half; potatoes five francs per bushel; a cabbage fifteen sous; a turnip five sous.

October 20th.—To enable the Parisians to distinguish friends from foes, the Government has had pictures of the German uniforms posted about the city. The Ministers of Finance and Marine have formed their *personnel* into regiments of their own. The latter corps wear an anchor embroidered on their *képi*, and are armed with the Remington rifle.

October 21st.—Within the city by day, there is not much appearance of a siege, except that the greater part of the males are in uniform. In the evening the change is more apparent. The brilliant shops along the boulevards are nearly all closed at dusk, and the few remaining are lighted by a solitary burner, or by two at the best. The cafés are as full as usual, and are brightly lighted. From time to time ladies and little children thread their way amongst the crowd of idlers, soliciting contributions for the wounded. Along the edge of the side walks are stands with military articles or grotesque figures of Prussian celebrities for sale.

October 22d.—Food still plentiful, but horse-flesh is in demand. It is difficult to find forage for the horses and cattle, and many animals are being killed and salted down. Many shops devote themselves entirely to the sale of horse-flesh. Bullock's blood mixed with pig's blood, lard, rice, and onions, is approved as an article of diet by the Commission d'Hygiène, and is ordered to be made for sale.

October 23d.—A musical *matinée* given to day (Sunday) at the



An Encampment of National Guards in the Garden of the Tuileries.

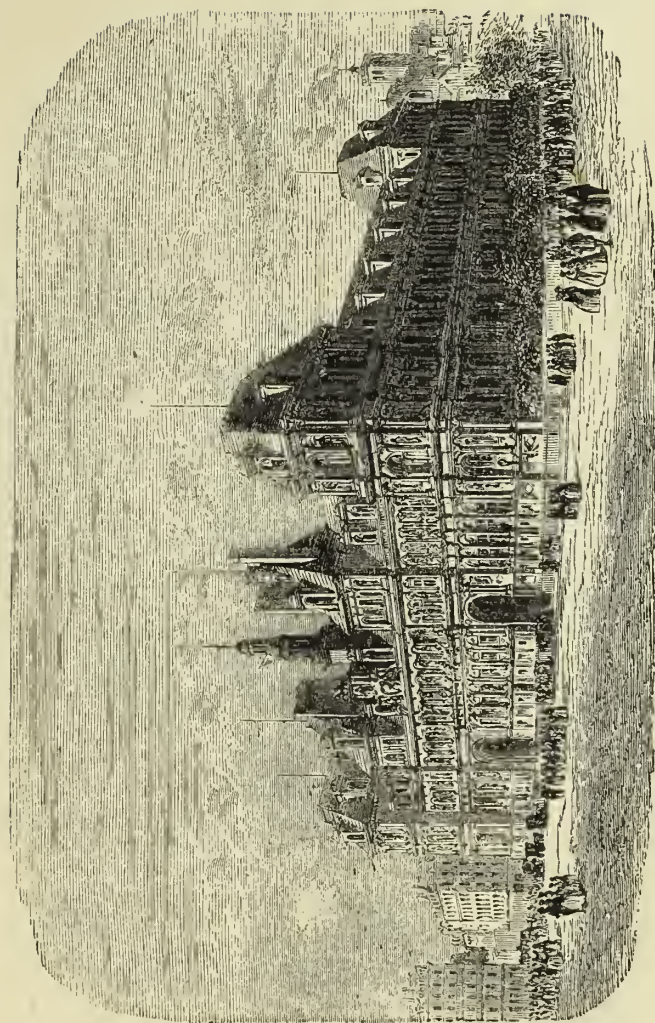
Cirque Nationale on behalf of the free kitchens for providing the poor with soup. It was attended by a large audience.

October 24th.—A private bomb factory exploded, killing several people. The Government announces its intention of closing all private establishments engaged in the manufacture of explosive materials. Public subscriptions are opened all over Paris for the casting of 1500 cannon of large calibre. Open air stalls set up in various parts of the city, decorated with flags, presided over by municipal deputies, and protected by National Guards, for the receipt of subscriptions, which are made, not only in money, but also in jewelry and articles of *vertu*, which are exposed to the gaze of the passers-by.

October 25th.—Arrival of carrier pigeons from Tours. Dispatches sent by means of these pigeons, are reduced by photography to the smallest possible compass. Upon reaching their destination, they are enlarged by the same means. A *matinée* at the Comédie Française was attended by a large audience.

October 26th.—General Trochu visited the ambulance installed at the Palace of Industry in the Champs Elysées, distributing military medals, and according pensions to a number of the wounded soldiers.

October 27th.—Heavy cannonading from the forts. The *Journal Officiel* publishes a decree of the Government ordering the numerous refugees from the environs of Paris to be supplied gratuitously with bread according to their wants; and a decree of General Trochu posted up prohibiting the entrance into Paris of individuals bringing with them articles of furniture or vegetable produce, unless provided with a proper certificate of their ownership of the property. The object of the decree is to prevent the plundering of the abandoned houses and crops in the vicinity, which has been carried on extensively for some time past. Felix Pyat's journal, *Le Combat*, appeared with a paragraph entitled "Bazaine's Plan," enclosed in a deep mourning border. The article charged that Bazaine had sent an officer to the Prussian headquarters to treat for the surrender of Metz and the



Hôtel de Ville : Paris.

restoration of peace in the name of the Emperor Napoleon III. A number of "good patriots" at once repaired to the office of *Le Combat*, and finding M. Pyat absent, demanded of the editorial secretary the authority upon which the announcement had been made. The secretary responded, "generally on that of the Provisional Government," whereupon he was invited to accompany the "good patriots" to the Hotel de Ville. Arriving there, his statement was emphatically denied by MM. Rochefort and Ferry, who denounced Pyat in no measured terms. The "good patriots" then returned to the office of *Le Combat*, with the intention of smashing the types and presses, but a compromise was effected through the National Guard, who seized or bought up all the copies of the paper containing the objectionable article, and burnt them amidst the cheers of the assembled crowd.

October 28th.—The *Journal Officiel* emphatically denies the statement in yesterday's *Combat* as to the surrender of Metz. The Mayor of Paris decrees that twice the sum devoted by the Empire shall now be appropriated to the cause of education in the Department of the Seine. A demonstration at the Hotel de Ville on the part of a number of the National Guard, who came to assure the Government of their entire devotion to it, and to ask that they be permitted to take part in the sorties against the enemy.

October 29th.—The Government decrees that in future the decoration of the Legion of Honor shall be bestowed only on those who have won it by gallant and meritorious service in the army.

October 30th.—M. Thiers arrives from Tours, through the German lines, with proposals for an Armistice. Two new bodies have been formed in Paris—the *Guetteurs de Nuit*, who, with a uniform of blue trousers, blue blouse, and blue *képi*, and armed with a lantern, patrol the streets at night in search of fires; and the *Francs-Mitrailleurs*, who are constituted on the same principle as the *Francs-Tireurs*, and are armed with the American Gatling gun, presented to them by subscription. Food getting scarce, the Government allow-

ance of meat being one and a half ounces per day. Horse, donkey, and cat flesh plentiful. Kittens preserved for future uses. A pair of rabbits costs 35 francs; a brace of ducks 37 francs; and a small fowl 12 francs. A number of Americans and Russians permitted by Count Bismarck to leave Paris.

October 31st.—To day was made memorable by a desperate attempt of the Red Republicans to get control of the Government. It is thus described in a letter from Paris:

Rumors of the arrival of M. Thiers to negotiate an Armistice, the recapture of Le Bourget, east of St. Denis, and the surrender of Metz, had created intense agitation, and at eleven o'clock A. M. about 200 people assembled in the Place de l'Hotel de Ville. The members of the Government suspected the gathering storm, and the crowd was harangued by M. Arago, M. Jules Favre, and finally by M. Jules Simon; while other members, including General Trochu, Picard, and Ferry, remained in the Legislative Chamber. The eloquence of Arago and the venerable presence of Favre quieted the crowd, which showed signs of dispersing; but at two o'clock, Flourens, Blanqui, Pyat and others of the factious party, came at the head of their battalions, entered the Hotel de Ville, and took forcible possession of the Council Chamber. As soon as the Radical mob gained possession of the Hotel de Ville, they organized themselves into a committee of defence, throwing their bulletins from the windows to the excited crowd below. Their proclamations were all different, showing no accord among the rioters. Victor Hugo, Pyat, Ledru Rollin, Flourens, Louis Blanc, Rochefort, and Dorian were among the persons named as directors. The name of Rochefort* was hooted, while Dorian refused to have his name used. While those elections were going on, Picard and Ferry managed to escape from the Council Chamber, and flew to sound the alarm and organize the Gardes Mobiles and Gardes Nationales, for the relief of their imprisoned colleagues. During the mock legislation of the mob headed by Flourens, General Trochu, Jules Simon, Jules Favre, Garnier Pagés, and Arago were held prisoners around a table, and were momentarily in fear of being assaulted.

Jules Simon attempted to speak, but was silenced by a brutal wretch, who slapped him in the face. Garnier Pagés then rose and endeavored to speak, but, overcome with emotion, he fainted away, fell on the floor, and was trampled on by insurgents, who tore General Trochu's decorations from his breast. The venerable appearance of M. Garnier Pagés would have imposed silence upon any but a ruffian set, respecting noth-

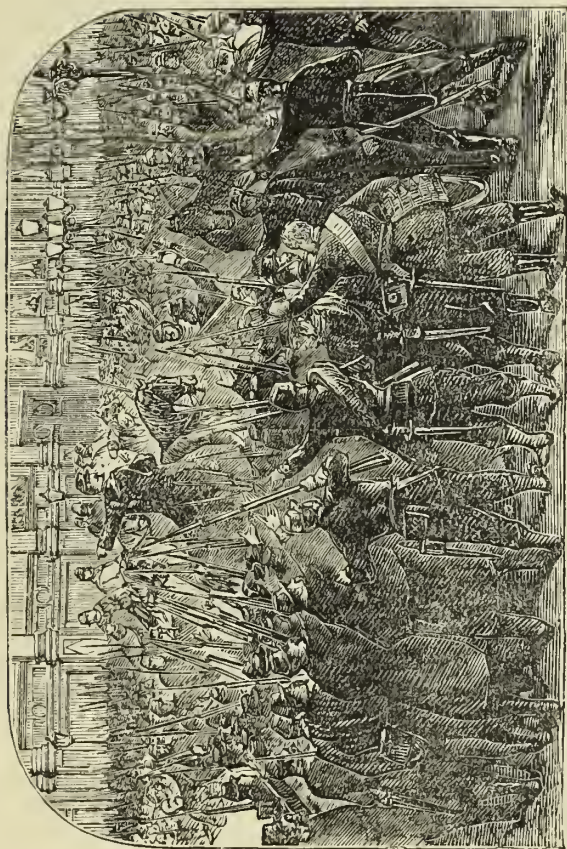
* Rochefort was not concerned in this outrage, and his name was used without his knowledge.

ing. The insurgents, to cries of *Vive la Commune, Déchéance*, "Down with Trochu," greeted with cheers the proclamation of acts from Blanqui and Flourens, while M. Pagés was rescued, and carried to a window under the care of Messrs. Favre and Simon. General Trochu retained his place in an arm-chair near the table while all this indescribable tumult continued.

Pyat and Blanqui now sent emissaries to the Finance Department, demanding large sums of money to defray the expenses of the new Government. These emissaries M. Picard arrested, and gained possession of the orders as evidence against Pyat and Blanqui. Rochefort tried to address the mob from without, but his voice was drowned by loud cries of *Résistance à mort*, "No armistice," and *Vive la République!*

This imprisonment of the members of the Government lasted until six o'clock in the evening, when M. Jules Ferry, who had come to the Hotel de Ville with an immense force, demanded their release. A messenger went up to Flourens to demand a reply. Ferry waited more than two hours for the return, rather than execute any violent movement. In fact, it was distinctly understood that at the sound of the first shot at the place, Trochu, Favre, Simon, Arago, and Pagés would be instantly murdered. In the meantime, however, the National Guard under Ferry had succeeded in pushing a mass of men up the stairs and into the Council Hall. One of the officers of the 106th battalion, a colossal fellow, made a sign to General Trochu, edged his way round the table, and at a favorable moment, when protected by his men, seized the General in his arms, lifted him out of his chair backwards, and without a word conveyed him down stairs. On the grand stairway his *képi* (fatigue cap) was recognized, and a miscreant took deliberate aim at the General, fortunately missing him. One of the men knocked off the General's cap, and replaced it with his own, and thus saved him from further attempts.

Trochu was greeted with cheers by the crowd and troops without. He returned them his thanks for coming to the rescue of the Government, and then proceeded to take measures for clearing the halls and adjoining streets of the rioters. The long roll was sounded throughout the city, and heavy columns of National Guards came streaming towards the Hotel de Ville. That building was entered by means of a subterranean passage from the adjacent barracks, and the Commune party were driven out. Towards three o'clock A. M. on the 1st of November, order was reestablished. During its occupation by the rioters, the Hotel de Ville was con-



General Trochu rallying the loyal National Guard, after the Red Republican
Invasion of the Hotel de Ville.

siderably damaged. Pictures, mirrors, and furniture were broken and destroyed. Many articles were stolen, and the stores of provisions and wine collected there were plundered.

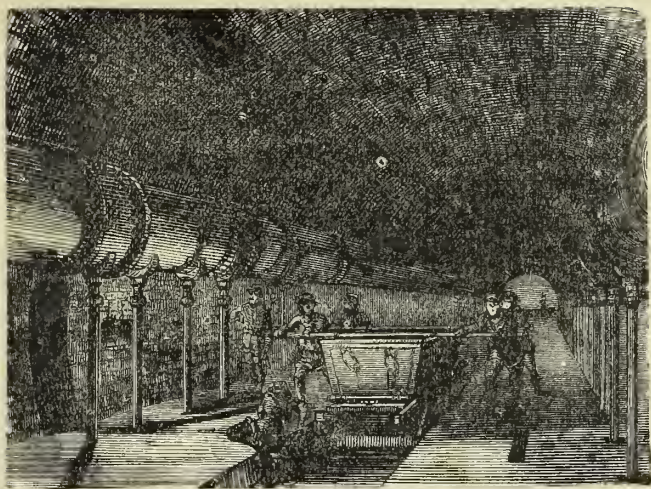
November 1st.—Notices posted up through the city, informing the people that they will soon have an opportunity of choosing between the Provisional Government and the Commune.

November 2nd.—In order to put an end to such demonstrations as that of October 31st, the Government appoints the 3d of November for taking the votes of the citizens, who shall decide by their ballots whether the Government of the National Defence shall be maintained. The 5th of November appointed for the election of the Mayors and adjoints of the different arrondissements of Paris. The Government revokes the commissions of the chefs-de-bataillons of the National Guard concerned in the recent riot; and announces that any battalion going out armed without superior orders would be disarmed, and disbanded, and its commander court-martialed. M. Rochefort resigns his position as a member of the Government.

November 3d.—The elections were held to-day. The result was an overwhelming majority in favor of upholding the Government of the National Defence. The result was proclaimed from Hotel de Ville at ten o'clock, P.M. Large crowds of citizens proceeded to the residence of General Trochu, and tender him their congratulations. The vote was, including the vote of the army (which was Yes, 236,623, No, 9053), Yes, 557,996, No, 62,638.

November 4th.—A number of the leaders of the recent riot arrested and consigned to prison. Felix Pyat was among the number. Flourens and Blanqui concealed themselves. General Tamisier resigns the command of the National Guard, and is succeeded by General Clement Thomas.

November 5th.—Elections for Mayors of the various arrondissements of Paris passed off quietly. Three Red Republican candidates elected. More arrests of persons concerned in the recent riots. Matinées at two of the theatres for charitable purposes.



The Great Sewer of Paris.

November 6th.—The failure of M. Thiers' efforts to negotiate an Armistice made known by the *Journal Officiel*. The announcement is as follows: "The four great neutral Powers, England, Russia, Austria and Italy, had taken the initiative in proposing an Armistice to allow of the election of a National Assembly. The Government of the National Defence made known its conditions, which were, the reprovisioning of Paris, and the voting for the National Assembly by the entire French population. Prussia has expressly refused the reprovisioning the Capital, and only admitted the voting in Alsace and Lorraine with certain restrictions. The Government of the National Defence has decided unanimously that the Armistice, thus understood, must be rejected." This announcement causes great regret in the city, as hopes of a settlement had been entertained since M. Thiers' arrival in Paris.

November 7th.—In order to prevent the Germans from entering the city by the large subterranean passage used for sewers, etc., the égoutiers, or laborers employed to keep the sewers in good order, are stationed in them with arms, for the purpose of guarding them. The engineers of the Minis-

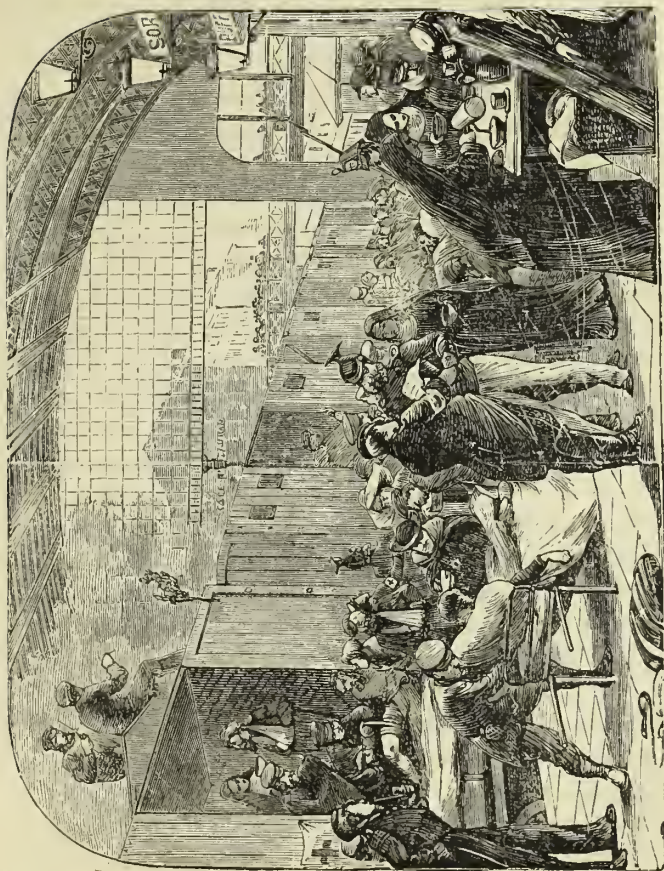
try of Public Works have fortified the interior both of the sewers and the aqueducts with barricades, to prevent the entrance of an enemy ; and have blocked up the shafts entering the catacombs and underground quarries, and walled up every gallery that might give access from the outside to the inside of the circle of defences.

November 8th.—A number of foreigners—Englishmen, Austrians, and Swiss, left the city to-day for their own countries by the permission of the German authorities. The railway stations are used as depots for the reception of the wounded from the lines of the army. They are supplied with a full corps of nurses and attendants, and with medicines, etc.

November 9th.—The enrolment of volunteers for the marching battalions of the National Guard continues. A large pavilion is erected in front of the Panthéon, or Church of Ste. Geneviève. It is adorned with a black banner, in mourning for Strasbourg. Metz has no such honor paid it, as its surrender is believed to be the work of treachery. The front of the pavilion bears the dates 1792 and 1870, and the inscription, '*Citoyens, La Patrie est en danger !*' The platform is occupied by officers of the National Guard and the Mayor of the 5th Arrondissement, and the clerks whose business it is to enrol the names of all persons willing to join the marching battalions, and to make themselves disposable not merely for local service, but for any duty that may be required of them. The square in front of the Church is occupied by the wives, daughters, sisters, and friends of the volunteers, who testify their approval of the transaction by frequent applause. Many thousand volunteers have been obtained in this way.

November 10th.—A Prussian prisoner is a rare sight in Paris. A few are occasionally brought in, and are paraded through the streets with great display.

November 11th.—Wounded men continue to come in. The Grand Hotel is fitted up as a hospital, and is nearly full. The elevators afford the best possible means of conveying the sufferers from floor to floor. The wounded from the Palace of Industry have been transported thither, to their great delight.



Wounded Soldiers at a Paris Railway Station.

The greater part of the wounded men are brought into the city, the more seriously hurt in litters or carriages, and the slightly wounded on mules, two men being placed on a single animal by means of seats, or chairs, one swung over each side of the animal's back. They are greeted by crowds, who follow them with cheers, and contribute money freely to their wants.

November 12th.—The food question becomes every day of greater importance. The number of oxen and sheep within the city walls is no longer officially published; but it is commonly believed that the stock will be exhausted by the end of the month. The animals of the Jardin d'Acclimation having all been eaten by this time, recourse is now had to the more palatable among the wild animals in the Jardin des Plantes. Only those with an abundance of money can afford to purchase the better classes of meat diet. Ass flesh sells for five francs per pound. Black puddings made of bullock's blood are sold in great numbers. Butter, cheese, bacon, ham, sardines, and potted meats cannot be bought at any price.

November 13th.—The Government gives notice that from to-day it will purchase mules and asses as food for the citizens, and that the flesh of these animals will be rationed out at a fixed price, as butchers' meat and horseflesh now are, in the different arrondissements.

November 14th.—Great rejoicings in Paris over a dispatch from Gambetta to Trochu, announcing the recapture of Orleans. Trochu informs the citizens that the preparations of the army are nearly completed, and that the garrison will soon assume the offensive. Heavy cannonading along the line of forts south of the Seine.

November 15th.—General Trochu has issued a reproof to his troops for being too friendly with the German outposts. Strangers, even those provided with safe conducts from Count Bismarck, will not be allowed to quit Paris in the future. Rochefort, who some time ago resigned his place in the Government, has enlisted as a private in an artillery company. The Committee of Barricades has been dissolved by the Gov-

ernment. The resignation of Etienne Arago, the Mayor of Paris, is announced to-day. M. Jules Ferry succeeds him. Arago is made Director of the Mint.

November 16th.—It is announced that the city will soon be on rations of salt meat. Gas is interdicted in the cafés after nine o'clock P. M.

November 17th.—Letters are sent out of Paris by means of balloons, and replies are received by carrier pigeons. The balloon system is becoming quite regular and reliable. Ascents are made now mostly after dark, as several balloons have been recently captured by the Germans.

November 18th.—The marching companies of the National Guard are having their Snider rifles served out to them.

November 19th.—The cafés and shops are using petroleum in place of gas. Cigars are scarce, and pipes have made their appearance in the Café Riche.

November 20th.—Military news, except such as is furnished by the Government, is not allowed to be published.

November 21st.—The manufacture of arms and ammunition goes on with rapidity.

“The most wonderful work after all has been the provision of guns and small-arms in a city so little prepared for such work, and so badly off as it is for materials. Nothing could be more difficult than the task to be performed, more critical than the situation; yet, in spite of being cut off from communication with the manufacturing centres, Paris has provided herself with arms, founded guns, built carriages, and armed and equipped an army of 400,000 men. This fact, says a sensible professional writer here, is an unlooked-for revelation of the powers of production arrived at by the manufacturers of Paris, and London is the only other city in the world that could have accomplished such a feat. Not only are all the machine shops now employed in the production of arms, but they had to create the special machinery for the purpose, and it is now a question whether Paris will not continue hereafter to be a great armory, thus adding another special feature to its industry.

"Necessity is the mother of invention, and the story of the siege will contain accounts of many clever adaptations and expedients. This, of course, is not the season to collect information of this kind, but I may mention that the use of metal instead of sand moulds has been found to save much time in the casting of cannon—seven days, in fact, out of twenty. Some very simple American rifling machines have been employed for the first time here; the breech-pieces of the gun are of a more simple model than formerly, the ingenuity of private engineers and mechanics having been called into play for the first time in that direction.

"The orders for breech-loading field guns amount to 1500. Of these more than one-half have been delivered, and the rest will soon all be finished. Of the 360 great guns ordered, seventy were turned out more than a week ago. The proportion of failures is said to be about one in six, which is also that of the State factories. Where iron moulds are used, as at St. Denis, it is said that the failures are reduced to a minimum, nearly every casting being perfect. It must be stated, however, that, much as has been done, it is complained that the guns are not produced fast enough. This is nonsense; there is little doubt that the Government has now more guns than it will ever use, though at the same time the substitution of all the rampart guns by pieces of greater calibre—substitution already carried out at the most important points of the *enceinte*—is highly important. Probably gunners are more difficult to be found than guns and ammunition."

November 22d.—Coal and coke are very scarce. Charcoal is being made in quantities by order of the Government; the Bois de Boulogne being used for this purpose.

November 23d.—The citizens are notified that after the present month no more gas will be supplied to public or private establishments, or to private houses, and that in a short time the street lamps will be lighted with petroleum.

November 24th.—The Government announces its intention to seize the stock of potatoes in the city, and ration them out to the citizens at moderate prices. The Secretary of the

Horseflesh Committee announces that nearly 30,000 horses have been eaten since the siege began.

November 25th.—Three days' rations of salt meat, and three days' rations of fresh meat, are issued alternately to the citizens. The edible animals in the Jardin des Plantes and the Jardin d'Acclimatation have been killed and sold to the butchers. In the meat shops one now sees dogs and cats for sale, and a rat market has been opened under the very shadow of the Hotel de Ville. Rice, sugar, coffee, bread, and wine are still plentiful.

November 26th.—The city excited by a heavy night cannonade from the forts south of the Seine.

November 27th.—No one allowed to go beyond the walls without passes from army headquarters. It is rumored that a sortie in force is to be made by General Ducrot.

November 28th.—The city intensely excited. Heavy columns of troops marching along the principal thoroughfares, towards the lines on the southeast of the city. A proclamation issued late in the afternoon by General Trochu, calling on the people of Paris to make a "supreme effort."

November 29th.—Trochu begins his effort to break out through the German lines and join the Army of the Loire. Heavy fighting. The cannonade keeps the city in the most painful excitement. Wounded constantly arriving from the front. The Government appeals to the citizens not to be alarmed; to reject all alarming reports, and to bear in mind that Trochu's plan involved alike false attacks and retreats. Great despondency in the city at night.

November 30th.—Heavy cannonade from the forts began at midnight on the 29th. Renewed fighting to-day. In the evening it is rumored that Ducrot has won a great victory.

December 1st.—Continued fighting. Large numbers of wounded brought into the city. It is stated that Ducrot has forced a passage of the Marne.

December 2d.—Fighting continues through the day. It is stated that Ducrot maintains his positions. City excited, but hopeful.

December 3d.—City quiet. It is generally believed that the sortie has not been successful; but there is no despondency. The death rate in the city has increased. • The privations of the people are beginning to have their effect, particularly upon young children and infants. The consumption of fresh meat had become greater during the Empire than it had ever been before, its use being more general among the poor in particular. Consequently, a larger number of people suffer from the deprivation than if this increase had not taken place.

December 4th.—It is announced this morning by the *Journal Officiel* that the army under General Ducrot recrossed the Marne last night, and bivouacked in the Bois de Vincennes. The Government announces that this withdrawal was instituted in order to give effect to certain future operations. The citizens generally accept this explanation. Nevertheless, Paris is full of the wildest rumors. It was reported that the Prussians had evacuated Versailles; and, in spite of the intense cold, immense crowds assembled in the cafés and around the newspaper kiosks, in the hope of finding the information officially confirmed in the late editions of the evening papers.

An official decree announces that a credit of 500,000 francs has been opened in the Budget of the city of Paris to establish additional soup kitchens for the relief of the indigent population. The amount of misery resulting from actual want and the severity of the weather is very great. No one complains, and rich and poor alike express their willingness to bear any hardship or privation incident to a successful defence of the city, or a defence to the last extremity.

December 5th.—General Ducrot announces that he withdrew his army across the Marne because “the enemy had had time to concentrate his forces and prepare the means of action,” and that a further persistence on the part of the French would have involved the useless sacrifice of many brave men. The conflict, he adds, will soon be resumed.

More balloons leave the city. At the present time the departure of balloons takes place at night, and the time and night fixed on are kept secret from all but those who are to take



Bird Market: Paris.

passage in the balloon. This precaution is to prevent the Germans from being on the look-out for, and firing rockets and other dangerous projectiles at, the balloon as it passes over their lines. As in the days before the war, the railway stations are still the places from which passengers and letters take their departure for the outside world; for they not only offer large open spaces in which to fill the balloons, but, being situated away from the centre of Paris, there is less risk of these in their ascent coming in contact with buildings. The balloons usually depart about midnight: the depot of the Northern Railway being a favorite starting place. They start from one of the courtyards of the station, which is lighted up with the lamps belonging to the now disused locomotives. Perfect silence is maintained whilst the necessary preparations are made, and the shrill whistle of M. Dartois directing the sailors engaged in performing the various operations is the

only sound heard. About half an hour previous to the time fixed for the departure, a post-office van arrives with the sacks of letters and copies of the *Journal Officiel*, intended to serve as ballast. These are placed in the car, to which is also attached a basket containing pigeons, and addressed, "Pigeons: to be immediately forwarded to Tours." M. Rampout walks about superintending the arrangements; and if the night should be foggy and the wind favorable, the countenance of the Director-General of the Post-Office is beaming with satisfaction, for he knows that the balloon will both leave without being perceived by the enemy and will fall far outside their lines. The car has been fixed on, the aeronaut and his passengers have already taken their places, clad in thick clothing to shield them from the intense cold of the upper regions of the atmosphere, when an aide-de-camp of General Trochu arrives out of breath. His dispatch is handed to the aeronaut, the command, "Let go!" is given, and the balloon soars majestically into the air. The spectators watch it clear the glazed roof of the station, and it disappears into the night; but for a few moments after they can still hear the adieux of the travellers, who are carrying with them into the outer world so many messages of love and hope from the sorrowful inhabitants of the beleaguered city.

December 6th.—A correspondence between Generals Von Moltke and Trochu was made public to-day. The Prussian Commander informed his adversary that the French Army of the Loire was defeated near Orleans on Sunday last (4th), and that Orleans itself had been reoccupied by the German troops. This news has created a profound impression throughout the city. Many people disbelieve it: many try to explain it away; but the mass of the people are rendered very uneasy by it. As usual, the boulevards and the cafés were crowded to-night, in spite of the inclemency of the weather, and excited discussions ensued, both within and without doors, from which people retired not a whit wiser, but for the most part with sad misgivings as to whether it were now at all possible to save Paris from falling.

December 7th.—Gustave Flourens, who was degraded from his military rank after his recent attack on the Government, rejoined his battalion of the National Guard in its cantonment, and attempted to resume his command. He was at once arrested, and is now confined in the Mazas Prison. The Ultra Republicans affirm that police spies, instructed to run away from the enemy, have been scattered through the battalion referred to, in order to furnish the Government with an excuse for disbanding and disarming the "Republican patriots." Blanqui's violent journal, *La Patrie en Danger*, has suspended publication for want of patronage.

December 8th.—The magnificent bridge and railway viaduct across the Seine at Auteuil is very much changed in appearance since the beginning of the siege. The upper tier of arches has been walled up on the side facing St. Cloud, loopholes being left in them for musketry in case the Germans should attempt to force the passage of the Seine. Some few of the arches have been turned into store places for hay and straw, while the remainder serve as barracks for the Gardes Mobiles, who are thus sheltered alike from the fire of the enemy and in a less degree from the severity of the weather.

December 9th.—General Renault, who was fatally wounded in the recent battles on the Marne, and who died on the 6th, was buried to-day in the Marshals' vault at the *Invalides*, in presence of several members of the Government, and a considerable assemblage of officers, civic functionaries, and private friends.

The Archbishop of Paris paid a visit to the Breton ambulance, to urge the less seriously wounded to rejoin their regiments as soon as they are sufficiently recovered. He urged them never to think of surrendering, adding that it was a deep regret to him that his holy calling did not permit him to shoulder his musket and go with them to the battle-field. The Bretons are regarded as the best fighters in the army, and are moreover thoroughly devoted and obedient to the clergy. Reports are current in the evening of the near and successful approach of Bourbaki's and De Paladines' army.

December 10th.—The city in great agitation, caused by the arrival of a carrier pigeon with a dispatch purporting to have been sent from Rouen, announcing that that city was in the hands of the Germans, who were marching on Cherbourg, everywhere received with acclamations by the peasantry; and announcing other overwhelming defeats. It was later in the day proven that the dispatch was sent by the Germans, the pigeon having been recently taken by them in a balloon which fell into their hands.

Fresh meat has now become extremely rare, and the only kind regularly rationed out is horse-flesh. The Jockey Club have lately been partaking of a *diner du siège*, as it was styled, which comprised carp, gudgeon, and eels from the Seine; bloaters, horse, ass and mule, dog, rat pie, Dutch cheese, mushrooms, celery, salad, apples and pears. Beef is still to be procured at the better class restaurants at very high prices, and even veal can, on rare occasions, be obtained. Hams are also to be had at fifteen francs the pound. A few weeks ago, the Government took possession of a lot of Dutch cheeses, and as no owner has ever appeared to claim them, it has distributed them amongst the Mairies of the various arrondissements, which have rationed them out, in lieu of salt meat or horse-flesh, in proportions of about one ounce and two-thirds, at a rate of nearly two francs and a half per pound.

December 11th.—The citizens were greatly depressed to-day at finding that the bakers' shops had been forced to close, one after another, early in the afternoon, through their stock of bread becoming exhausted. This arose, no doubt, from the recent Government decree, intimating an intention to take possession of all stocks of corn and flour, which produced a kind of panic, followed by a run on the bakers' shops, which soon emptied them of their contents. The scarcity is no doubt due also to the fact that the city mills are inadequate to the task of grinding flour enough for the population. The closing of the shops to-day brought the possibility of famine painfully before the citizens.

December 12th.—The walls are covered this morning with

a proclamation from the Government, urging the citizens not to give way to panics, and assuring them that there is bread enough in Paris to last till the end of March. When the white flour is exhausted, brown bread will be sold, and this the proclamation declares is nourishing, pleasant to the taste, and wholesome, being in fact the bread eaten by the majority of the peasants in the Departments. The manufacture of biscuits is interdicted; and the sale of flour is prohibited under a heavy penalty. The meat supply, derived from the slaughter of 500 horses per day, is to undergo no diminution, it is said. The Government intimates its intention to take possession of coals, coke, and fire-wood at rates to be fixed by appointed factors. The prices of these articles are rising rapidly.

December 13th.—The principal streets are still lighted with indifferent gas; but the edifices of the city, both public and private, are obliged to use petroleum.

December 14th.—A battalion of the National Guard, known as the volunteers of the 147th, was to-day ordered to proceed to Rosny. When the ranks were formed only one hundred men presented themselves, and half of these were without arms. The battalion refused to march, on the plea that the wives of the men comprising it had not been paid the seventy-five centimes per day to which they are entitled by a Government decree when their husbands are called on to do duty in the field.

December 15th.—General Clement Thomas, the Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard, has issued an order disbanding the battalion known as the volunteers of the 147th. To-day the first German shell fell within the ramparts of Paris. It fell near the bastion No. 72 at the Point du Jour. It is known in the city that Orleans has been retaken by the Prussians, and that 10,000 Frenchmen have been made prisoners.

December 16th.—A courier from Tours arrived in Paris to-day with dispatches for the Government, having successfully traversed the Prussian lines. The *Patrie* of this evening says that both mules' and asses' flesh may still be purchased. and

even small legs of mutton are to be had at twelve francs. Mutton chops bring one and a half francs; sheep's kindeys two francs each; geese forty francs; turkeys thirty francs; ducks twenty francs; chickens fifteen francs; dogs ten francs; and cats eight francs each. A pike was sold to-day at twenty-five francs; eggs one franc, sausages at fifty centimes each. Butter is from fifteen to twenty francs per pound; and salt one and a half francs per pound. The consumption of dogs, cats, and rats is considerable. A census is now being taken for the double purpose of ascertaining how many persons are entitled to receive ration cards, and how many men have evaded the performance of military duty.

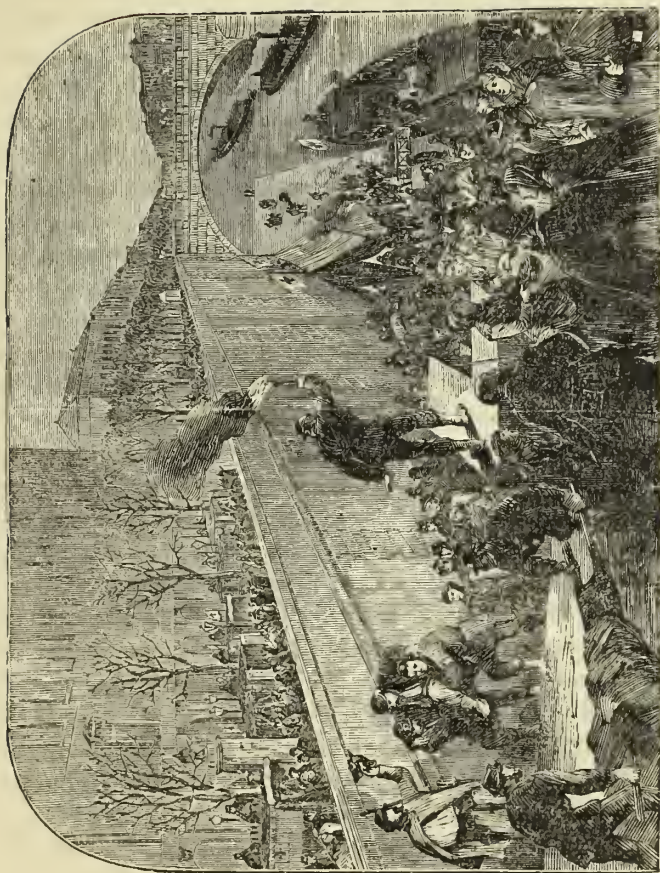
December 17th.—It is believed that the reorganization of the army is complete, and a resumption of the fighting around the city is looked for daily by the citizens.

December 18th.—The city very much depressed by the inaction of the Government. The journals bitterly reproach the authorities for their tardiness. They ask if the Government is collecting men, arms, and munitions in Paris to offer them to the Prussians on the day on which hunger forces the city to surrender. General Trochu is not openly named, but it is understood that the reproches are aimed at him.

December 19th.—The *Journal Officiel* endeavors, but unsuccessfully, to raise the spirits of the people, by assuring them that the Government policy is to fight, but to do so in concert with the movements in other parts of France.

The distress in the city is now very great, and the poorer classes suffer more from cold than from hunger. Madame Hamelin, widow of a former ambassador to Constantinople, was recently found dead in her bed at Belleville, the victim of cold and starvation. There were 2728 deaths in the city last week, or 273 more than during the previous week.

December 20th.—The air is full of rumors of a battle. Orders have been issued to close all the gates of the city. The National Guards have had their places assigned them, and 120 rounds of cartridges per man, have been served out. Trains of artillery wagons and ambulances have been mov-



Disembarking wounded Soldiers at the Quai de la Mégisserie : Paris.

ing through the city all day; also many carts laden with Christmas trees. The wooden stalls, so well known here in the holiday season, are in course of erection on the boulevards in anticipation of New Year's Day.

December 21st.—The expected sortie took place to-day. There was heavy fighting at La Bourget east of St. Denis, and towards Gagny and Bondy. The city painfully excited by the distant firing.

December 22d.—No fighting to-day. The wounded coming in considerable numbers.

December 23d.—The cold—12 degrees below the freezing point—is very severe. The general belief is that the fighting will be renewed; and the people are hopeful. Eggs sold to-day for one franc apiece.

December 24th.—The National Guards have expressed so much disgust at not being permitted to take part in the recent battles, that the *Temps* to-day publishes an article explaining to them that in every engagement some of the troops must necessarily remain in a state of greater or less inactivity; but that their presence on the field as reserves neutralizes and renders inactive a corresponding force of the enemy.

The wounded are still coming in. Many of them are brought in by the little steamers which formerly served as "steam-boat omnibuses" on the Seine. These little boats, flying the red cross flag of the Geneva Convention, proceed by the Canal de la Marne, beyond the fortifications, and receive their supplies of wounded men in the immediate vicinity of the battle-fields. These they transport swiftly and comfortably to the city, where ambulances are in waiting to convey the sufferers to the hospitals.

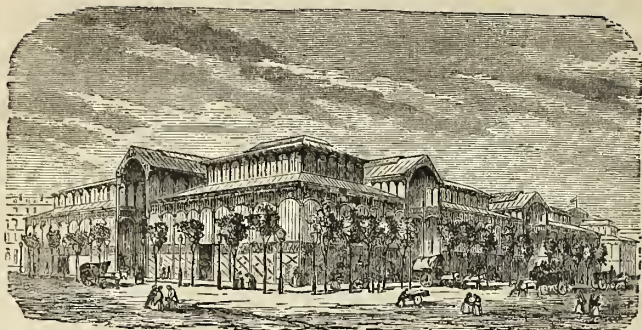
December 25th.—Christmas Day. In honor of the occasion, rations of fresh beef were issued instead of horse flesh—an agreeable surprise to the citizens. About an ounce of butter—which has not been tasted since the last of September—was issued to each person.

"A sort of bazaar was opened to-day at the Ministry of Public Instruction, for the benefit of the victims of the war,

at which the simplest articles of food were exposed for sale side by side with objects of taste and luxury, and, what is not at all surprising, commanded hardly inferior prices. One hears of a turkey—set off on a couch of velvet, it is true—realizing a couple of hundred francs; and of bonbonnières, containing fine flour in lieu of sweetmeats, being sold for half this amount; of potatoes prized as high as the choicest truffles; of celery fetching almost its weight in silver; and radishes realizing ten francs, in place of ten centimes per bunch. Books and pamphlets bearing the autograph of Victor Hugo commanded extravagant sums; bottles of champagne from the cellars of the Tuileries were broached at five francs the glass; and M. Dorian, the Minister of Public Works, is reported to have paid a thousand francs for a box of ordinary cigars—being, however, ten times the amount which Madame Jules Simon had demanded for it. We had also a *matinée* at the Conservatoire, with a like object, the main attraction of which was a “conference” by M. Louis Ratisbonne, instituting a comparison between Christmas in Paris and in Germany at the present moment; and a representation at the Comédie Française, in the course of which it was sought to excite renewed indignation against our *bêtes noires* the Prussians by the recital of the woes of some Alsatian pedagogue who had dared to espouse a Baden wife.”

December 26th.—The weather is intensely cold—the mercury standing at 12 degrees below zero. Several men are said to have been frozen to death on the outposts of both armies during the past few nights, and cases of frost-bite are numerous.

December 27th.—The belief is becoming general throughout the city, that the Government has little hope of conducting a successful sortie. The depression is great in consequence. The official report of the last sortie is received with distrust, and it is plain that Trochu is losing his popularity. A heavy fire maintained upon the forts by the German siege batteries all day. Several shells are reported to have fallen within the *enceinte* at Belleville. The Government has now seized all



Principal Market : Paris.

the coal, which is used for making gas for the balloons and for the cannon foundries, and all the coke. There is a great demand for wood for fuel. Six francs per hundred pounds (exclusive of carriage and delivery, which are nearly twice as much more) is now the market price. The demand has been so heavy, and those who could afford it have bought up such quantities to hold in reserve, that the supply in the market came near being exhausted. To meet the wants of those who could afford to buy in quantities, the Government ordered about six square miles of timber in the Bois de Boulogne and the Bois de Vincennes, and also the trees along the principal roads leading out of Paris, and the larger trees along the boulevards, to be cut down. Depots of firewood were also established for making gratuitous distributions of fuel to the poor. To-day, however, several of these depots were attacked by bands of shivering men and women, and the wood stored there carried away by force. They also pulled down fences and palings, and tore up benches and even demolished scaffoldings used for the erection of buildings in various quarters of the city, to obtain fuel. Even a number of telegraph poles were carried off for the same purpose.

December 28th.—The Government published a proclamation this morning, explaining the measures it had taken to provide Paris with fuel, and calling on the National Guards and all

honest men to arrest all persons found injuring or plundering private or public property.

December 29th.—It is announced that the plateau of Avron was abandoned by the French yesterday, being rendered untenable by the German artillery. The announcement produces considerable despondency, as the citizens are now convinced that their defenders have no artillery capable of contending successfully with Krupp's guns. The Germans maintained a heavy fire on Forts Noisy, Nogent, and Rosny all day.

The journal *La Vérité*, which for some days has been advising peace, and expressing doubts as to the efficacy of General Trochu's plan, states to-day that M. Jures Ferry had advised the Government to require Trochu's resignation, but that Jures Favre and Ernest Picard were opposed to the step, and that Trochu refused to profit by the hint thus given him.

December 30th.—M. Picard's paper, the *Electeur Libre*, of last night, denied the statement of *La Vérité* given above. This statement has drawn out all the papers of Paris to-day, and the majority comment unfavorably upon Trochu's course. Altogether popular feeling is setting strongly against him, the people asserting that he has succeeded in nothing he has attempted. All classes doubt, in a greater or less degree, his capacity for the task before him. *Le Temps* of to-day says, as though a capitulation were in contemplation, that "in the event of a final disaster, the Government have come to the resolution either of resigning or retiring into one of the forts, being determined never to submit to the humiliation of a surrender." This announcement has awakened a complete storm, and the members of the Government are plainly told that "their movements are watched, and that they will never be permitted to desert the posts they so audaciously usurped."

The Minister of Agriculture announces that one hundred tons of preserved beef, and twenty-five tons each of dried beans, coffee and chocolate, together with a considerable quantity of olive oil will be rationed out to the citizens on New Year's Day.

December 31st.—A proclamation from General Trochu, announcing that the Government means to oppose an active resistance to the Germans, and adds that "the enemy, in despair at not being able to present Paris as a Christmas gift to Germany, adds the bombardment of our forts to the various processes of intimidation he has already employed to weaken the defence." He concludes by saying that the Government is a unit with respect to its policy, and that the army is preparing for action. Meanwhile the heavy bombardment of the forts continues, and the citizens are dreading a bombardment of the city itself. They are losing all hope that the Germans will ever be driven off.

January 1st, 1871.—A gloomy New Year's Day—the gloomiest perhaps within the memory of the oldest inhabitant. The boulevards were crowded as usual on this day, but the people were sad and gloomy. The heavy thud of the cannonade was almost incessant, and the sky was overcast with heavy clouds. The contrast between the last *Jour de l'An* and the present was painfully felt by the whole city. In the evening excited groups collected on the boulevards, regardless of the cold, and eagerly discussed the situation. Considerable ill-feeling was manifested towards General Trochu. Exclamations of "*A bas Trochu!*" were even heard.

January 2d.—During the last week of the old year there were 3280 deaths in the city. This does not include the deaths in the hospitals and other public institutions. It is thought that these would bring the full total to nearly 4000. Small pox produces from 400 to 500 deaths per week, and typhoid fever and bronchitis between them as many more. The bombardment of the forts still continues with great severity. This morning the *Journal Officiel* declares that the citizens are unanimous in supporting the Government in its determination to resist to the last. It is believed, however, that a very large part of the population would welcome a surrender.

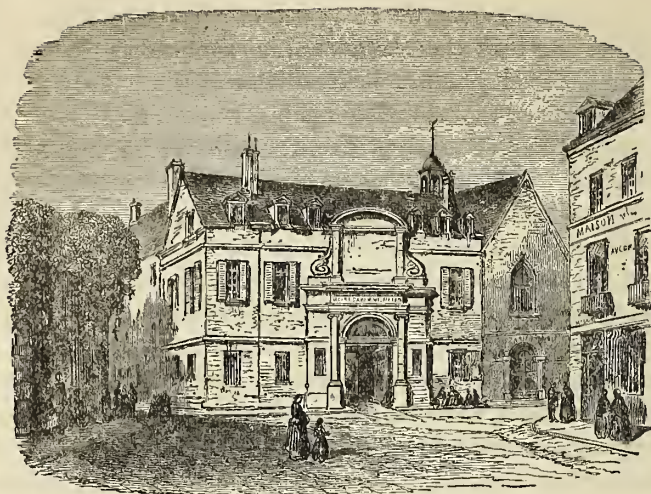
January 3d.—Food is getting scarcer. Large dogs are bought by the butchers at from 200 to 300 francs, but the

small ones bring but twelve, twenty, or thirty francs, according to size. Cats vary from nine to twenty-five francs. A few days ago a butcher paid 4000 francs for two camels, which he killed and offered for sale.

January 4th.—The dissatisfaction with the Government is increasing. *La Patrie* of this evening contains a serious article, suggesting that the recent councils of war seem to prove that the Government is subjecting itself to an examination with regard to its shortcomings during the past four months, and demands why, with all the sacrifices Paris has made, so little has been done.

January 5th.—The prospect is black enough; disease, scarcity of food, and the extreme cold are making havoc among the poorer classes, and now the horrors of a bombardment of Paris itself have been added. The fire of the Prussian batteries has been directed to-day against Forts Ivry, Bicêtre, Montrouge, Vanves, and Issy, and shells have been thrown into the quarters of Grenelle, Vaugirard, and Montrouge, where they have killed a few persons—principally women and children. One or two shells have been thrown as far as the Boulevard St. Michel, near the Luxembourg Gardens, causing many of the families who inhabit this quarter to remove precipitately to other parts of the city. There has been an attempt on the part of some of the Mayors and their adjoints to form themselves into a Council of Advice to the Government, but it has met with no success, the meeting called together with this object having declined, by a majority, to pass the resolutions proposed. The *Réveil* was one of the chief promoters of the movement, which it terms the “Petite Commune,” and the only result of which has been the carrying of a motion inviting the Government to name a supreme Council of Defence to assist in its duties. A sort of appeal to the people against the inaction of the Government was placarded to-day.

January 6th.—The bombardment of the city was continued throughout the day. A large number of shells fell within the ramparts, more than fifty exploding near the Luxembourg



Hospital of La Pitié: Paris.

and the Panthéon. Very little damage was done, however, to life or property. General Trochu issued a proclamation in reply to the placard of yesterday, assuring the people that he had no intention of capitulating. The Government brings out an address to the people, declaring that in spite of the sufferings to which Paris is subjected, it will show itself worthy of the country and of the armies marching to its relief.

January 7th.—The bombardment of the city becomes heavier. The Luxembourg quarter suffered considerably to-day, and it was found necessary to remove the ambulances established in the gardens of the Palace to a safer position. The Belt Railway has interrupted its traffic between Montrouge and Auteuil, as a measure of precaution; but no part of the line has been damaged. Rumors are thick in the city of the victorious approach of an army from the provinces under General Faidherbe.

January 8th.—In spite of the bombardment, the churches were well attended to-day. The shrine of Ste. Geneviève, in the church of St. Etienne du Mont, has been thronged with

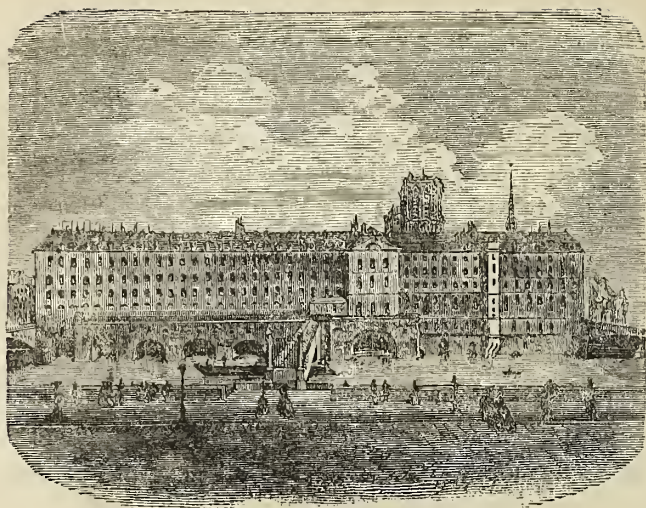
devout people praying the patroness of the city to shield her beloved Paris from the horrors of the cannonade. The shells fell thickly in the Latin quarter all the while. They struck the Hospice de la Pitié, and killed one woman there. Several men were killed and wounded in the military hospital of the Val de Grace; and five poor children asleep in their beds were killed at the school of St. Nicholas, and several were wounded.

January 9th.—The Government has addressed a protest to the representatives of the foreign Powers against the bombardment of Paris, in which they say that "Prussian shells have been wantonly launched against hospitals, ambulances, churches, schools, and prisons, and that the exigencies of war can never be an excuse for the shelling of private buildings, the massacre of peaceful citizens, and the destruction of hospitals and asylums. The Government of the National Defence, therefore, protests loudly, in the face of the whole world, against this useless act of barbarism."

The hospital of La Salpêtrière was struck last night. To-day four of the five children killed at the school of St. Nicholas were publicly buried in the cemetery of Mont Parnasse, after the performance of a funeral ceremony at the church of Notre Dame des Champs. An immense crowd was present, and M. Jules Favre delivered a brief address at the grave.

January 10th.—The physicians of the Hospital of the Infant Jesus publish a protest against the bombardment, five shells having struck the building last night. The hospital shelters 600 sick children.

January 11th.—The bombardment continues. The *Siècle* this morning stated that a sortie which had been planned for a day or two ago had to be abandoned, it being found that the enemy had massed their troops at the proposed point of attack. It stated that only four Generals—viz., Trochu, Ducrot, Vinoy, and Schmitz—were in the secret, and asks which of the four is the traitor. The *Réveil* accuses General Schmitz. The *Soir* says that a Prussian *femme de chambre* married to the valet of a staff officer, meaning Schmitz, is implicated in the affair, and has been arrested.



Hospital of the Hotel Dieu: Paris.

January 12th.—Between midnight and two o'clock this morning, the bombardment was severer than it has yet been. It is said that a shell per minute fell in the St. Sulpice quarter alone. The forts on the south side were also sharply cannonaded. An official decree, published to-day, announces that all citizens killed by the German fire will be regarded in the light of soldiers falling on the field of battle, and that their families will receive the same provision. A shell carried away one of the pinnacles of the church of St. Etienne du Mont last night. A crowd collected there to gaze at the huge mass which had fallen into an adjoining street. General Trochu indignantly denies that any general officer has been arrested for revealing Government military secrets.

January 13th.—A new Red Republican Club, called the *Marseillaise*, was organized at Belleville last night. The speakers indulged in the most violent denunciations of the Government of the National Defence. The citizens regard the inhabitants of Belleville with distrust, as it is by no means uncertain that they will make a serious assault upon the Government.



Prussian shells falling near Mont Parnasse Cemetery : Paris.

January 14th.—The bombardment has caused several fires in the city, but these have been so promptly extinguished that no serious damage has been done. The Government requires all the horses in the city to be surrendered to its agents. It is said that 200 will be reserved for general use, and distributed among the various arrondissements in the proportion of one to every 1000 inhabitants; and that the rest will be slaughtered for food. All the cows in the city must likewise be given up. Three thousand will be retained and distributed in the same proportion as the horses, in order to furnish milk for invalids and infants, and the rest will be killed and rationed out. A shell struck the dome of the Panthéon to-day, and one fell close by the Institute de France, but did not explode.

January 15th.—It is stated that the American and Swiss Ministers and other foreign representatives addressed a protest to Count Bismarck, complaining that no notice of the intended bombardment was given, and requesting that their compatriots be allowed to leave Paris. General Trochu sent a parlementaire to-day to General Von Moltke complaining of the damage inflicted upon Paris by the German fire, and stating that the schools and hospitals of the city have been so frequently struck that it would seem they had been especially aimed at. The *Journal Officiel* states that, up to the 13th, the number of inhabitants killed by the bombardment was fifty-one, including eighteen children and twelve women. One hundred and thirty-eight persons had been wounded, forty-five being women and twenty-one children.

The bombardment is causing throngs of people to change their residences from the left to the right bank of the Seine. To-day the bakers are ordered to sell bread to none but their regular customers, and then only on the presentation of their butchers' ration cards.

January 16th.—General Von Moltke replies to-day to Trochu's parlementaire of yesterday, saying that the hitting of the hospitals and ambulances by the German shells was purely an accident, owing principally to the long range and

the fog; and intimates that when the batteries are advanced closer to the city, the gunners will be able to aim more accurately.

January 17th.—Still the shelling of the city goes on. A letter from Paris—although sensational in its style—gives a fair idea of the feelings of the dwellers in the Latin quarter, and of some of the scenes in that section. It is as follows:

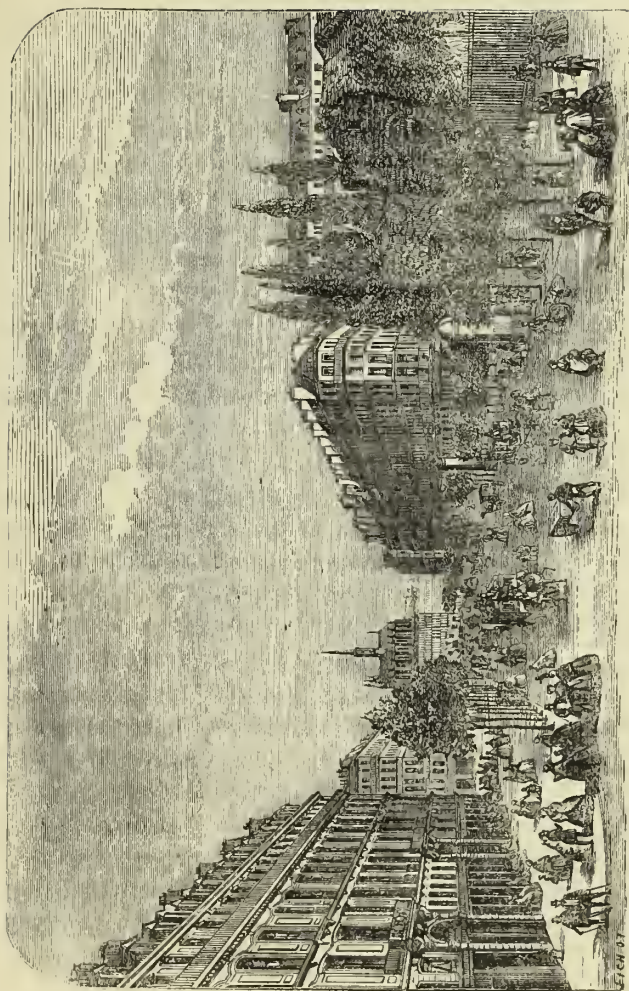
I am writing this from a wine cellar in the yard of one of the houses of the Quartier Latin. I know not if it may ever reach you, for if I perish my poor record of the last days of this cruel siege must perish with me. I care not, I am doing the duty that lies nearest to me, and if I am to die I had rather a thousand times fall at my post than away from it; besides I cannot take any lofty ground of principle in the matter. I am writing because without some strong preoccupation I should go mad. If I were to sit still and look about me and meditate on what I see, I feel that my reason must give way; the very associations of this dismal cavern would bring about that result. Four men are my companions, one of them a convicted thief, one an aged judge, who, for aught I know, may have condemned the other, and whose white hairs are now marked with his own blood. Yet he calls the thief brother and friend; for in the state to which this proud population of the proudest city in the world is now brought, such a distinction as that between rogue and honest man seems altogether too puerile for serious notice. We are crouching together in the thick darkness, for the lantern light which falls upon this paper scarcely carries its feeble rays so far as the edges of the table on which it shines. We have improvised a weak bomb-proof, by pulling sacks upon sacks, already filled with earth some weeks ago, upon the pavement above the arches of the cellar. Two shells our poor covering might, perhaps, resist, a third would simply scatter it to the winds, and bring the arch in hideous ruin down upon our heads. We have not had so much as a first one yet, but even if that should come, God, in His infinite mercy, grant that a third may never fall. Amen.

It is Sunday night. Shall I go on to tell you about myself, about my own experiences, terrors, hopes; or shall I attempt to give you some general description of the bombardment throughout the city? I am decided—I will tell you about myself. Set fire to an ants' nest and each ant's agony is the agony of the whole swarm. Destroy Paris, and any dead rag-picker's story being told would epitomize the entire situation for you. Let me set down for you simply what I have seen and heard, said and done, during the past few days. Multiply every incident in that narration a million times, and the product of it will be the experience of Paris.

I had just come from seeing the reception of the dead grocer when the

butchery began. The reception of the dead grocer is held in this wise : You make your way to a little street turning out of the Rue Grenelle, and in a house there you find the body of a man laid out decently for burial, and surrounded by a crowd composed of stray passers by, who have been invited to assist at the "reception." You find every proper accessory of a funereal scene in candles, flowers, holy images, and weeping friends. But there is a note of rage in the lament which seems to betoken that the man is felt to have come to death by foul means ; just such a wail, for instance, as I should imagine is common to savages in warfare, whose sorrow for a slain companion takes in great measure the form of a remembrance of a debt of vengeance to be paid to a living foe. They will even laugh bitterly in the midst of their wailing, these mourning friends ; and the fierce fire of rage and hatred in their eyes seems almost to dry up their tears before they are shed. The cause of these extraordinary appearances manifests itself in due time, for being pressed as to the manner of death of the person so strangely mourned, the nearest relation of the deceased, namely, his brother, makes nothing of lifting up the body and showing you behind the calm, almost smiling face, the entire back part of the skull blown away by a Prussian shell.

The grocer was, in fact, as nearly as can be ascertained, the very first civilian killed by the bombardment of the city of Paris. He was in front of his little store, preparing to close it, when an announcement that the Prussians had definitely parted company with the genius of the nineteenth century came into Paris in the shape of a huge shell, which plumped down upon the pavement and incontinently blew off half the grocer's head. He was at once dressed out for burial, as I have said, and it was announced by word of mouth everywhere that he would be at home to receive visitors at any hour between the day of his death and that of his burial, which has since taken place. The grocer, in fact, was displayed for the especial benefit of any of us who, after a hundred days' starvation, might still lack gall enough to make oppression bitter. He was useful to that end. But that I am afraid of disgusting you utterly, I could tell you of scenes of real devilment that took place in that chamber in the Rue Grenelle, of hungry wretches, drunk with fury and with wine, whirling in dances of vengeance and of despair, more awful than could be any realization of the pictured Dance of Death. Blame me if you like for writing to you about these things, but still try, before you condemn me utterly, to put yourself in my position. Until I had written all this, it seemed to me the most natural thing in the world that I should be so occupied. A momentary gleam of what—well reason if you like—tells me that the easy, gentle, soft-sleeping, fat-feeding world must not have the course of its digestion interfered with by stories of the charnel-house. But what will you have ? We are all going—if we have not already gone—mad here ; and if I am to say anything at all I must be



Boulevard Sébastopol, on the south side of the Seine : Paris.

allowed to speak my mind. Besides, I am the less concerned about any faults of taste in this writing, since I feel that it may never reach you, and that if it do I may be insensible to either your praise or blame, long before it meets your eyes.

Yes, the bombardment of Paris has begun; it is going on now at the time of this writing. I believe the devils have just smashed a house to atoms in the Boulevard St. Michel at the back of this place, for I hear a clattering as if the vault of heaven had come down, and I hear also shrieks and groans. I shall not go out to see, for another shell might fall and kill me, and I want to live—far more now, and I don't know why it should be so, than I did at the beginning of the siege. What is the reason of this? Is it that men become less able to face danger and death the more they have the possibility of them before their eyes, and that another of our most respectable truisms is going to be proved no better than a lie?

The thief, my fellow-lodger, cannot keep himself so well in hand as I. The fool has been fidgetting about this half hour to learn what has happened in the next street. If he had set himself a task as I have, instead of hunting for his own image in his finger-nails, he would have been able to stay in the cellar. As it is, he must needs crawl forth, "just for a minute," to see what is going on. He has been gone over half an hour, and certainly some five-and-thirty shells must have fallen since that time. The boulevard is probably a mass of flying iron and falling bits of houses. Between the two he has probably got himself killed long since. *N'importe*, he will have many a brave fellow to keep him in countenance before this devil's down-pour is over. He was a fool, though, all the same.

Whiz—crash—whiz—crash—whiz—crash! and then a murmur of human rage and agony, that would be shouting, I suppose, if you were near enough, Oh, God! Oh, God! May this end soon in death, or in a fair grapple in the open with the murderers skulking behind their walls. What have *we* done? What could we have done if we had sinned all the sins of the world, to deserve this anticipation of the horrors and the terrors of the last day?

A mud-stained, dust-begrimed man, with a gash in his head, got from the splinter of a lamp, staggers into the place and tells me that he has just come from the St. Germain quarter, and the shells are falling at an average of at least one and a half to the minute there. I met this man less than a year ago at a ball in the Tuileries, where he was one of the honored guests, his opulence having procured him one of the noblest brides in Paris. How do I meet him now? He tells me that he dined yesterday on sheer garbage, such was his craving for vegetable food. But what does that matter? All such stories have grown commonplace. What has he to tell me about the murder now being done on Paris?

Much. Firstly, as he came hither he witnessed the entire destruction of a house in the old faubourg, inhabited by the late Marquise de Bapelle. Now, this is a tragedy in itself almost as great as the taking of a human life. I knew that house well. Many people knew it beside me. It was the scene of the ancient "interior" that appears so often in the cabinet pictures of Frere. Luxury, elegance, refinement of taste had found their limits in the building and the furnishing of it. Louis XIV. designed it for one of his mistresses, but she died before its completion, and redeemed thenceforth from all foul uses, it sheltered only virtue, honor, chivalry and birth. Its very atmosphere was that of an enchanted palace. The staircase was of cedar wood, and sweet purifying incense went up from it to the farthest corner of the house. The floors were of American hickory wood, the very first specimens brought to this country, or, as somesay, to Europe. The marble chimney-pieces, yellow with age, were nobly carved with every imaginable device of beauty and of grace. Le Male had painted the ceilings; a hundred cunning artificers in ivory, in silver, in bronze, in ormolu and in inlaid wood, had contributed in the course of generations to the furnishing of the stately apartments—the effigies of long lines, direct and collateral, of illustrious ancestors hung from the walls. All that was worth preserving of a state of things long since passed away in France found its memento there. Connoisseurs went there to complete their studies; wits and orators to perfect their style; monarchs intrigued, and often in vain, for admission to its circles of that highest fashion of all—the fashion of intelligence and cultivation. The ancient court and the ancient stately manners were embalmed there; it was a very temple of the old sweet and lovely social faiths. Yes, messieurs, it was a temple say five-and-thirty minutes ago, and it is now a tomb, or the ruin of a tomb, for as the grimy man was passing it on his way hither, another Prussian announcement in iron dropped plump into its midst, and in two seconds reduced it to fine powder, killing one person outright in the process, and it is to be feared burying in the ruins two others—an old servant and his wife, left in charge since the beginning of the siege.

Secondly, the grimy man has strange things to tell of the demeanor of the population. I have already told you that we are all going mad, and he confirms me. They are bombarding the Boulevard St. Michel, as you know. Well, will it be believed that the boulevard is nearly as crowded now as it has been any day since the siege. Men with their eyes fixed on the ground, and muttering to themselves, sheer monomaniacs, and walking to and fro like caged tigers from the bridge to the Luxembourg Garden, only pausing every now and then to shake their fist at the stars. It is very droll, I know, all this, but I again entreat you of your charity, you ladies and gentlemen who are some thousands of miles away, to have pity on us poor devils who are "within range."

Ever and anon a splinter strikes a madman, and his corpse lies there for the living to stumble over till it comes to their turn. Madness has brought these wretches out of their cellars, and it will keep most of them there in the open until they die. Death shirks some of them, or dallies with them cat-fashion by sending them, as a preparatory to its summons, some frightful and tormenting wound. One fellow was within four feet of a shell when it burst, and when the bustle of it was over he was still seen standing erect. In point of fact no single scrap of iron had touched him, but the flame had simply burned his eyes out, and he stood sightless and flayed. There arose, when this was seen, a great cry of wildest despair from the crowd, whom horror had at first frozen into statues, but a greater horror had congealed into men. Some would have it that we were betrayed, and they were for a swift march across the bridge and short shrift for Ducrot and Schmidt. Nay, Trochu himself was to be torn to pieces, and the remains of him to be flung over the walls to make a banquet for the Prussian dogs. A good twenty stood forth in a twinkling ready for the work, and went about begging of the bystanders a pocket-knife or anything with which a life could be taken. They were soon weaponed for the work and were tearing off to do it—maddest of all mad works surely, for, although this may be my dying declaration, I repeat it, our leaders are as true as steel—when suddenly a little girl stepped forth and rooted them all to the spot by supplicating them with a face distorted by agony, but with tearless eyes, to tell her “why father was killed.”

The man it turned out had been carried dead into the bookshop at the corner of the Panthéon Hill but half an hour before. None could tell, indeed, till some one opined that it was perhaps because M. de Bismarck had willed it. “And where does M. de Bismarck live?” said the child. “Just behind the hill there,” said another, pointing towards the eastern batteries out in the black night. “I shall go and say my prayers to him,” cried the poor baby, and away she fled, God alone knows where. But this stopped the assassination scheme for the time.

More strange revelations from the fugitive to my cellar. The reds are madder than the maddest, and at this supreme moment are almost openly plotting a new *coup d'état*, to wit, the seizure and instant execution of the principal members of the government, and the guillotine for every man who refuses to fall into the ranks with the first dawn of morning to-morrow for a wild, despairing spring at the Prussian throat. Favrolles and Raoul and some, to me unknown, creature named Duroi, who seems, however, to exercise boundless influence over them, are at the head of the movement. They have their headquarters in the very thick of the bombardment, namely, in that network of narrow streets behind the Sorbonne which constitute all that Haussmann left of the old Latin quarter. My man was caught by one of their sentinels just as he was

entering the Passage de la Sorbonne to come to me, and was asked in a manner that he could see meant mischief whether he loved traitors or the republic best. There was but one reply possible, and he had no sooner made it than he was hurried off across the broad Place de la Sorbonne—where, amid the falling projectiles, a poor woman knelt with uplifted hands and eyes before the cross on the portico of the ancient church—to a rendezvous in a noisome alley, reeking of pestilence and death. A tap at one of the doors here and a hasty exchange of passwords admitted him to a small cabaret filled with a most desperate-looking set of ruffians in conclave, and dignified for the nonce with the title of the new Hall of the Convention—with how much appropriateness, considering the purposes of the men who occupied it, I fail to perceive. The president—Duroi—sat upon the counter, and repeated to the new-comer the absurd question he had previously heard. Of course he could not but declare in all sincerity that he loved the republic better than all the traitors in the world. The president then deigned to infer by a somewhat summary process of logic, that by that declaration he had intimated his willingness to sign the death-warrant of the men at present at the head of affairs. He was about to dispute this proposition when a greasy roll of paper was thrust towards him, and a space underneath the last signature was indicated with the point of a dagger, with an intimation that he must “sign there.” He signed; but of what he signed he is absolutely ignorant, and he was then told that he might go away if he chose, but that he must turn out in the morning, on pain of death, the moment he heard the beat of the drum. So the matter stands. He is wholly unwilling to go, of course, but he is half afraid to stay, for the very looks of the scoundrels were a threat to any one venturing to disobey their commands. My advice to him is to stay, but much will depend upon the precise degree of dejection to which he is reduced at the time the signal is given. If the bombardment continue all night I think he will go.

January 18th.—Troops have been moving through the city all day towards the Porte de Neuilly and Porte d’Auteuil, in order to take part in another sortie, it is said. They were singing merrily, and many of them were accompanied by their wives, carrying their guns or marching in the ranks beside them. Great crowds assembled in the Champs Elysées and other principal thoroughfares to see them pass, and considerable excitement prevails in the city.

January 19th.—A great sortie was made to-day towards Montretout, Garches, and the heights of Buzenval, on the

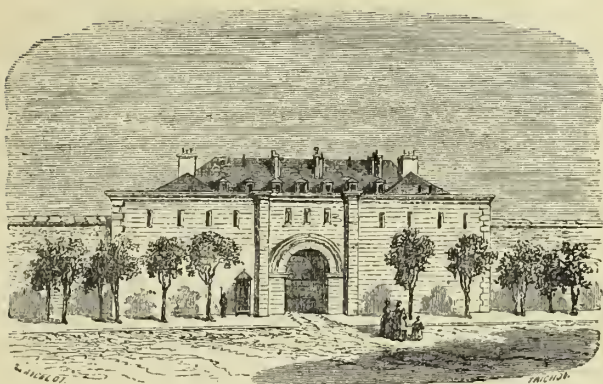
left, and Reuil and La Malmaison on the right. It was unsuccessful, and the French were forced to retire with heavy loss.

During the sortie crowds of citizens collected about the Arc de Triomphe, on the Trocadero, and at the Porte Maillot, to hear the news. When the failure of the movement became known, a profound depression fell upon the throngs, and there was much talk of displacing Trochu, under whose command the effort had been made.

The Government to-day orders bread to be rationed out. The ration for an adult is 300 grammes, or about $10\frac{1}{2}$ ounces avoirdupois, and the ration for a child at half that quantity. No one is to be permitted to purchase any more. This bread is made one half of white flour, the other half of oatmeal and rice in proportions fixed by law.

January 20th.—Last night, after the failure of the sortie was made known, the *générale* was beaten, at eleven o'clock, in the Belleville and Menilmontant quarters, to call the National Guard to arms for an attack upon the Hotel de Ville. Only a few hundred men responded to the call, however, and the attempt was abandoned. To-day the municipal authorities caused several regiments of National Guards to be stationed about the Hotel de Ville, and mitrailleuses have been posted to command the approaches to the edifice.

This morning additional troops marched out of the city to Mont Valérien. Large crowds collected around the Porte Maillot and in the adjacent avenues to learn the news. In the afternoon the troops came back considerably downcast. It was only then that the full truth as to the result of yesterday's movement became known. The despair of the people was fearful to witness. A meeting of the Mayors of the various arrondissements was held at three o'clock. It is said in the city that the members of the Government were present, and that the meeting was a stormy one. A heavy rain kept people out of the streets at night. At the clubs violent speeches were made, and everywhere Trochu was bitterly denounced.



Mazas Prison : Paris.

January 21st.—On the streets to-day it is rumored that Trochu has resigned, and it is said that Vinoy is to succeed him.

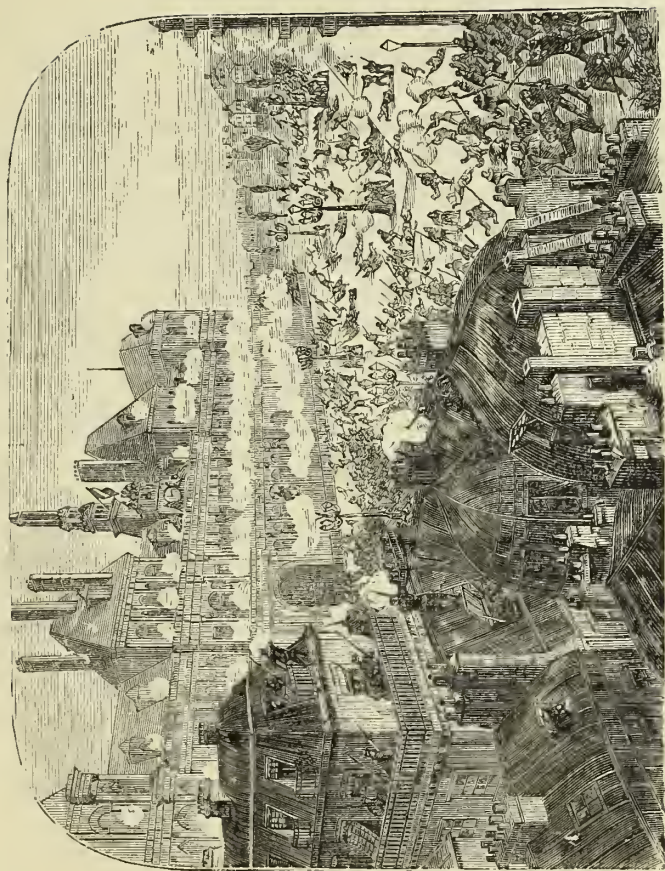
This evening there were stormy meetings of the Belleville clubs. About 800 rioters assembled and marched to the Mazas Prison, where Gustave Flourens has been confined ever since his effort to upset the Government in November. They reached the prison about midnight, many armed National Guards being amongst the rioters. Three delegates were sent in to demand of M. Bayet, the superintendent of the prison, the release of Flourens, and to inform that official that the rioters would force the gates of the prison if their demands were not complied with. M. Bayet, instead of calling to his aid a company of soldiers stationed in the prison, went out to parley with the mob. A rush was then made, the gates were forced open, and the mob rushed in. Flourens and five of his political friends were liberated, and conducted in triumph, the drums beating a march, back to Belleville. Upon reaching Belleville, the mob forced the doors of the Mairie, intending to make it the headquarters of the insurrection. After seizing about 2000 rations of bread, they abandoned the building, not being joined by their friends.

January 22d.—The city was very quiet this morning, and

it seemed that the rioters of last night had abandoned all hope of creating a disturbance.

This morning the *Journal Officiel* announced that it has been determined by the Government that the supreme command in chief of the army of Paris should be separated from the office of President of the Government, and that General Vinoy is appointed Commander-in-Chief. The same decree suppresses the title and functions of Governor of Paris. This puts an end to Trochu's military career, and leaves him merely the position of President of the Government.

The announcement induced the belief on the part of Flourens and his friends that the Government was being weakened by dissensions between the members. At noon the square in front of the Hotel de Ville was thronged with an excited crowd. Two deputations were admitted successively from the throng to state their complaints to the Government. As they were returning, escorted by Colonel Vabre, the Commandant of the Hotel de Ville, about 150 National Guards, almost all belonging to the 101st Battalion de Marche, with officers and drums, appeared in the square. The Finistère Mobiles, who guarded the Hotel de Ville, were drawn up inside the railing which separates the building from the square, but their officers, with Colonel Vabre, remained outside, urging the people to be calm. Suddenly the National Guards, who had dispersed themselves in little groups throughout the square, in obedience to instructions, opened fire upon the Mobile officers who stood in front of the principal entrance, but happily without touching them. Colonel Vabre, who was standing in front of another gate, indignantly called upon the rioters to cease, whereupon a civilian, who appeared to be giving them orders, and who boasted of being a revoked Commandant, directed them to fire upon the Colonel. The discharge which followed gravely wounded an adjutant of the Mobiles named Bernard, and, upon seeing him fall, his men returned the fire of the rioters, killing and wounding several of the crowd. The square was quickly emptied, men, women, and children rushing pell mell into the adjoining



Attack on the Hotel de Ville, Paris, by the Red Republican Insurgents, January 22d.

streets, hundreds being knocked down and trampled on in their precipitate flight.

A couple of houses on the east side of the square, and the door-ways and street-corners leading to it, were occupied by rioters, who for some time interchanged an intermittent fire with the Mobiles in the Hotel de Ville. Several shots passed through the windows of the Hotel, but no one within was injured. A little later the Republican Guard arrived, and captured twelve of the rioters in the houses, an officer who had hidden himself in a house, and the captain commanding the detachment of the 101st Battalion. Later in the day the Government announced its intention to maintain order in the city. In the evening crowds of people thronged the boulevards, discussing the affair.

January 23d.—The Government issued three decrees of a decided character to-day. The first suppressed the clubs until the end of the siege; the second increased the number of councils of war from two to four; and the third suppressed the *Réveil* and the *Combat*, two of the most violent Red Republican organs published in the city. General Vinoy issues an order of the day, taking command of the army.

January 24th.—A dense fog covers the city and surrounding country, causing an almost total suspension of the bombardment. A commission appointed by the Maires of Paris, to regulate the distribution of wine and other provisions to be given in compensation for the small bread allowance, has decided that the wine shall be distributed by the bakers. To every needy person who presents an order for bread, one-fifth of a litre, nearly three-eighths of a pint, of wine will be given.

January 25th.—The bombardment last night was rather more leisurely than usual. The quarter of the Petit Montrouge suffered considerably, however. The Sainte Anne Asylum was struck sixty-nine times, and forty-nine private buildings were struck. The town of St. Denis was cannonaded during last night and to-day, and was terribly damaged. Several lives were lost.

January 26th.—It is known in Paris that negotiations are in progress between the Government and the Germans for an Armistice with a view to ending the war. Great anxiety is everywhere manifested to learn the result. The bombardment continued through the day. The church of St. Sulpice was struck twice, and the military hospital of the Val de Grace was set on fire. The flames were extinguished before much damage was done.

January 27th.—The bombardment ceased last night, and not a single gun has been heard since midnight.

The anxiety of the citizens to know their fate is to-day gratified by the announcement in the *Journal Officiel* that the city and its defences are to be surrendered to the enemy and an Armistice concluded, the conditions of which it sets forth. The city is to be revictualled.

January 28th.—The surrender of the city and army, and the terms of the convention between the Government and the Germans, are announced to the citizens to-day. Paris may be said to be perfectly calm; the only violence has been that of language, and some of the speeches pronounced on the boulevards and at the street corners are certainly most energetic in denunciations of the Government, which is not even as popular as it was on yesterday. The Armistice will be carried into effect to-morrow. The spirit of the population, although sad and gloomy, is too broken to lead one to expect any disturbance. The Parisians generally are convinced that the state of food supplies rendered it impossible for them to hold out any longer; still they are angry with the Government for having deceived them, as they now maintain it has done, throughout the entire course of the siege.*

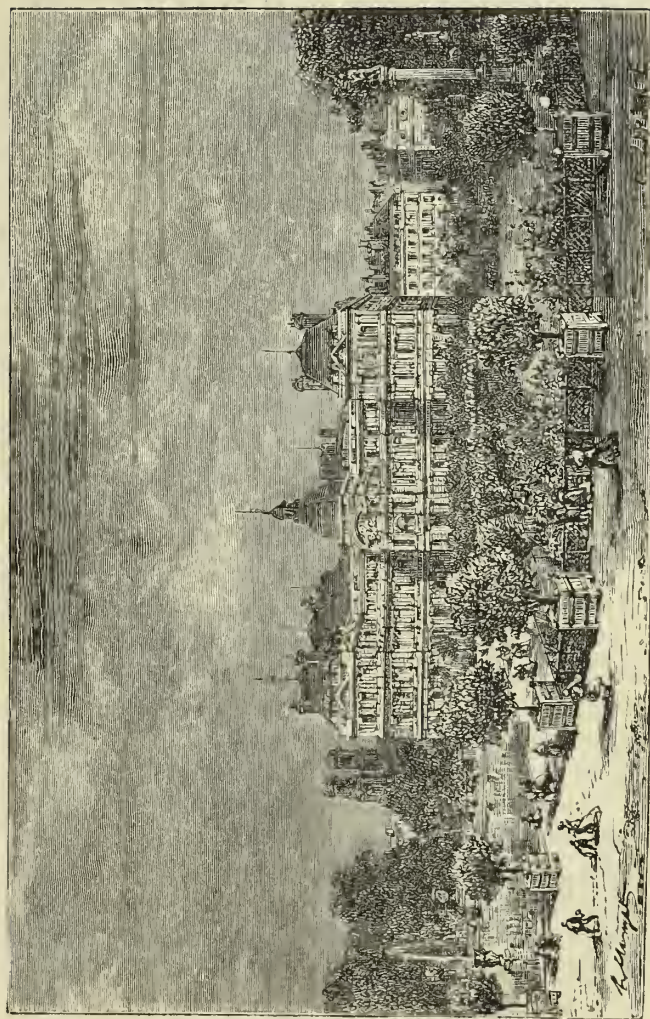
* This diary is based principally upon the diary of an English gentleman residing in Paris during the siege, published from time to time in the *Illustrated London News*.

CHAPTER XV.

PROGRESS OF THE EFFORTS FOR THE UNION OF THE GERMAN STATES—MEETING OF THE NORTH GERMAN PARLIAMENT—ACTION OF THE SOUTH GERMAN STATES—BAVARIA HESITATES—THE PEOPLE TRIUMPHANT—FORMATION OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE—SYNOPSIS OF THE CONSTITUTION—STATEMENT OF THE AREA AND POPULATION OF THE EMPIRE—THE IMPERIAL CROWN OFFERED TO THE KING OF PRUSSIA—THE KING'S REPLY—THE CEREMONY OF PROCLAIMING THE GERMAN EMPEROR—A BRILLIANT AND IMPRESSIVE SCENE AT VERSAILLES—THE EMPEROR'S PROCLAMATION—THE BANQUET—SUCCESS OF THE GERMAN WAR LOANS—MEASURES FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF ALSACE AND LORRAINE.

DURING the progress of the war the people of Germany were not idle. Freed from all fear of an invasion of their own country, they devoted themselves with enthusiasm to the task of completing the union of all the German States under one head.

As may be supposed, the prospect of surrendering their independence as sovereigns and acknowledging a superior was distasteful to the majority of the German princes, but the popular will was too strong to be resisted. It was the wish of the people that Germany should be one—that the whole German-speaking race should present a solid front to foreign aggression, and advance harmoniously to the fulfilment of one glorious destiny. It was agreed that the new union should be federal in its nature, and efforts were made even by those secretly opposed to it, to hasten its accomplishment. Such progress was made in these endeavors, that when the North German Parliament met on the 24th of November, the King of Prussia was able to announce to that body that Baden and Hesse Darmstadt had formally joined the German Confederation; that Würtemberg had positively promised to join it; and that the objections urged on the part of Bavaria were on the point of being overcome.



Palace and Gardens of the Luxembourg: Paris.

Palais und Gärten de Luxembourg: Paris.

Bavaria, indeed, had been the chief obstacle to the unity of Germany. The King, it is true, did not care much for his independent royalty, and it was believed that he would very gladly transfer the cares and responsibility of his sovereignty to Prussia; but there was a strong party in that kingdom which regarded the proposed union as a mere effort on the part of Prussia to aggrandize herself at the expense of the other German States. This party was strong, but it did not comprise the majority of the Bavarian people. The French Government fell into a grave error at the outset of the war, in supposing that this anti-Prussian party represented the popular sentiment. The popular wish was for a close union with the other German States, but upon conditions which should still preserve the independence of Bavaria in local affairs; and to this wish the anti-Prussian party were compelled to yield. The Emperor of Austria lent his aid to the task of removing the difficulties in the way of the union, and advised the King of Bavaria to unite with the other German States in the new Confederation, and at length the matter was settled.

Bavaria having yielded her objections, the North German Parliament entered upon the task of constituting the new Confederation, and, in accordance with the wish of the nation, established a German Empire, and the King of Bavaria demanded that the Imperial crown should be offered to the King of Prussia. The Constitution agreed upon was admitted to be entirely experimental, and provision was made for such changes as the future should render necessary.

By the terms of this Constitution, all Germany forms one Empire, the head of which is an Emperor, whose heirs are to succeed him in this dignity. The Imperial dignity is to descend to the heirs of the Prussian crown alone. The Legislative Bodies are the Federal Council and the Federal Parliament. The Federal Council represents the Emperor, and has the sole right of determining the question of peace or war. It consists of twenty-five princes of various degrees of power and dignity, whose realms constitute the German Empire. The princes are all hereditary legislators, ruling by right of

birth. Their votes are in accordance with the extent and population of their domains. The King of Prussia has seventeen votes—one-third of the whole; the King of Bavaria six; the Kings of Saxony and Würtemberg four each; the Grand Dukes of Baden and Hesse three each; the Dukes of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Brunswick two each; and the rest one each. The Federal Parliament or Diet consists of 382 members, chosen by universal suffrage—one deputy for each 100,000 of the population. In this body Prussia has 240 members, nearly two-thirds of the whole. Each State retains possession of its own sovereignty and legislation, subject to certain restrictions. The Empire is to regulate and control the political rights of its inhabitants, taxation and excise, banking, diplomatic and consular representation, navigation, postal and telegraphic arrangements, gradual unification of judicial laws, army, navy, and press laws. The armies of the various States are consolidated into one, which is formed after the Prussian model, and the command of which is vested in the Emperor. Soldiers and officials swear fidelity to their special sovereigns and to the Emperor. An exception with regard to some slight particulars relating to the postal and telegraphic service, and the excise laws, is made in favor of some of the South German States. Bavaria reserves to herself the right to control her excise, the command of her military forces in time of peace, and diplomatic representation abroad.* In the absence of the German Ambassador, the

* The following is the official statement of the terms upon which Bavaria entered the Confederation:

"ARTICLE 1. The Kingdom of Bavaria enters into a constitutional union with the North German Confederation, which, in consequence of such entry, adopts the name of 'German Confederation.'

"ART. 2. As basis of the constitution of this 'German Confederation,' the general constitution of the North German Confederation of April 16, 1867, shall be adopted, with the following special provisions respecting the several articles.

"ART. 3. Bavaria shall have six votes in the Federal Council.

"ART. 4. In the first (military) Committee of the Federal Council, Bavaria shall at all times be represented by a member of the Federal Council, to be appointed by His Majesty the King of Bavaria. With respect to the com-

Minister of Bavaria is to represent the Imperial Government at foreign courts. The Constitution was promptly submitted to the various German States, and was approved by them.

mittees of customs duties and taxation, trade and commerce, as well as the keeping of accounts, the provisions of Article 8, Section 3, of customs treaty, remain in force.

"ART. 5. The Federal Presidency is bound to keep the Federal Council completely informed on the course of diplomatic negotiations which are carried on to ward off the danger of war from without, concluding alliances, or the restoration of peace.

"ART. 6. Any negotiations of peace after a Federal war shall be attended by a representative of Bavaria, to be appointed by His Majesty the King of Bavaria.

"ART. 7. In case of a hostile invasion of the Federal territory, or a warlike attack on the coasts, the declaration of war must be made under any circumstances; in all other cases the concurrence of the sovereigns of at least two-thirds of the population shall be requisite.

"ART. 8. The Federal Ambassadors at Vienna, Paris, and Rome, receive a councillor of legation, to be appointed by His Majesty the King of Bavaria, and shall be considered an officer of the Confederation, and possess all the rights and qualities of such a one.

"ART. 9. Federal legislation concerning the taxing of spirits and beer shall not be extended to the Kingdom of Bavaria on this side of the Rhine. Approximate imposts shall as much as possible be introduced.

"ART. 10. Concerning the levying and administration of the dues and customs duties and their supervision, the provisions of the customs treaty remain in force.

"ART. 11. The produce of the dues and customs duties remains with Bavaria. With regard to the distribution of the common revenues, the provisions of the customs union remain in force.

"ART. 12. The Federal Presidency shall only construct Federal railways in Bavaria with the consent of the Bavarian Government.

"ART. 13. Articles 48, 49, and 50, of the North German Constitution (post and telegraph) are not applicable in Bavaria.

"ART. 14. The Federal Presidency shall call a number of Bavarian subjects to the posts of *consules missi*, such number to be in proportion to the votes of Bavaria in the Federal Council; and also to communicate to the Bavarian Government the names of persons to be appointed as Federal Consuls before such appointment takes place.

"ART. 15. For the present, Article 61 shall not be applicable to Bavaria, but a general German military law for the Confederation shall be introduced forthwith. The Prussian law shall serve as the basis.

"ART. 16. His Majesty the King of Bavaria shall apply at least an equal amount to that mentioned in Article 62 to the Bavarian military establish-

The German Empire, thus constituted, consists of the following States, whose extent and population are also given, according to the census of 1867.

	Area in square miles.	Population
Prussia.....	135,806	24,043,296
Bavaria	29,373	4,824,421
Saxony.....	5,779	2,423,401
Württemberg.....	7,532	1,778,479
Baden.....	5,912	1,434,970
Mecklenburg-Schwerin.....	5,190	560,618
Oldenburg.....	2,469	315,622
Brunswick.....	1,425	303,401
Saxe-Weimar.....	1,404	283,044
Mecklenburg-Strelitz.....	1,052	98,770
Saxe-Meiningen	956	180,335
Anhalt	1,026	197,041
Saxe-Coburg-Gotha.....	760	168,735
Saxe-Altenburg.....	510	141,426
Waldeck	433	56,805
Lippe-Detmold.....	438	111,352
Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt.....	374	75,074
Schwarzburg-Sonderhausen.....	332	67,500
Reuss-Greiz.....	145	43,889
Reuss-Schleiz.....	320	88,097
Schaumburg-Lippe.....	171	31,186
Hamburg.....	156	305,196
Lübeck.....	107	48,538
Bremen.....	74	109,572
Hesse Darmstadt (northern part)	1,280	257,479
Hesse Darmstadt (southern part)	1,690	565,659
Lichtenstein.....	62	7,994
Total.....	204,766	38,521,900

The Empire thus comprises an area equal almost to the New England and Middle States to the Potomac, including

ments, and furnish the requisite proofs. For the rest, Article 62 is applicable to Bavaria.

"ART. 17. The rights belonging to the Federal Commander in time of peace shall be exercised towards Bavaria by the military committee of the Federal Council.

"ART. 18. The provisions of Article 64 are applicable to Bavaria.

"ART. 19. The Federal Presidency does not avail itself of the right of Article 65 within the Kingdom of Bavaria.

"ART. 20. Prussia pledges herself not to proclaim martial law in Bavaria except with the concurrence of the Bavarian Government.

"ART. 21. The quota to the general Federal expenses shall be furnished by Bavaria in two half-yearly instalments not later than January 1 and July 1 in each year.

"ART. 22. As long as no superior Federal court exists, offences against the

West Virginia, with a population about equal to that of the United States, and speaking one language. It also embraces the whole German speaking race in Europe, exclusive of the German subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, who are not quite nine millions in number.

Having thus established the Empire, the German Parliament appointed a commission, with the President of the Parliament at its head, to proceed to Versailles, to offer the Imperial Crown to the King of Prussia. The commission left Berlin on the 13th of December, and reached Versailles on the 15th.

On the 18th of December, they were received by King William in the parlor of the Prefecture of Versailles. His Majesty, with the Crown Prince of Prussia and the other German Princes, had previously attended divine service, performed by a Lutheran clergyman in the chapel of the old Bourbon palace. As he stood in the drawing-room of the Prefecture to receive the deputation, he was attended by most of the German Princes at that time in Versailles. He was in full uniform, and wore all his orders. Crown Prince Fritz stood on his right, and Count Bismarck on his left. Herr Sinson, whose fortune it had been to offer the Imperial Crown to Frederick William IV. in 1849, then stepped forward, and, after making a few introductory remarks, read in a loud voice the address in which the German Parliament requested the King of Prussia to accept the Imperial Crown. When he had concluded, King William took from the hands of an aide-de-camp a folded paper, from which he read his reply, in tones which trembled with emotion. After thanking the deputation for the aid which the Parliament had afforded the Government by voting the supplies necessary to the prosecution of the war, and by coöperating in the work of national unity, the King said: "The request addressed to me

Confederation, committed in Bavaria, shall be punished according to the Bavarian laws.

"ART. 23. Propositions to alter the constitution shall be considered rejected *even* if Bavaria votes in the *minority* of the Federal Council."

by the King of Bavaria, to reëstablish the dignity of Emperor of the old German 'Reich' has filled me with deep emotion; but you know that, in this question, which affects such highly esteemed interests, and memories so greatly cherished by the German nation, my own feelings or my own judgment cannot influence my decision. Only in the unanimous voice of the German Princes and Free Towns—only in the united wish of the German nation and its representatives—shall I recognize a call from Providence to which, relying upon God's blessing, I could conform."

When the ceremonies were over, the King shook hands heartily with the deputies, and the assembly dispersed.

The condition named by the King—the unanimous expression of the wishes of the Princes and people—was easily complied with; and this being communicated to him, his Majesty accepted the Imperial Crown and title, and on the 18th of January, 1871, was solemnly proclaimed Emperor in the Palace of Versailles.

At nine o'clock in the morning the colors of the various regiments were paraded in the court-yard of the palace, and carried by deputations to salute the King for the last time previous to his assumption of the Imperial Crown. The colors were then carried to the *Galerie des Glaces*, the most magnificent hall in the palace, where they were arranged in a semi-circle in the order in which the regiments lay before Paris. The place of honor was given to the colors of the Landwehr Guard, these being placed in the centre, on a raised platform, and guarded by the *Gardes du Corps*. At the side of the saloon next to the park, upon a raised dais, stood an altar covered with a richly embroidered cloth of purple velvet, and on either side of it was a laurel tree. By the altar stood the army chaplains, with the King's preacher, Herr Rügger, at their head. On the right of the altar were the military choristers and musicians, and on the left the delegates from the various regiments decorated with the iron cross.

At twelve o'clock, the King, accompanied by the Crown



Galerie des Glaces : Versailles.

Prince, Count Bismarck, Von Moltke, and a host of Grand Dukes and Princes, entered the hall. Four chaplains stood on the steps of the altar to receive him, and every head was bowed as he advanced to the dais, at the foot of which he paused. The King crossed his hands upon his breast, bent his head reverently, and stood silently as the ceremonies were opened with a hymn of praise to the Trinity, the strangest sounds that had ever been heard in that gorgeous saloon, which had witnessed the glories of Louis le Grand. After the hymn was sung, the King's chaplain pronounced a brief discourse, in which he alluded to the history of the Hohenzollern family and the traditions of Versailles. The King stood under the portrait of Louis XIV., on which was the inscription, "*Le Roi gouverne de lui-même,*" and this legend furnished the preacher with a moral to his discourse. At the close of the sermon the litany was chanted, after which the choristers sang "*Nun danket alle Gott.*" The King, followed by the German Princes, then advanced to the flags, and stepping up on the dais, turned to the assembly and said that he accepted the title of Emperor at the wish of the people and princes of Germany; and to secure the national union of the Fatherland. Then turning to Count Bismarck, he said, "I command my Chancellor to read aloud my proclamation to the German people."

Bismarck, who had until now been a silent witness of the completion of the great work of his life, then read in a clear voice the following proclamation:

We, William, by God's grace King of Prussia, hereby announce that the German princes and free towns having addressed to us a unanimous call to renew and undertake with the re-establishment of the German empire the dignity of Emperor, which now for sixty years has been in abeyance, and the requisite provisions having been inserted in the Constitution of the German Confederation, we regard it as a duty we owe to the entire Fatherland to comply with this call of the German princes and free towns, and to accept the dignity of Emperor. Accordingly, we and our successors to the Crown of Prussia henceforth shall use the imperial title in all the relations and affairs of the German empire, and we hope to God that it may be vouchsafed to the German nation to lead



Scene in the Gallery of Mirrors, Versailles, January 18th, on the Proclamation of King
William as Emperor of Germany.

the Fatherland on to a blessed future, under the auspices of its ancient splendor. We undertake the imperial dignity conscious of the duty to protect with German loyalty the rights of the empire and its members, to preserve peace, to maintain the independence of Germany, and to strengthen the power of the people. We accept it in the hope that it will be granted to the German people to enjoy in lasting peace the reward of its arduous and heroic struggles within boundaries which will give to the Fatherland that security against renewed French attacks which it has lacked for centuries. May God grant to us and our successors to the imperial crown that we may be the defenders of the German empire at all times, not in martial conquests, but in works of peace in the sphere of national prosperity, freedom, and civilization.

The Chancellor read slowly and distinctly, and every word was listened to with intense eagerness by the brilliant assemblage. When he had concluded, the Grand Duke of Baden stepped forward and cried, "Es lebe seine Majestät, der deutsche Kaiser Wilhelm, hoch!" The hall rang again and again with cheers, and the band burst into the thrilling strains of "Heil Dir im Sieger-Kranz," and Crown Prince Fritz, bending his knee, was about to do homage to his father, when the Emperor caught him in his arms and embraced him thrice. The German Princes then did homage to their new Suzerain, and the ceremony came to an end. In the afternoon the dignitaries who had witnessed the inauguration, were entertained by the Emperor at a grand dinner at the principal hotel of the town.

The German people had their wish. The Empire was made, and Germany was once more a nation. Measures were set on foot after the proclaiming of the Emperor to bring the new system fairly into operation, and elections were ordered to be held for the Imperial Parliament.

The financial measures of the German States were highly successful. The various legislative bodies promptly granted the credits necessary for the prosecution of the war, and the bonds issued in accordance with them were taken up principally by the German people. The bonds of the North German Confederation met with a cool reception at first in the London market, but gradually became more popular. The Berlin bankers at once came to the support of the Government,

and ensured the success of the loan. In December a new loan of 25,000,000 thalers was placed in the market, and was speedily taken up in Germany. The expenses of the war on the German side were at this time estimated at 1,000,000 thalers daily; but the German credit was good, for it was well understood that the cost of the war would fall lightly on the conquerors. The enormous fines and contributions which they had already exacted from the French had enabled them to diminish their own expenses very greatly, and it was their avowed purpose to require of France at the conclusion of the struggle, an indemnity sufficiently large to cover all the war loans of the German States.

It being the intention of King William to retain the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine for Germany, measures were set on foot in September to apply to them the military and civil system of Prussia. The postal and telegraphic services were organized as fast as possible, on the Prussian plan, and every effort made to restore matters, as far as was practicable, to such a condition that the regular business of these provinces might be resumed. The inhabitants were, as a rule, treated with considerable leniency, it being the desire of the King to conciliate them by kindness; but stern measures were nevertheless put in force in many instances, as the inhabitants remained bitterly hostile to their conquerors and passionately attached to France.

CHAPTER XVI.

CONDITION OF FRANCE AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE ARMISTICE—POPULAR FEELING—STATEMENT OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT—MATTERS IN PARIS—RE-VICTUALLING THE CITY—THE ARMISTICE IN THE PROVINCES—ACTION OF M. GAMBETTA—FIRMNESS OF THE PARIS GOVERNMENT—GAMBETTA RESIGNS—THE ELECTIONS FOR THE ASSEMBLY—PROCLAMATION OF THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III.—THE RESULT—MEETING OF THE ASSEMBLY—RESIGNATION OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT—GARIBALDI RESIGNS—ORGANIZATION OF THE ASSEMBLY—M. THIERS CHOSEN CHIEF OF THE EXECUTIVE—THE NEW GOVERNMENT—PROTEST OF ALSACE AND LORRAINE—PAINFUL SCENE IN THE ASSEMBLY—APPOINTMENT OF COMMISSIONERS—THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS—THE GERMAN TERMS—UNSUCCESSFUL EFFORTS OF THE FRENCH REPRESENTATIVES TO OBTAIN A BETTER SETTLEMENT—M. THIERS' APPEAL TO THE EMPEROR WILLIAM—EXTENSION OF THE ARMISTICE—CONCLUSION OF PEACE—THE EMPEROR'S ANNOUNCEMENT—THE NEWS IN PARIS—APPEAL OF THE GOVERNMENT TO THE CITIZENS—DEBATE IN THE ASSEMBLY UPON THE TREATY—RATIFICATION OF THE TREATY—THE ASSEMBLY DECLARES NAPOLEON III. TO BE RIGHTFULLY DEPOSED—ENTRY OF THE GERMAN TROOPS INTO PARIS—EVACUATION OF THE CITY—THE HOMEWARD MARCH OF THE GERMAN ARMY—THE END OF THE WAR.

WHEN the conclusion of the Armistice brought hostilities to a close, matters in France stood thus: The Germans had overrun and held entire possession of Alsace and Lorraine, with the exceptions of the fortresses of Bitsche and Belfort, and they were masters of the entire region from the Rhine to Laval in the west, Lyons in the south, and Lille in the north. Chanzy and Faidherbe had been beaten with heavy loss. Bourbaki's army was being driven into Switzerland, and Paris had surrendered. Still France was by no means crushed. General Chanzy was at the head of 120,000 well-armed and equipped troops in the West; there were 70,000 at Cherbourg, ready to march to Chanzy's assistance; there were 40,000 at Havre,

and 135,000 in the North, under General Faidherbe, making in all 360,000 men. Generals Chanzy and Billot declared in the Assembly that with these forces a defensive war could be continued if necessary, and that the Germans could be made to pay dearly for their future conquests; but no one ventured to predict that these troops, vastly outnumbered by the German legions, could succeed in turning the tide of the war. Indeed it was well understood that they would not be able to do so, and it was admitted on all sides that a further prosecution of the war would simply prolong the sufferings of the country without gaining any compensating advantage. The whole country was sick of the war, and men of all shades of opinion, save the small party which supported M. Gambetta, were heartily desirous of peace on any honorable terms, so that in all parts of France the news of the suspension of hostilities was received with feelings of thankfulness and relief. Still there were some who were disposed to censure the Provisional Government for not holding out in Paris until actual famine had set in, and others who bitterly denounced the Ministers for not including the army of General Bourbaki within the provisions of the Armistice. In reply to these censures, the members of the Government issued the following circular to the nation:

FRENCHMEN:—Paris has laid down her arms on the eve of perishing by famine. It has been said to her, “wait a few weeks and we will deliver you.” She has resisted five months, and in spite of heroic efforts the departments have been unable to come to her succor. She resigned herself to the most cruel privations. She accepted ruin, sickness, and desolation. During a whole month shells have been raining upon her, killing both women and children. For the last six weeks the few ounces of bad bread which have been distributed to each inhabitant have been hardly sufficient to keep them from death’s door. And when thus vanquished, by extreme necessity, the great city pauses before condemning 2,000,000 of citizens to the most horrible catastrophe, when availing herself of the power still left to her, she treats with the enemy, instead of submitting to a surrender at discretion. Outside the walls the Government of National Defence is accused of culpable levity, and is denounced and rejected on this plea. Let France be the judge between us and those who but yesterday loaded us with the marks of friendship and respect, and who to-day insult us. We should not take up the

question of these attacks if our duty did not command us to hold to the very last hour in a firm hand the Government which the people of Paris confided to us in the midst of the tempest. This duty we shall carry out. When at the end of January we resolved to attempt to negotiate, it was very late. We had flour for ten days only, and we knew that the devastation of the country rendered our revictualment an affair of great uncertainty. Those who rise against us to-day will never know the anguish by which we were agitated. We had to conceal them, however, to accost the enemy with resolution and appear still ready to fight, and furnished with provisions. This is exactly what we wanted—before everything to usurp no right. To France alone belongs the right of disposing of herself. We wished to reserve that right to her. It has required long struggles to obtain this recognition of her sovereignty. That is the most important point of our treaty. We have reserved to the Garde Nationale its liberty and its arms. If in spite of our efforts we have not been able to withdraw the army and the Garde Mobile from the severity of the laws of war, we have at least saved them from captivity in Germany, and from interment in an intrenched camp under the guns of the Prussians.

We are reproached with not having consulted the Delegation at Bordeaux. It is forgotten that we were shut in by a circle of iron which we could not break through. It is forgotten also that each day made more probable the terrible catastrophe of famine, and, nevertheless, we disputed the ground foot by foot for six days while the population of Paris was ignorant, as it ought to be, of the real situation, and, urged on by a generous ardor, asked to be allowed to fight. We then yielded to a fatal necessity. We have for the purpose of convoking an assembly stipulated for an Armistice, when the armies which might have come to our aid were beaten back far away from us. One alone held out—at least so we imagined. Prussia demanded the cession of Belfort. We refused this, and at the same time to protect the place we reserved for a few days a liberty of action for its army of succor. But what we knew not was that it was too late. Cut off by the German armies, Bourbaki, in spite of his heroism, could no longer resist, and after the act of generous despair to which he abandoned himself his troops were forced to pass the frontier. The Convention of the 28th of January has then compromised no interests, and Paris alone has been sacrificed. Paris does not murmur; she renders homage to the valor of those who fought for her deliverance from afar. She does not even accuse him who is now so unjust and so rash, the Minister of War, who stopped General Chanzy when he was marching to the relief of Paris, and gave him orders to retire behind Mayenne. No; everything was useless, and we had to succumb. But our honor is still upright, and we will never suffer it to be sullied.

We have summoned France to elect freely an Assembly, which in this supreme crisis will make known her wishes. We recognize in no one the right to impose upon her a wish either for peace or for war. A nation attacked by a powerful enemy struggles to the last extremity; but she is always the judge as to the hour when that resistance ceases to be possible. That is what the country must declare now that it is consulted on the question of its destiny. That its wish may be imposed upon all as a law worthy of respect, it must be the sovereign expression of the free suffrage of all. We do not, therefore, admit that any arbitrary restrictions can be imposed upon that suffrage. We have combated the empire and its practices; we do not intend to recommence them by instituting official candidatures by way of elimination. That great faults have been committed, that heavy responsibilities flow from them, is perfectly true, but the misfortune of the country effaces all this beneath its level; and besides, in lowering ourselves to play the part of a faction in order to proscribe our ancient adversaries, we should have the pain and shame of striking those who fight and shed their blood by our side. To recollect these past dissensions, when the enemy is upon our blood-stained soil, is to defeat by their rancor the great work of national deliverance. We set our principles above such experiments. We do not wish that the first decree of the Republican Assembly in 1871 should be an act of defiance against the electors. To them belongs the sovereignty; let them exercise it without weakness and our country may be saved. The Government of National Defence rejects them, and annuls, if necessary, the decree illegally passed by the deputation at Bordeaux, and calls upon all Frenchmen to vote without party feeling for the representatives who shall appear to them most worthy to defend France.

While the work of carrying out the terms of the Armistice was going on, the Provisional Government made great exertions to supply the city of Paris with food. Provisions and fuel were almost exhausted at the period of the surrender, and the work of replenishing the stores was found to be no light task. The census taken during the siege had shown the civil population of Paris, including the refugees from the surrounding country, to be over 2,000,000, and the army within the defences made the number of persons to be fed amount to nearly 2,500,000. For such a vast multitude at least 600,000 lbs. of meat and 2,000,000 lbs. of bread, exclusive of vegetables and other provisions, and fuel, were required each day, and to supply all this, with the railway lines broken and the Seine closed by the obstruction of the channel below Rouen,

was a problem which taxed the abilities of the Ministers not a little. The Germans accorded such facilities as it was in their power to grant to assist the execution of the task, and a little later the Emperor William humanely removed the prohibition which had prevented the Provisional Government from purchasing supplies in the Departments occupied by the Germans. Contributions for the relief of the Parisians were sent from the United States and from Great Britain, and though there was sore distress in the city immediately after the surrender, food soon became sufficiently plentiful and prices sufficiently low to remove all danger of a famine. The state of the city, just after the surrender, is thus described by the correspondent of the London *Daily News*, who visited Paris on the 31st of January :

“ ‘Paris is utterly cowed—fairly beaten!’ so said the first Englishman I met, and his opinion is mine. Yet Paris is orderly and decent, and with a certain solemn-morose self-restraint, mastering the tendency to demonstrate. The streets were crowded almost wholly with men in uniform. Civilians were few and far between. Many shops were open, but many also were closed. There is no want of hardware in Paris. You may buy enough and to spare of anything but edibles. Drink is plentiful enough, but, except near the gate, I saw not a soul drunk. The food shops had nothing to show. There were confitures, preserves, jellies, etc., but solid comestibles were conspicuous by their absence. In one shop I saw several large shapes of stuff that looked like lard. When I asked what it was, I found it was horse fat. The bakers’ shops were closed; the grating down before the butchers’. And, oh, the number of funerals. I met six altogether in the course of my ride. Sad with an exceeding great sadness; such was what I found as regards Paris long before I reached the American Legation; self-respecting, too, in her misery; not blatant; not disposed to collect in jibbering crowds. Each man went his way with chastened face and listless gait.

“ I spoke with a soldier of the line. Yes, he had had enough of it. *Sacré!* They had nearly killed him, these terrible Prus-

sians, and he was very hungry. When would the gates open for food? . . . I had nearly filled my wallet with newspapers, and only stowed away, for an exigency, a few slices of ham. . . . When I at length reached my quarters, the servant women asked permission to take the meagre plateful out, and show it as a curiosity to their companions; and after the ham was eaten, stray visitors came in, attracted by the tidings, and begged for a look at the unwonted viands. The whole city is haunted with the chaste odors which horseflesh gives out in cooking. They permeate the British Embassy, where, asserting my privileges as a Briton, I stabled my horse; they linger in the corridors of the Grand Hotel, and fight with the taint from wounds in evil ease. The Grand Hotel is one huge hospital. Half Paris seems converted into hospitals, if one may judge from the flags; they were more than were needed until the southern bombardment began; and then, when the hospitals, ambulances, orphanages, and madhouses, on the south side had to be evacuated, there was a squeeze on this side of the water."

On the 2d of February, the *News* correspondent at the headquarters of Crown Prince Fritz, wrote:

"Some anxiety is felt here in regard to the provisioning of Paris; the capitulation was only just in time, for it is found that there was less food by several days supply than the French authorities supposed. They had imagined they would leave off with a safe margin of bread at any rate between the people and starvation; but now it appears that even bread may give out before the end of this week. The Empress thinks the case so serious as to warrant sending in six million rations from the German stores from Lagny, and relaxing the rule about the purchase of provisions at a distance by the French in one of the articles of the Convention. Thus, instead of being debarred from purchasing in all the territories occupied by the German troops, the French Government will be able to enter several markets not far removed from the circle of the siege operations. I believe Corbeil will be one of the points to which I allude. There are great flour-mills

there which will be very useful at this crisis. What with the rations sent in by the Emperor, and the modification of the Convention, and the opening of the railway lines to the south, north, and west, we may hope that soon Paris will be out of danger."

In accordance with the terms of the Amistice, the forts were occupied, as has been stated in a previous chapter, on the 29th of January. The Germans at the same time drew their line of demarcation around the city, and established their sentries within five hundred yards of the *enceinte*. The French kept guard at the city gates, and were undisturbed within the walls. The National Guards were permitted by the Germans to retain their arms, and these, with a division of 12,000 regulars were charged with the preservation of order in Paris. The other troops—the soldiers of the Line, the Marines, and the Mobiles—laid down their arms, and these were collected and conveyed to the forts appointed by the Germans for their reception. During the first week after the surrender there was but little intercourse between Paris and the suburbs, it being the wish of both the German and French authorities that the blockade should continue for a while, in order that the elections in Paris might proceed without outside interference. A few days later the people who had taken refuge in the city in September, were permitted to return to the suburbs to search for their homes. Says the writer quoted above :

"The abandoned villages are waking up to life, and the ruined villages are visited by hundreds of curious inquirers, who seek to ascertain whether this or that building has been destroyed. Sometimes they search more eagerly and sadly. The house has been their own, and they long to know how much of it remains. Sometimes they are only interested as far as concerns the property of Père Bonhomme, or La Veuve Lebrun. *Ah, ha ! Voici donc !* What will the old man say when he sees it ? I have heard them cry before a heap of blackened ruins which had been identified as some neighbor's house. Or one may notice little groups of women who

shed tears over their burnt habitations. The men are more self-contained, but have a sullen, despondent look in many cases, as though they foresaw they would have to begin the world again. It is due to the French people to record that their tone and bearing through these trying scenes are, on the whole, consistent and dignified. France has 'taken her punishment like a glutton,' as pugilists say; and if her efforts to win have been abortive, she has at least the merit of having suffered willingly and persistently in what she esteemed a sacred cause. I have not heard a quarter so much lamentation over the war among the principal sufferers themselves as may be read in half a dozen periodicals among their neutral neighbors across the channel. The French seem to be irrepressibly cheerful and hopeful about their country; in so much that, unless I greatly misjudge them, they will make her again a first-class Power.

"Stray pedestrians were making their way down to Nanterre, with the inevitable satchel and gaiters of besieged Paris, and with the air of having belonged to an ambulance, but taken off the 'brassard.' Family parties in carts were also upon the road, bound to the different villages within range of Mont Valérien. Bougival had been cleared of its inhabitants during the latter part of the siege, so that there was a complete re-awakening for the village when once the blockade was removed. I noticed several well-dressed people wandering about from one burnt house to another, and gathered that they knew the owners by name at least; for here, as at Sèvres and St. Cloud, they were speaking of such and such persons who had lost everything; who had been lucky, and only lost part of their goods; or who had really nothing to complain of, for they would be all right again when the rooms were washed and the windows mended. The poorer inhabitants of Bougival were already back in full force, scraping together heaps of rags and rubbish, and clearing the scene, as it appeared, for future repairs. I saw one man who had stuffed an old mattress into a hole in the wall where a shell had entered, thrust his jacket into a broken win-

dow to keep out the draught on that side; and he was actually whistling as he sat in the doorway mending a broken chair. A little farther there were two women, mother and daughter, who complained that the scrap of furniture left in their abode had been changed during the siege for some one else's chairs and table. 'But,' said they, 'it does not much matter, for when the people come back to whom these things belong, they will perhaps find our furniture in their house, and then we can exchange with them.' They were not much depressed by the confusion which prevailed, and smiled at the odd way in which *ces Messieurs les Prussiens* had mixed everything up."

In the Provinces, the Armistice was, as a rule, favorably received. The northern departments were anxious for peace, as they had borne the brunt of the war; but the south of France, into which the Germans had not yet penetrated, was divided, and here was found a large party who clamored for the continuance of the struggle to the last extremity. The north had little trust in the wisdom of M. Gambetta, and had turned a deaf ear of late to his appeals. But in the south, especially in Bordeaux, Lyons, and Marseilles, he had numerous partisans.

M. Gambetta was first informed of the conclusion of the Armistice by a telegram from England, which reached Bordeaux previous to the arrival of M. Favre's official dispatch to the moveable Government. The impetuous Dictator at once published a proclamation, announcing to the country that "Paris, the impregnable, forced and vanquished by famine, has succumbed, but the city remains intact, as a last homage wrested by the power of moral grandeur from the barbarians." He added, "But, as if our ill fortune had resolved to crush us, something more sinister and painful than the fall of Paris has come upon us. Unknown to us, without informing us, and without consulting us, an Armistice has been signed, of which we have but too late learned the guilty thoughtlessness, which surrenders to the Prussian troops departments occupied by our soldiers, and imposes upon us the obligation to remain inactive for three weeks, in order to

convoke a National Assembly in the sad circumstances in which our country finds itself."

In reply to the dispatch of M. Favre, he said :

The country is feverishly anxious, and cannot rest contented with the information given in your dispatch. The Government of Bordeaux has ordered the immediate execution of the Armistice, but cannot order the elections for the National Assembly without further explanations and without knowing the fate of Paris.

In accordance with this telegram, the Bordeaux Government gave orders for the execution of the Armistice throughout France, and at the same time ordered the Prefects to lose no time in placing the new levies in the field, in drilling and equipping them, and in putting into execution such other steps as would enable the French to take the field again immediately upon the expiration of the truce. He also issued the following proclamation to the nation :

FRENCHMEN :—Prussia believes the Armistice will dissolve our armies and secure the election of a chamber ready to conclude a shameful peace. It depends on France to upset these calculations. It is necessary to make the Armistice a period for the instruction of our young troops. Continue with unrelaxed vigor the organization for defence, and for war if necessary, while you install a National Republican Assembly, willing to make such a peace only as is compatible with the honor, rank and integrity of France.

LEON GAMBETTA.

A day or two later he published a semi-official note in the Bordeaux journals, denouncing the Paris Government for extending the provisions of the Armistice to the provinces. He declared that but for this, Bourbaki's army, reënforced by the troops under Garibaldi at Dijon, would have turned upon the Germans and beaten them, but this great success had been snatched from them by the interference of the Paris Government. He also ordered the formation of twelve new cavalry regiments and sixteen new regiments of infantry, with the determination of carrying on the war. The reader will remember that Bourbaki's army had been left perfectly free by the Armistice to beat the Germans if it could, and we have already shown how easily Manteuffel neutralized the forces of Garibaldi. At the very moment when the Dictator penned

his complaint against his colleagues in Paris, Manteuffel was remorselessly driving Bourbaki's beaten troops out of France. M. Gambetta had not the shadow of a foundation for his charges, and even made them in total ignorance of the course of events on the Swiss frontier.

Upon the receipt of the news from Paris, a large meeting of the Republicans of Bordeaux was held at the Grand Theatre. Resolutions were passed, declaring that the capitulation of Paris and the Armistice were not binding upon the provinces, and requesting M. Gambetta to become President of a Committee of Public Safety, to act independently of the Paris Government. A deputation was appointed to lay the request of the meeting before the Dictator, and the crowd at once proceeded to his residence, where loud calls were made for him to come out and address the "good patriots." M. Gambetta prudently declined doing so, and sent word to the assemblage that he was too unwell to appear before them. He had not yet made up his mind as to the course he would pursue, and his hesitation was doubtless due, in a great measure, to a communication which he had received from the diplomatic representatives of Austria, Spain and Italy, sojourning at Bordeaux, stating that they were accredited to the Paris Government, and that, if he separated himself from the Paris Government, they would leave Bordeaux. M. Gambetta was cool enough, with all his excitement, to see that the chances were not so favorable to his ambition as they were in September, and that the small party which would array itself under his leadership would be too weak to accomplish anything with all the rest of the country bent on ending the war. Yet he was too fond of power to resign it without an effort, and he resolved to endeavor so to manipulate the provisions of the Armistice that he at least should remain in office.

On the 31st of January, he issued a decree, in which he declared it to be "just that all the accomplices of the régime which commenced by the crime of the 2d of December, to terminate by the capitulation of Sedan, should be struck by

the same political downfall as the accursed dynasty of which they were the guilty instruments." In this decree he forbade the election to the National Assembly of any persons who had been Councillors of State, Ministers, Senators, members of Departmental Councils-General, or Government candidates for the Corps Législatif under the Empire. In plainer words, he forbade the candidacy of the men whom the people had been accustomed for the last twenty years to regard as their leaders. By this unlawful and tyrannical measure, this despotic violation of the rights of the people whose sovereignty he professed to reverence, he hoped to secure an Assembly of Republicans at whose hands he could reasonably expect a continuance of his powers.

The Armistice required that the elections should be "free," and as this decree of M. Gambetta was a plain violation of that provision, Count Von Bismarck at once addressed a remonstrance to M. Gambetta, which he forwarded to him by telegraph. The Chancellor protested against the decree of the Dictator as contrary to the freedom of election stipulated by the Armistice, and stigmatized it as an "arbitrary and oppressive" act of M. Gambetta himself. Gambetta at once published the Prussian telegram, denounced the "insolent pretension" of Prussia to interfere with the constitution of a French Assembly, and declared that the motive of that telegram was to obtain the support of "accomplices and flatterers of the fallen dynasty, and allies of Count Bismarck."

A copy of Count Bismarck's protest was also laid before the Paris Government, and was received by that body with a determination to enforce the provisions of the Armistice. M. Favre informed the German Premier that no restrictions would be placed upon the right of voting, and that as the country desired a free expression of its will, the Paris Government would see that M. Gambetta's decree was rescinded.

M. Gambetta had not only not been consulted by the Paris Government in the negotiation of the truce, but the official dispatch which had conveyed the announcement to him had been made as brief and curt as possible, as if the Ministers in

Paris were fully aware of the trouble which their dangerous colleague would cause them. They had simply informed him of the surrender of Paris and the negotiation of the Armistice, and had notified him that a member of the Paris Government would be sent to Bordeaux to make further arrangements. Naturally M. Gambetta was indignant at such treatment. He owed his colleagues in Paris nothing, while he could claim for himself that it was his proposition to go to the Hotel de Ville and form a Provisional Government on the 4th of September, that had brought that Government into existence. He had as good a right to demand war as they had to insist upon peace, for his powers came from the same source as their own—the Paris mob. They had all thrust themselves into their present places without asking any man's leave, and he had as much right to be Dictator of France as Favre had to be Minister of Foreign Affairs. Favre had done nothing for the country, while he, Gambetta, had created armies, and had done all that had been done to maintain what was left of the ancient military renown of France.

The Paris Government now determined to bring Gambetta to terms, and to that end sent M. Jules Simon to Bordeaux. A decree was issued at Paris expressly annulling that issued at Bordeaux and restoring the freedom of election. It also postponed the elections from Sunday February 5th, to Wednesday, the 8th, in order to prevent any confusion arising from the Bordeaux decree. Jules Simon was charged with making arrangements from Bordeaux for the elections in the Provinces; but upon his arrival in that city, M. Gambetta and his colleagues of the Bordeaux Government refused to allow him to put those measures into execution, and in a circular published in the *Moniteur* of the 5th of February, stated that they felt it their duty to maintain their own decree, for the sake of the national interest and honor, despite "the interference of Bismarck in the internal affairs of France." M. Jules Simon could not find a bill-sticker in Bordeaux willing to undertake the dangerous task of placarding the decree of the Paris Government, and five journals which had the inde-

pendence to publish it were seized by orders of the Bordeaux Government. Jules Simon was then reënforced by three other members of the Paris Government, MM. Arago, E. Pellétan, and Garnier Pages, and measures were set on foot to enforce the Paris decree. Thereupon, MM. Gambetta, Crémieux, and Fourichon resigned their offices. The two latter were persuaded to retain their positions until the meeting of the Assembly, and they withdrew their resignations, M. Gambetta alone retiring to private life.

So passed from power the man who had been for four months the Dictator of France, and falling thus there were few to lament his fate. He it was who had infused life into the dry bones of the Provisional Government which his audacity had called into existence. He it was who had raised France up out of the dust of her humiliation, and had given her some memories of the war on which she could now look back with pride. He had exhibited more energy, more vigor and originality of resource, more determination of will than any other member of the Provisional Government, and he had done much for his country. But with all this he had so far forfeited the confidence of his countrymen that his downfall was regarded with intense satisfaction all over France, with the exception of a few districts in the south. The nation felt that he had led it on with brilliant promises when he had no solid foundation for those promises, and had but led it on to greater disaster. He had promised it victories without the means of achieving them; and, furthermore, it distrusted him, as it distrusted all his colleagues. It felt that while he sincerely desired to save France, he was not willing that France should be saved by another. It had seen with distrust his efforts to use the patriotism of the people to advance his own ends, his determination to force a Republic upon France whether the country desired it or not, and his intrigues by which the efficiency of the commanders and troops in the field was impaired. There was a profound conviction in the French mind that no man ought to be trusted in that hour of trial who was not willing to sacrifice himself to gain even the smallest advantage for France.

Under a strong firm Government, capable of directing his talents within useful channels, Leon Gambetta would have risen to eminence as a Cabinet Minister; but he was not the man to hold unlimited power. His ambition, however, was to rule France. While nominally a republican, he had shown himself the most daring of despots. He had prevented the formation of a National Assembly during the early part of the siege of Paris, had silenced the press wherever it had ventured to oppose or criticise his policy, had suppressed the Councils-General of the Departments, had removed and appointed military officials at will, and, as was popularly believed, to suit his own ends, and had given the civil appointments of the State, as far as was practicable, to none but those who were willing to support his authority. He had done much for his country, but he had also tried to do too much for himself, and he met the just punishment of his ambitious and unscrupulous career since the outbreak of the war, in the general indifference with which his downfall was contemplated at home and abroad.

Having gotten rid of M. Gambetta, the Provisional Government proceeded to the task of electing delegates to the National Assembly, and while these measures were going on, the Emperor Napoleon III. issued the following address to the French people:

WILHELMSHOHE, *February 8.*

Betrayed by fortune, I have kept since my captivity a profound silence, which is misfortune's mourning. As long as the armies confronted each other I abstained from any steps or words capable of causing party dissensions; but I can no longer remain silent before my country's disasters without appearing insensible of its sufferings. When I was made a prisoner I could not treat for peace because my resolutions would appear to have been dictated by personal considerations. I left the Regent to decide whether it was to the interest of the nation to continue the struggle. Notwithstanding the unparalleled reverses, France was unsubdued her strongholds unreduced, a few departments invaded, and Paris in a state of defence. The extent of her misfortunes might possibly have been limited, but while attention was directed to her enemies an insurrection arose at Paris, the seat of the Representatives was violated, the safety of the Empress was threatened, and the empire, which

had been three times acclaimed by the people, was overthrown and abandoned. Stilling my presentiments, I exclaimed, "What matter my dynasty if the country is saved!" Instead of protesting against the violation of my right, I hoped for the success of the defence and admired the patriotic devotion of the children of France. Now, when the struggle is suspended and all reasonable chance of victory has disappeared, is the time to call to account the usurpers for bloodshed and ruin and squandered resources. It is impossible to abandon the destinies of France to an unauthorized Government which was left no authority emanating from universal suffrage. Order, confidence, and a solid peace are only recoverable when the people are consulted respecting the Government most capable of repairing the disasters to the country. It is essential that France should be united in her wishes. For myself, bruised by injustice and bitter deceptions, I do not know or claim my repeatedly confirmed rights. There is no room for personal ambition. But, till the people are regularly assembled and express their will, it is my duty to say that all acts are illegitimate. There is only one Government, in which resides the national sovereignty, able to heal the wounds, to bring hope to the firesides, to reopen the profaned churches for prayers, and to restore industry, concord, and peace.

NAPOLÉON.

This address was issued on the day of the election, and was too late to have any effect upon the voting. It was designed more as a declaration of the Emperor's intention to assert the rights which the nation had conferred upon him, than for any other purpose. The Imperial cause had been very greatly damaged by the decree of M. Gambetta. This had been generally circulated throughout France, and it was asserted at the time, that the orders of the Paris Government annulling it, were so imperfectly understood in the Provinces at the period of the elections, that numbers of voters were deterred from voting for candidates favorable to the Empire, as they had at first intended. They supposed that such candidates, if chosen, would be declared ineligible, and there was no time to waste on new elections.

The elections were held on the 8th of February, throughout France; Alsace and Lorraine being permitted to chose deputies, to represent them for the last time in a French Assembly. To facilitate the result, the German telegraph offices in the places occupied by the conquerors were ordered

to receive and forward the messages of the French authorities relative to the electoral operations. All restrictions which had until this time been imposed by the Germans on the press in the districts occupied by them, were removed, and every effort was made to render the canvass entirely free and unrestrained. The Paris Government had forbidden the candidacy of any member of the Bonaparte or Bourbon families, but with this exception, the polls were open to men of all parties.

The result astonished the entire country. In Paris the ultra Republicans were triumphant, owing in a great measure to the fact that the respectable classes either abstained from voting or had left the city. The delegates elected from the capital were, in the order of their majorities: Louis Blanc, Victor Hugo, Garibaldi, E. Quinet, Gambetta, Rochefort, Delescluze, Admiral Saisset, Schoelcher, Dorian, Joigneaux, Admiral Pothuan, Lecroy, Bernard, Felix Pyat, Gambon, Brisson, and Floquet, and a number of others more or less unknown in political circles. With but a few exceptions the delegates represented only the worst and most dangerous classes of the capital. At Toulon, Avignon, and Nice, where the canvass was marked by considerable disturbances, the Red Republicans were successful, also at Brest and Havre.*

* "The news flashed across the wires from ill-fated France to-day (Feb. 8th, 1871,) was as follows:

"France presents the melancholy spectacle of a once proud and powerful nation at the mercy of a noisy, turbulent, and unprincipled crew of demagogues. Special dispatches from Paris, Lyons, Bordeaux, and other points, serve to show the wretched character of the majority of the men who are candidates for the National Assembly. It seems as though the very slums of Paris, Lyons, Bordeaux, and Marseilles have thrown up their refuse to be used by the unprincipled demagogues who wield temporary power in France. While famishing people cry for bread in the streets of Paris, the mob yell for a Robespierre and the guillotine. In the agony of their despair, the terror-stricken people suffer in silence, afraid to speak their thoughts, or raise their hands to save themselves from the tide of violence which threatens them with destruction. The mob rule, and despotism is the law. Truly France is suffering. Bleeding from every pore, paralyzed in every part, humiliated, cast down, and prostrate, she is even now, in this bitter hour, tormented by the dissensions and evil teachings of her children.'"—*New York Herald*.

Three thousand candidates are said to have offered themselves for the suffrages of the people of France, and out of this number an Assembly overwhelmingly conservative was chosen. M. Thiers was chosen by no less than eighteen departments, but there were very few men of the first rank among the successful candidates.

On the 12th of February, the National Assembly met at Bordeaux. About 270 members were present—not quite half of the whole number—but it was decided to organize the Assembly, and then adjourn to await the arrival of a quorum. The session was held in the Grand Theatre, one of the most beautiful, though not one of the largest, in the world. M. Benoit d'Azy, being the oldest member present, was called to the chair. The Assembly then declared itself constituted, in spite of the opposition of M. Arago, and proceeded to appoint as Secretaries of the Chamber the four youngest members present.

The next day the Chamber met again, and M. Jules Favre, in the name of himself and his colleagues of the Provisional Government, resigned into the hands of the Assembly the powers they had held since September. He said :

We have borne the burden of government, but we had no other pre occupations than to be able under the existing circumstances to remit temporary powers into the hands of the National Assembly. Thanks to your patriotism and reunion, we hope that the country, having been taught by misfortune, will know how to heal her wounds and to reconstitute the national existence. We no longer hold any power. We depend entirely upon your decision. We confidently expect the constitution of the new and legitimate powers. I confidently await your judgment. I hope that I shall be able to confirm to those with whom we have to negotiate, that the country can do its duty (loud cheers). The enemy must know that we have the honor of France at heart. He will also know that all France will decide. In conformity with the eventuality already foreseen by the Convention, a prolongation of the Armistice will probably become necessary. Let us render this prolongation as short as possible in order not to lose a moment, and let us but think of the sufferings of the population of the invaded districts. I hope that I may depend on your concurrence to obtain this needful delay.

He also stated that he and his colleagues would continue to discharge the duties of their positions until their successors were appointed; and informed the Chamber that he would have to start that evening for Paris to conduct certain delicate negotiations, the objects of which he would explain at a future period.

At the opening of the session General Garibaldi, who had been informed of the purpose of the majority to oppose his admission as a delegate on the ground of his being a foreigner, had sent his resignation to the President, and towards the close of the sitting he made an attempt to address the Chamber. Says one who witnessed the scene :

"When the formality of naming the bureaux had been gone through, and I rather think after the President had declared the sitting at an end, General Garibaldi advanced towards the tribune, and M. Esquiros, deputy for Marseilles, exclaimed in a loud voice, 'Garibaldi asked to speak some time ago, hear him!' A tumultuous scene ensued. Vehement cries of 'Hear Garibaldi!' were met by others, equally energetic, of 'No Garibaldi!' 'No Italian!' 'Let him hold his tongue!' The public in the tribunes took part with Garibaldi, and several National Guards said, 'It is infamous. These men are sold!' One man, with a long black beard, roared out from an upper box, 'You rural majority, listen to the voice of the towns!' In the midst of the confusion the President put on his hat, and gave orders to clear the galleries of strangers. There was no occasion to obey the order, as Garibaldi gave up the attempt to speak, and members and strangers all left the house together."

Garibaldi received quite an ovation from the citizens upon leaving the theatre, and, after thanking them and stating that though he should be happy to serve Republican France in any way, he considered his mission now over, he informed them that he should start that night for his home in Caprera.

On the 16th, a quorum being present, the Chamber proceeded to the election of a permanent President. M. Grévy, a Moderate Republican, was chosen by a vote of 519 to 19,

and the permanent organization of the Assembly was effected. On the same day, M. Keller, a deputy from Alsace, presented a declaration signed by the deputies of the Departments of the Lower and Upper Rhine, Meurthe and Moselle, in which lay the territories which it was understood Germany claimed from France. He prayed the Assembly to take the memorial into immediate consideration. It was as follows:

"The National Assembly, France, and Europe, which are witnesses of the exactions of Prussia, cannot permit the completion of an act which would rend Alsace and Lorraine from France. We are, and will forever remain, French, in good as well as in ill fortune. We have sealed with our own blood the indissoluble past which unites us to France, and we affirm once more, in the depth of all our trials, our immovable loyalty towards the Fatherland. France cannot abandon those who will not be separated from her. The National Assembly, sprung from universal suffrage, could not concede demands tending to destroy the nationality of a whole population. Neither can the people, in its electoral colleges, allow it. As little can Europe confirm these criminal attempts, and let a whole people be treated as a herd of tame beasts. Peace, in the consideration of a cession of territory, will never be a durable peace, but merely a momentary truce, soon to be followed by another war. As to ourselves, inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine, we are ready to resume fighting, and therefore we shall beforehand hold as null and void any offers, treaty, votes, or plébiscite which would have for effect to sever Alsace and Lorraine from France. We proclaim our right to remain united to French soil, and we formally engage to defend our honor."

M. Keller, having read this declaration, appealed to the Assembly to oppose moral to mere brute force, and to proclaim the inviolability of the connection with Alsace and Lorraine. "We hold forth our hand to you," he said, "do not refuse to hold forth yours."

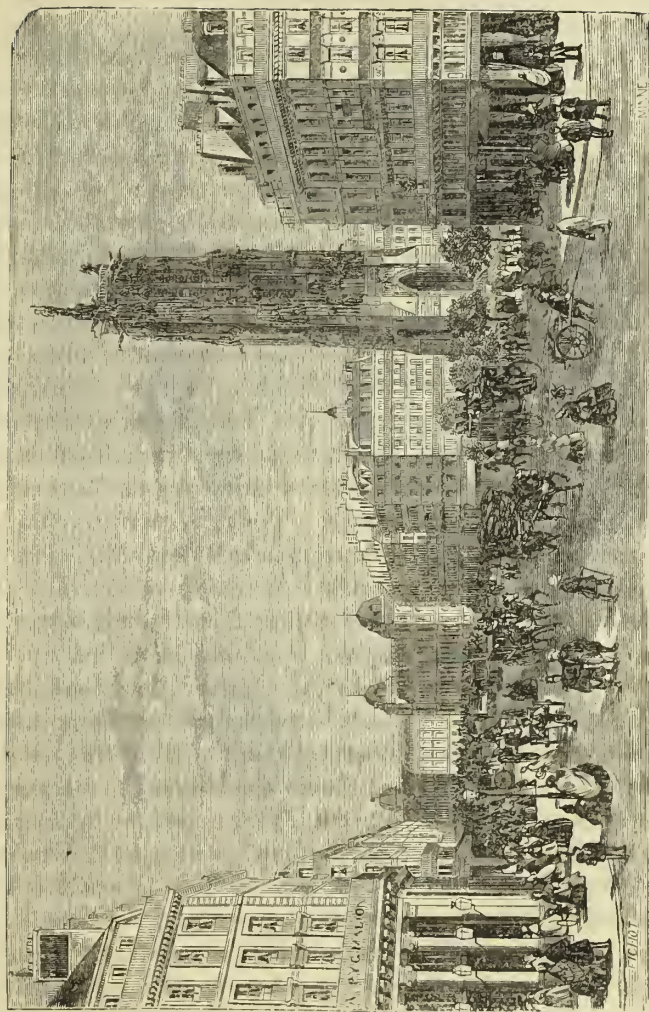
His remarks created a profound impression upon the House, and were warmly applauded. M. Henri Rochefort demanded

that the declaration should be at once referred to the bureaux, in order that the House might give positive instructions to the negotiators concerning Alsace and Lorraine, or leave them perfectly free to conduct the negotiations.

M. Thiers then rose, and said that from the bottom of his heart he fully shared M. Keller's feelings, adding that, in presence of the grave circumstances in which they were placed, it was the duty of the Chamber to adopt the only decision becoming its dignity. "It is not to-morrow," said he, "but at once that we must discuss and vote on this proposal. The House cannot await the constitution of a Government, but must itself decide, in the full enjoyment of the privileges, the responsibility it is to assume. It is important that its wishes should be known. As to myself, I have devoted my whole life to my country, and I am still prepared to devote all my efforts to France. But it is the duty of the House to settle this question. Let us not wait twenty-four hours, but let us meet immediately in our bureaux and declare our wishes."

The President then consulted the Chamber, which decided in favor of M. Thiers' proposition. The sitting was suspended to allow a reference of M. Keller's declaration to the bureaux, whose report in a short time was laid before the Assembly. In accordance with this report, which was due chiefly to the influence of M. Thiers, the Assembly adopted a resolution of sympathy with the people of Alsace and Lorraine, and referred M. Keller's declaration to the Peace Commissioners, to be dealt with as they might find practicable. Germany was already in possession of Alsace and Lorraine, and it was not in the power of France to compel her to relinquish them, and so the Assembly refrained from arraying itself against what it could not successfully oppose.

The Assembly now proceeded to form a Government for France, in order that the civil administration of the country and the negotiations with the Germans might go on with regularity. A Republican form of Government was decided upon, and was organized, with the understanding that it should continue in power until the close of the war should give the



Rue de Rivoli, as seen from the Tower of St. Jacques : Paris.

country an opportunity of deciding upon a permanent establishment. The Assembly, with great unanimity, chose M Thiers Chief of the Executive, as the head of the new Government was styled.

The choice was a wise one. M. Thiers was nearly seventy-four years old at the time of his election, and enjoyed the reputation of being one of the ablest and most far-sighted statesmen in Europe. He had spent nearly forty years of his life in the public service, and had by his refusal to join the Provisional Government in September, 1870, as well as by his patriotic efforts to secure foreign aid for France, immediately afterwards gained for himself the confidence of the nation, and his election was greeted with satisfaction. It was felt throughout France that the country had been committed to the care of a trained and competent statesman, who was immeasurably superior to the blunderers of the Provisional Government, and that if he could not obtain a settlement in accordance with the national wish he would at least gain from the Germans all that it was possible to draw from them. A writer of the day quaintly remarked, "If France is indeed dead, M. Thiers will give her a first class funeral."

Apart from all this, it was fitting that the man who had done so much to bring on the war should be called upon to settle the terms of peace; that he who had been the bitterest enemy of German unity, should be the one to stamp it with the seal of his official acknowledgment. He it was who had sown deepest in the French heart the desire to recover the strength and glories of the first Empire, and he had nursed this feeling until it attained a strength which no Government could have controlled. For years he had labored to keep alive the Red Republican hostility to the Empire, and had thrown most formidable obstacles in the way of the efforts of the Emperor to rid Paris of the element of socialism which has risen at last against M. Thiers himself. With all his genius, all his patriotism, he had been one of the chief causes of his country's humiliation, and it was but fitting that the crowning of his ambitious hopes should be the completion of that sorrow.

On the 19th of February, M. Thiers appeared in the Assembly, and announced to that body that, though saddened by the painful task imposed upon him by the country, he accepted the post of Chief of the Executive and its duties, with obedience, devotion, and love, sentiments of which France stood all the more in need, inasmuch as she was unfortunate—more unfortunate than at any former period of her history. But, he added, she is still great, young, rich, and full of resources, and will always remain a lasting monument of human energy. He then announced the names of the Ministry chosen by him, and said that in selecting them he had been guided solely by the public esteem they enjoyed, their public characters and capacities. They were .

M. Dufaure, *Minister of Justice.*

M. Jules Favre, *Minister of Foreign Affairs.*

M. Picard, *Minister of the Interior.*

M. Jules Simon, *Minister of Public Instruction.*

M. Lambrecht, *Minister of Commerce.*

General Le Flô, *Minister of War.*

Admiral Pothuan, *Minister of the Marine.*

M. De Larcy, *Minister of Public Works.*

M. Thiers said the new Government had no programme to lay down, there being but one course open to it at the time, to put an end to the evils afflicting the country, and to terminate the occupation by the enemy. The country was in need of peace, but peace must be courageously discussed, and accepted only if honorable. He informed the Chamber that the Councils-General and Municipalities would be at once reconstituted by fresh elections; and that the Government would devote all its energies to calm and reorganize the country, to revive credit, and re-establish industry; nothing was more urgent than that task. "I cannot imagine," he said in conclusion, "that any one can occupy himself with the Constitutional question while France is debating in the grasp of the enemy. Such is our policy. Every man of sense, be he a Monarchist or a Republican, can work usefully for the interest of the country, so that it may at the proper time declare under what form of Government it desires to exist, and then, with the full

knowledge of its wants, we can decide our destiny, and that not merely by a majority, but by the national will. Such is the policy to which my colleagues and I devote ourselves. To give your assistance to a policy whose only objects are the interests of the country will be to confer the strongest power upon your negotiators."

M. Jules Favre then stated that the Government had deemed it necessary to unite Parliamentary powers with those of the Executive, and proposed, therefore, that, in order to facilitate the negotiations, the Assembly should appoint a committee of fifteen deputies to proceed at once to Paris, who should be in constant communication with the negotiators. The latter would be empowered to treat in the name of the country, and the Commission would be informed of the negotiations, and would at a later period report thereupon to the Assembly. The Commission was appointed, and at the request of M. Thiers the Assembly decided to suspend its sessions during the progress of the negotiations. MM. Thiers, Favre, and Picard immediately set out for Paris to conduct the negotiations with Count Bismarck at Versailles.

The new Government of France had now the stamp of popular approval upon it, and was not open to the objections which the Germans had urged against the Provisional Government. It was authorized by the nation to consider the question of peace or war, and its decision would be binding upon the country. It was promptly recognized by the Neutral Powers, whose representatives cordially congratulated M. Thiers upon his election to the Presidency.

Meanwhile, while the elections for the Assembly and the peace negotiations occupied the attention of the French, the Germans were busy preparing for a continuance of the war in case the negotiations proved futile. Measures were taken for an advance against Chanzu in the West, and Faidherbe in the North, and for the invasion of the south of France. Heavy fines were imposed on several of the cities occupied by them, and the contribution of 200,000,000 francs levied upon the city of Paris was exacted according to the letter of the Ar-

mistice. It was raised by a subscription on the part of the bankers, who advanced the money to the municipality, and received in return the bonds of the city issued for that purpose. The arrangements for the election and meeting of the National Assembly having consumed more time than it was at first thought would be necessary, the Armistice, on the 16th of February, was extended by mutual consent of the parties to the agreement, to the 24th of that month.

M. Thiers reached Paris from Bordeaux on the night of Monday, the 20th of February, and the next morning set out for Versailles, where he was met by Count Von Bismarck, and the two statesmen at once began the task of arranging the terms of peace—a very simple undertaking on the part of the German Chancellor, but a very difficult one on the part of the French President. The action of the Assembly on the proposal of M. Keller had left M. Thiers free to accept the best terms he could obtain, but it was well understood by him that these would be very hard. For sometime past the Germans had made no secret of their intention to require a considerable cession of territory, and the payment of a large indemnity as the price of peace, and M. Thiers had little hope of receiving from them any modification of these hard conditions. When the conference had been formally opened, he was appalled by the demands which the German Chancellor, in the name of the Emperor, laid before him. These were the cession of Alsace and a part of Lorraine, including Metz and Belfort, to Germany, and the payment of five milliards of francs, or \$1,000,000,000. M. Thiers had come to the conclusion that it would be useless to deny the principles of a pecuniary indemnity and the cession of territory, but he was not prepared for such extraordinary demands on the part of the conquerors, and he set to work with resolution to procure an abatement of them.

France, he argued, was willing to pay a reasonable sum to Germany, but the amount required of her was beyond her ability to pay. The country had been weighed down by the expenses of the war, it had suffered serious injuries and losses

from the contending forces, and it would be many years before it would be again prosperous in its finances. It would have its own war debt to pay, besides making good the losses incurred in the payment of the contributions which the Germans had already exacted; and it would be in no condition to assume such an obligation as the Germans demanded of it. Merely to pay the interest on the loan which would be required to meet such an indemnity, would drag the great mass of tax payers in France to the verge of ruin. M. Thiers brought every argument of which he was master to bear upon the German Chancellor, but without effect. Count Bismarck met his efforts with the answer that as France had forced the Germans into the war and compelled them to incur its expenses, France must pay the cost of the war. He denied that the payment of the indemnity was impossible to France. The country, as M. Thiers himself had said, was young, vigorous, and full of resources, and by careful economy could meet all its obligations. France could choose between the alternatives presented to her, a compliance with the German demand, or a continuance of the war. Knowing that the country was in no condition to continue the war successfully, M. Thiers accepted the other alternative, and agreed that the heavy indemnity should be paid.

The question of the cession of territory then came up, and it was found more difficult of adjustment than the other. M. Thiers had made up his mind to surrender Alsace and Strasbourg, but he was determined to exhaust every effort to retain Lorraine, and, above all, Metz, the pride of France. The negotiations on this point occupied several days. M. Thiers offered to redeem the fortress, to raze it to the ground, to bind France not to rebuild it, but without avail; and finding Count Bismarck inexorable, he sought an interview with the Emperor of Germany and the Crown Prince of Prussia, and appealed to them not to insist upon the surrender of Metz. He was courteously received by these august personages, but was informed that the negotiations were entirely in the hands of Count Bismarck, to whom M. Thiers made his final appeal.

Count Bismarck told him that as Metz had been won by the best blood of Germany, the German people were resolved to retain it as a bulwark against French aggression, and that it was not in his power either to control or oppose that resolution. As a compensation for the loss of Metz, the Chancellor offered to restore to France the fortress of Belfort which had been recently surrendered to General Von Treskow. A better settlement was impossible, and M. Thiers was obliged to accept the German terms in every particular.

The Armistice, as first extended, was about to expire before a definite conclusion had been reached, and on the 22d of February it was again extended, at the request of M. Thiers, this time from the 24th to the 26th. Count Bismarck, in notifying M. Thiers of the granting of his request by the Emperor of Germany, informed him that no further extension was possible, and announced that in the event of the signature of a treaty of peace, a German corps d'armée would occupy Paris from the date of the expiration of the Armistice until the ratification of the treaty by the Bordeaux Assembly. Against this last humiliation M. Thiers struggled energetically, and informed Count Bismarck that the occupation of Paris would so deeply wound the feelings of the citizens as in all probability to bring on a collision between the citizens and the German troops, which would inflict needless suffering upon each. Count Bismarck informed him that in settling the manner and duration of the occupation his representations would be considered, but declined to forego this last triumph for the conquering army. The negotiations occupied six days, the conferences extending over the greater part of each day. The last meeting was held on the 26th of February, and at six o'clock P. M. the preliminary treaty was signed by Count Bismarck and M. Thiers.

The next day each Government made known the fact that a treaty had been signed. The Emperor William addressed a congratulatory circular dispatch to the Sovereign Princes of Germany, in which he said .

With a heart filled with thankfulness, I announce to you that yesterday afternoon the preliminaries of peace were signed here, by which Alsace, without Belfort, Lorraine with Metz, was ceded to Germany. Five milliards are to be paid, and portions of France are to be occupied until the amount is paid. Paris will be partially occupied if the ratification at Bordeaux follows. We are now at the end of a glorious but bloody war, which was forced upon us with a frivolity without parallel, and in which your troops have taken so honorable a part. May the greatness of Germany be consolidated in peace.

The signing of the treaty was announced to the Parisians by the *Journal Des Débats*, which denounced the cruel use the conquerors had made of their success, and announced that several times M. Thiers was on the point of breaking off the negotiations and risking the continuance of the war in consequence of the severity of the German terms. On the same day it was announced that the city would be occupied by the Germans, and a large force of the National Guard formed the resolution of resisting their entry with arms. Supposing that the occupation would take place at once, they got under arms on Monday night and took a position to resist it. General Vinoy severely reprimanded this conduct in an order of the day, but his censures were without effect. General Trochu published the following letter in *La Liberté*, which added much to the excitement :

You ask what is the state of my feelings concerning the report gaining ground of the approaching entry into Paris of the German army. I give it frankly. After a four and a half months' siege, after eight combats, after bombardment, and after a convention dictated by famine alone, the enemy owed Paris the honors of war. Public opinion demanded this. But the enemy wish to enter Paris, not having forced any point of the *enceinte*, nor taken by assault any single detached fort, nor carried any exterior defence. If under these circumstances the enemy demands the possession of the city he should bear the odium of the responsibility in case of violence. As a speechless and solemn protestation *the gates should be shut and let him open them with cannon*. Disarmed Paris will not reply, and leave to the truth and justice of history the task of judging between us.

Matters were now becoming serious. The streets were filled with excited crowds; the Mobiles were breaking into the

prisons and releasing prisoners under sentence, and the National Guard, which had retained its arms, began to occupy threatening positions in defiance of orders. It was plain that resistance to the occupation would simply entail further misery upon Paris, and the Government endeavored to bring back the citizens to reason. The following appeal to them signed by MM. Thiers and Picard was issued.

INHABITANTS OF PARIS :—The Government appeals to your patriotism and wisdom. You have in your hands the fate of Paris. Upon you it depends to save or destroy France herself. After a heroic resistance, famine compelled us to give up the forts to the victorious enemy. The army which we had hoped would be able to help us, was driven back beyond the Loire, and incontestable facts obliged the Government and the National Assembly to open negotiations. During six days the negotiators fought foot by foot, and did what was humanly possible to obtain the most favorable conditions, and have signed the Preliminaries which will be submitted to the National Assembly. During the time necessary for the examination and discussion of these Preliminaries hostilities would have recommenced, and blood have uselessly been shed, had the Armistice not been prolonged.

This prolongation could only be obtained on the condition of a partial and very temporary occupation of a quarter of Paris. If the convention be not respected, the Armistice will be broken, and the enemy, already master of the forts, will occupy, in strong force, the entire city. Private property, the works of art, and the public monuments are guaranteed to-day; but should the Convention cease to be in force, misfortune will await the whole of France. The fearful ravages of war, which hitherto have not extended beyond the Loire, will then extend to the Pyrenees.

It is absolutely true to say, that the safety of Paris affects the whole of France. Do not imitate the fault of those who did not wish us to believe eight months ago, that the war would be so fatal. The French army, which defended Paris with so much courage, will occupy the left of the Seine, and will insure the loyal execution of the new Armistice. The National Guard will undertake to maintain order in the rest of the city, as good and honored citizens who have shown themselves to be brave in the face of the enemy; and this cruel situation will end in peace and the return of public prosperity.

This proclamation had an excellent effect. The newspapers of Paris came to the support of the Government, and appealed to the Parisians not to uselessly prolong the occupation, and the city became quieter.

M. Thiers left Paris on the night of the 27th, and reached Bordeaux the next afternoon. The Assembly was immediately convened, and after that body had been called to order, M. Thiers rose in the midst of a profound silence to report the result of the negotiations with Count Bismarck. He said;

We have accepted a painful mission, and after having used all possible endeavors, we come with regret to submit for your approval a bill for which we ask urgency.

He then proceeded to read the bill embodying the treaty which he had concluded with the German Chancellor, but was so overpowered by his feelings that he could scarcely read the first clause. Handing the bill to M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, he abruptly left the hall. M. St. Hilaire then read the bill to the Assembly. It was as follows:

ARTICLE I. The National Assembly, forced by necessity, and not therefore being responsible, adopts the Preliminaries of Peace, signed at Versailles on the 26th of February.

1. France renounces in favor of the German Empire the following rights:—The fifth part of Lorraine, including Metz and Thionville, and Alsace, but without Belfort.

2. France will pay the sum of five milliards of francs, of which one milliard is to be paid in 1871, and the remaining four milliards by instalments extending over four years.

3. The German troops will begin to evacuate the French territory as soon as the treaty is ratified. They will first evacuate the interior of Paris, and some departments lying in the western region. The evacuation of the other departments will take place gradually after payment of the first milliard, and proportionately to the payment of the other four milliards. Interest at the rate of 5 per cent. will be paid on the amount remaining due from the date of the ratification of the treaty.

4. The German troops will not levy any requisitions in the departments occupied by them, but, on the other hand, will be maintained at the cost of France.

5. A delay will be granted to the inhabitants of the territories annexed to decide for themselves severally to which of the two nationalities they will adhere.

6. Prisoners of war will be immediately set at liberty.

7. Negotiations for a definite treaty of peace will be opened at Brussels after the ratification of the treaty.

8. The administration of the departments occupied by the German

troops will be entrusted to French officials, but under the control of the chiefs of the German corps of occupation.

9. The present treaty confers upon the Germans no rights whatever, in the portion of territories not occupied.

10. The treaty will have to be ratified by the National Assembly of France.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire then read the document providing for the entry of 30,000 German troops into Paris, and informed the Assembly that the contracting parties had severally reserved the right to give notice for terminating the Armistice after the 3d of March. In that case a delay of three days must elapse before the reopening of hostilities. On behalf of the Government, he asked the Assembly to declare the urgency of the discussion of the treaty.

M. Thiers, who had now returned to the hall, made an eloquent and impassioned appeal to the patriotism of the Assembly. He did not pretend to defend the treaty, but urged its acceptance by the deputies as the best settlement it was possible to obtain. Several of the Paris deputies, supported by M. Gambetta, having offered motions in favor of delay, M. Thiers said, "We, like you, are the victims of a state of things which we have not created, but must submit to. We entreat you not to lose a moment. I implore you to lose no time. In doing so you may perhaps spare Paris a great grief. I have engaged my responsibility, my colleagues have engaged theirs, and you must engage yours. There must be no abstention from voting. We must all take our share in the responsibility." M. Thiers then requested that the treaty should be referred to a committee which should meet that evening at nine o'clock, and report to the Assembly at its public sitting at noon the next day. His request was complied with, and the Assembly adjourned.

With the exception of a few deputies detained by sickness, the members of the Assembly were all present at the session of March 1st. The committee reported unanimously in favor of the adoption of the treaty as the best settlement that could be obtained. The report was read by M. Victor Lefranc, and

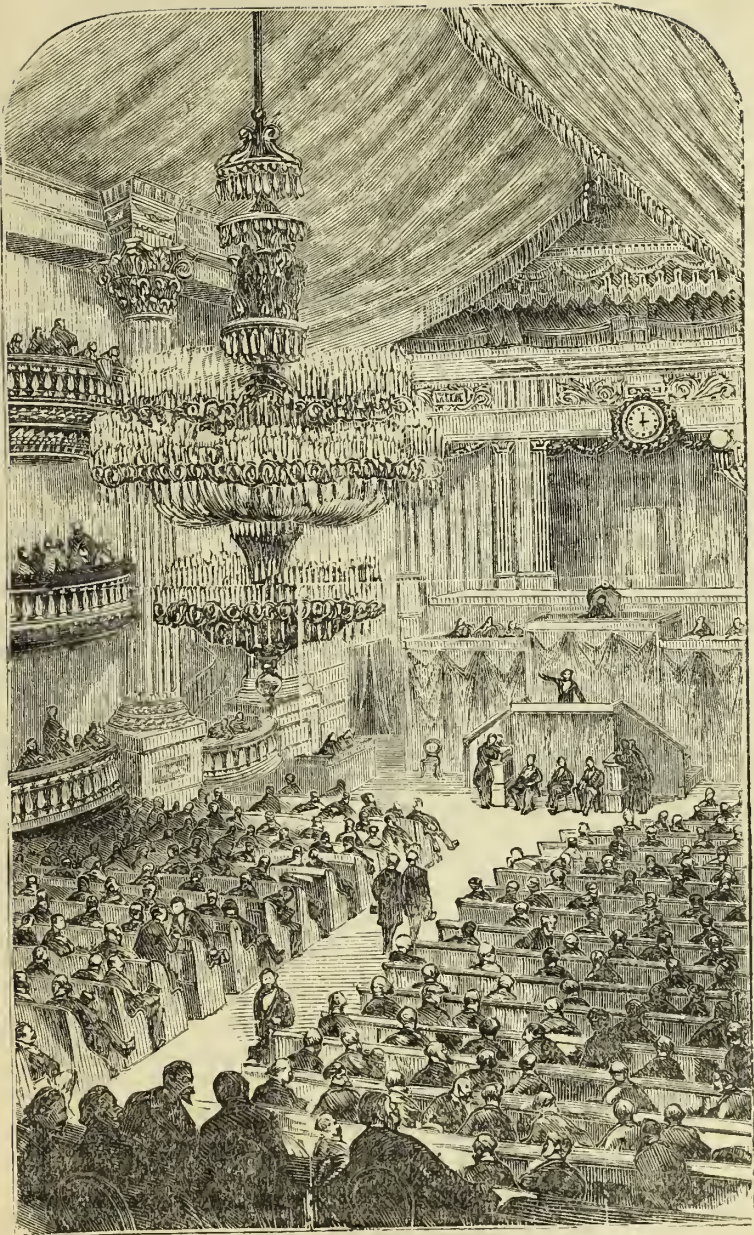
after earnestly entreating the Assembly not to expose France to additional suffering by a continuance of the war, which would surely follow the rejection of the treaty, it expressed confidence that no member would, in the circumstances, fail of his duty.

An exciting debate now sprang up.* M. Edgar Quinet denounced the preliminaries, and implored the Assembly not

* Mr. Edward King, the correspondent of the *Boston Journal*, gave the following interesting, but strongly colored, account of the scene in the Assembly:

"On the Ministers' bench, at the front of the right, I can see Thiers and Jules Simon in close conference, and they shake their heads dubiously. Of course Simon is telling him how wonderfully strong the Alsatian protests have grown since his visit to Versailles, and how much they must expect to fight in the tribune. And now a new man, with a fearfully large manuscript. Ah! it is M. Le Franc, with the report of the dolorous proceeding at Prussian headquarters, and what the commission charged to examine the aforesaid think about them. Evidently this will be long. There is an extraordinary agitation on the left. Hugo, Blanc, Vacherot, Floquet, etc., take seats in regular order near each other, as if they were arranging some preconceived movement. The report of the commission reporter seems to evolve nothing except the horrible consequences that would have overwhelmed France had she refused the treaty. 'All prolongation of the Armistice,' says he, 'was peremptorily refused; the forts of Paris were occupied, the *enceinte* was disarmed; farther away the inimical armies were massed at the extreme limits of the Armistice, facing our disorganized armies, and our population turned toward the hope of peace. The intelligence of a new and general aggression would have arrived at the Assembly before the announcement of the rupture of the negotiations.' These words grate harshly on the ears of some patriots in the gallery of the theatre—open to-day for the first time—and they sang out lustily: 'Yes, you are a Prussian, and so is every one who talks as you do.' In consequence of which we all receive warning from the old guardian of the *loge* that if he catches us applauding or commenting he will have us turned out.

"There is but little applause when the reporter has finished; every one has listened with breathless interest, and knows now how to vote. Meantime Edgar Quinet, on the part of the Republican left, ascends the tribune and claims to be heard because he had studied the policy of Prussia and Germany for a great part of his lifetime. Quinet is getting on in years, and his accent and tone betray the old school Frenchman's manner. He hastens to show how, by this treaty, what would have been otherwise characterized as a depredation, now becomes a legalized right, and there was almost the bitterness of hatred in his remarks. 'The feudal spirit of Germany avenges herself



Meeting of the National Assembly at Bordeaux: Discussing the
'Terms of Peace.'

to accept them, as such onerous conditions would destroy the present and future of France. M. Bamberger, a deputy from the Department of the Moselle, appealed to the Assembly to reject the treaty and continue the war, and concluded with a bitter denunciation of the Emperor Napoleon III. as the author of the ruin of France. This attack brought M. Conti, late Chief of the Emperor's Cabinet, to the tribune. He attempted to defend the Emperor, but was met with a storm of

on our free democratic institutions by making them contribute to our ruin.' By this treaty, he believes, peace is not at all secured; on the contrary, war—war to the knife. 'Prussia wishes not only our fall,' adds he, 'but our annihilation.' The tall, slender figure of the eminent scholar sways to and fro like a reed, in the tribune, rocked by the violence of his own eloquence. Even Thiers starts up, half angry, half frightened, as M. Quinet denounces the preliminaries of peace as destructive at once to present and future. Meantime, through the crowds around the tribune, a stout figure is vigorously pushing its way. Now it has taken M. Quinet's place, and five minutes after we are submerged under the most frightful confusion that ever upset a legislative body. The mention of one almost forgotten but ever-odious name has called chaos up. M. Bamberger, a deputy for Strasbourg, has ventured to say that the treaty is fit to be signed by only one man, and that man is Napoleon the Third!

"It is not exaggeration to say that the whole house trembles with the protests against the utterance of that name. It awakens so many hated memories that not only the seven hundred deputies present all reproach the orator, but the hundreds of spectators all mutter their objuration. Naturally, also, there is great excitement on the ministerial bench, for the treaty has been called odious, and a 'death warrant.' Just as Thiers starts to his feet angrily to reply, a voice is heard defending the Emperor, and the staid, respectable Uriah Heap-like form of Conti, special Secretary to the Emperor for many years, is elevated amid the deputies. He demands permission to address the Assembly, and as he crosses the aisle a perfect howl of rage and derision follows him. Here he goes, the embodied Malheur of France, the walking shadow of Woerth, and Sedan, and Wilhelmshohe. The rage could not have been greater had the ex-Emperor suddenly appeared. Bamberger yields the floor only for a moment, and Conti proceeds to ascend the tribune steps.

"As he goes up, a man near the tribune darts away from a group of friends, and is about to seize the daring ex-Secretary and hurl him over the tribune on to the floor below; but two or three catch him by the arms, and he struggles to get away; screams for vengeance does this excitable Langlois of Paris—Langlois who fought so well at Montretout; and frightful tumult recommences. From gallery and from diplomatic box come exclamations of

hisses and reproaches, and compelled to descend. The Assembly then voted unanimously and by acclamation a resolution confirming the fall of the Empire, and charging the Emperor Napoleon III. with the responsibility for the misfortunes of France. Victor Hugo and several others then addressed the House in opposition to the treaty, but their appeals were met by M. Thiers and his supporters with the simple statement that nothing better could be gained by a continuance of the war, and this argument prevailed. The

surprise, anger, and fright. Ladies rise to leave their seats. The President tries in vain to maintain order.

"But Conti, with indomitable Corsican cheek, has scaled the tribune, and, despite the howling, opens his lips to lie in behalf of his late protector. You should see the excitable, passionate faces looking up at the man as he speaks. There are three men standing at the tribune's foot whom you would swear propose to stifle him as he comes down. Conti knows little about fear, however. He has heard Paris howl, has received its mysterious threatening letters, baskets full of them. He has seen much of political life, and fears no turns of fortune. He has been a member of another Constitutional Assembly and voted for Cavaignac. It suited his purpose then. Later he has gone over to the Imperial faction, and been successively member of the Council of State, special Secretary to the Majesty, and even Senator. He has lost a fine position by the Emperor's tumble, but cannot refrain from putting his head in through the curtains and—species of Emperor's jester that he is—crying, 'Here we are again!'

"One sees his game. He has heard that the Assembly proposes to declare the total wreck of the Empire; he fears it, and wishes to rally the little forces at his disposition. If only universal suffrage could be made to decide the matter once more!

"But he is compelled by the storm of hisses and reproaches to descend from the tribune; and, going down, he meets Victor Hugo, who turns his back.

"A little knot of men, who have been consulting together ten minutes, breaks up; one of them mounts the tribune and reads a proposition for the *déchéance* of the Empire, and accuses it of the responsibility for 'the ruin, invasion, and dismemberment of France.'

"The Assembly is on its feet, and shouts assent in thunder tones. The Corsicans rally, and Gavini, a lawyer from Bastia, attempts to speak. But he is hurled away, and Thiers stands amid the hubbub awaiting silence. When it is restored, and he has reproved the Assembly for not allowing Conti free speech, he then accuses the Empire of having willed the war, and asserts that France never desired it. This wins the battle; not even a country deputy would now ask for a regular vote on the *déchéance*. And when the

vote was taken towards nightfall and stood thus: For the treaty 546; Against the treaty 107. Over one hundred deputies abstained from voting. Thus the treaty was ratified, and the war was ended.

M. Thiers at once informed M. Jules Favre, at Paris, of the action of the Assembly, and he in his turn conveyed the intelligence to the German Chancellor without delay, in order that the withdrawal of the Germans might begin immediately.

President calls on all who agree with the proposition to declare the Empire dead, only six—the half-dozen Imperial deputies—remained seated.

“The Empire is buried, and Conti hastened its funeral.

“Henceforward the left has the floor, and proceeds in regular order with its protests against the treaty. M. Bamberger, who unwittingly provoked the Conti incident, protests vigorously against ceding the provinces. He paints a glowing picture of the devotion of Strasbourg; her appeals for help, and her horrible condition at present. Then comes Victor Hugo with his slow and labored delivery, his long pauses for effect, his periods of passionate declamation, and his lion glances around the Assembly. Disappointing as is his speech, it is listened to with profoundest attention. When he speaks of taking back Mayence, and possessing Coblenz and Cologne in the future, however, he is interrupted, and the Assembly evidently considers such language incompatible with its dignity. His eulogy on Paris makes the whole mass uneasy; this is not a time to talk of heroisms; we are making peace. And when he speaks of delivering Germany from her Emperor, even as she has delivered France, a smile ripples over the faces of the deputies, who are pleased that Victor has not crushed them under the weight of his eloquence, but has looked forward to the future, the progress of peoples, and the ‘United States of Europe’ for his revenge. Even one of the Alsatian deputies rises, when the poet has finished, to correct him, and to say that no one wished to do unto the Germans as they had done in taking Alsatia and the fifth part of Lorraine.

“M. Vacherot, one of the philosophers of France, and one of the Mayors of Paris, speaks earnestly and with deep conviction for peace, because war is no longer possible. Although he stands by the side of Blanc and the radical left in politics, he has not been able to refrain from voting for any peace. Time, he maintains, will show the Prussians that they cannot deal with populations as with lands.

“Louis Blanc has reserved for himself, in this programme, the enumeration of the *non possumus*—the conscientious review of the right and wrong of the treaty. His speech, in some respects the best, and certainly the most exhaustive which the Assembly hears on this day, was listened to with most intense interest. From the fine opening paragraphs, in which he announced

After the departure of M. Thiers from Paris, on the 27th of February, the excitement which had been allayed by the proclamation of the Government, set in with renewed vigor. On the 28th, bodies of armed National Guards paraded the streets, tore down the Ministerial proclamations, and even attempted an attack upon the Hotel de Ville; but, as the Government was prepared for them, this last effort was abandoned. They then seized a number of cannon, and established a formidable park of artillery in the Place de la Bastille. For a while there seemed every prospect that an effort would be made to resist the German entry, but better counsels prevailed. The press unanimously advised forbearance and submission to what could not be prevented.

The Government announced, on the 27th, that the entrance of the German troops would take place at ten o'clock on the morning of Wednesday, March 1st, and that the quarter they would occupy was that comprised between the Seine and the Rue du Faubourg St. Honoré, extending to the Rue Royale

that 'nothing is durable here below save justice,' to the close, when he begs the Assembly to declare to Europe that to take away the quality of Frenchmen from Frenchmen exceeds its power, even an admiration was visible in every one's attention. The moral right and wrong, disputed thus at this moment, would not have been listened to had a less habile and profound thinker presided in the tribune. There was something comforting in the admirable characterization of Prussia—as that monarchy whose enlargement is due only to two crimes—the theft of Silesia and the division of Poland. And the summing up of the situation was certainly as true as epigrammatic. 'It is not between war to the death and peace that you are required to choose. It is between war for the maintenance of law and right, and peace for the violation of right; between war and honor, and peace at the price of honor.'

"General Changarnier's feeble voice and tottering frame appeal for peace from the tribune next, and the venerable warrior also considers it his duty to throw a stone at the orators of the left, whose distinctions in favor of the moral right he does not recognize. He fears such discussions will make the enemy lose its respect for the Assembly.

"The deputies from the department of the Vosges, who think it their duty to abstain from voting because they cannot bear the thought of war, yet will not vote their own separation from their countrymen, are rebuked in a fiery manner by the only one from the same section who has not joined them. And this rebuke calls M. Thiers once more to the tribune to ask all to vote

and the Place de la Concorde. It was also announced that the French regular troops would be transferred to the south bank of the Seine while the occupation lasted, and that the National Guard would be entrusted with the preservation of order in the remainder of the city not held by the Germans. The newspapers announced their intention to suspend publication while the Germans remained in the city, and urged the managers of the few theatres then open to close their establishments. The authorities were requested to close the public museums, the proprietors of the cafés and shops were called on to close their places of business, and the inhabitants generally were asked to close the doors and windows of their residences, and keep their curtains down, in order that the city might wear as deserted and silent an aspect as was possible.

Meanwhile there was no lack of preparation in the German camp. The force to be sent into the city was small, but it was resolved to make the entry as brilliant as possible. The troops selected for the army of occupation consisted of 11,000 men from the Sixth Prussian Corps (Von Tumpling), 11,000

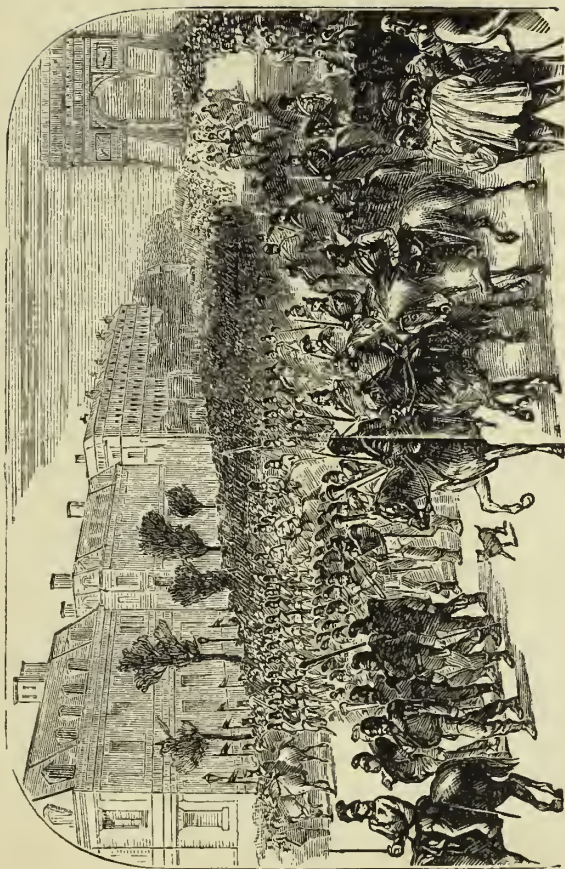
loyally according to conscience and heart, and not to trifle with false patriotism. Then follows speech upon speech—an aged ex-general, whose voice is still for war; fiery Milliere from Paris, with his desire for further battle written in glowing words. At last the deputy Keller, from Alsatia, has his final appeal, in which he calls the proposed treaty an ‘injustice, a falsehood, a dishonor.’ Then comes the vote, with the hour of weary waiting, and after the members have all passed over the platform on which stands the fatal urn, and the secretaries have counted, we hear the bell rung, and see Keller, pale and silent, bowed before the tribune in anguish of heart.

“The vote is declared—peace; and only 107 votes for war. Alsatia and Lorraine are sold, and the broken armies of France may creep away to hide.

“When Keller climbs up the steps once more dead silence reigns. As he bids farewell to those in whom he has not found protection, and with his colleagues announces his withdrawal from the Assembly, I cannot help recalling and dwelling on his words in his preceding speech:

“‘I call to take up the sword every man who desires as soon as possible to have this detestable treaty torn and trampled on.’

“Then the bedizened usher opens the door of our box, and we regain the air. It was bright sunlight when we entered, but it is darkness of night now. So it is in the hearts of these people around us.”



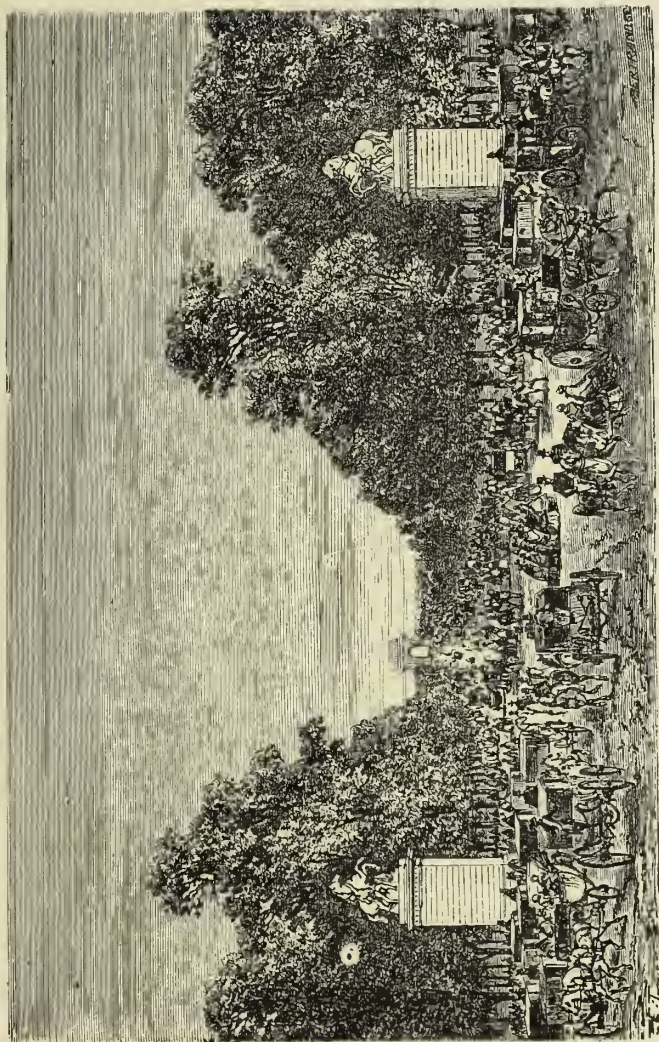
Triumphal Entry of 30,000 German Troops into Paris. March 1st, 1871.

from the Eleventh Prussian Corps (Von Schactineyer), and 8000 from the Second Bavarian Corps (Hartmann). In this force of 30,000 men were included engineers, cavalry and artillery. The command of this army was bestowed upon General Von Kamecke.

On the morning of March 1st, Paris was very quiet. The streets were mostly deserted, and only a few persons had collected in the neighborhood of the Arc de Triomphe to witness the German entry. The streets which enclosed the section of the city allotted to the Germans were closed by barricades of artillery wagons with their tongues interlocked, and were guarded by a cordon of French sentinels who had orders to prevent the German soldiers from passing the line of demarcation. The statues of the French provincial cities in the Place de la Concorde were draped in black, and the water was turned off from the fountains. Large bodies of troops had been stationed by General Vinoy in the Rue de la Paix, the Place Vendôme, and the Rue Castiglione, in order to prevent any attack on the Germans by the Red Republicans.

At thirteen minutes past eight o'clock A. M., a detachment of six Prussian hussars, led by Lieutenant Von Bernhardt, of the 14th Prussian hussars, entered the Porte Maillot and rode rapidly down the Avenue of the Grand Army towards the Arc de Triomphe, where they halted on the crest of the hill overlooking the Champs Elysées. In a short while these troopers—the first Germans in Paris: selected for their conspicuous bravery during the war—were joined by more hussars, and at half-past eight General Von Kamecke and staff, escorted by a detachment of horsemen, arrived, and proceeded, without halting, down the Champs Elysées to the mansion of Queen Christina of Spain, where the General established his headquarters.

The troops comprising the Army of Occupation were assembled on the Race-course of Longchamps in the Bois de Boulogne, where, at eleven o'clock, they passed in review before the Emperor of Germany and Crown Prince Fritz. At the close of the review, the Emperor and the Crown Prince



Grand Avenue of the Champs Elysées : Paris.

Große Allee der Champs Elysées : Paris.

returned to Versailles, and the troops began their march across the Bois de Boulogne towards the Arc de Triomphe.

"The Duke of Coburg, General Blumenthal, and their respective staffs, rode in at the head of the troops, followed by a squadron of Bavarian hussars, whose bright pennons of blue and white silk, evidently brand new for the occasion, fluttered gaily in the breeze. Then came two batteries of Bavarian artillery, then rifles and infantry. It was evident that the Bavarians were to be allowed the honors of the day. There was the 'Leib Regiment,' with its shattered companies, only a quarter of their original strength, and their flag hanging in ribbons from the stump of a broken staff—the regiment which has seen as hard fighting as any regiment in the war, and which has been in battle eight times in eleven days. There was their weather-beaten General and the officers, mostly new men, for they had lost more than the entire number with which they had originally left Bavaria. As they marched past the Arc de Triomphe the band struck up the '*Wacht am Rhein*,' and the mob began to hiss and whistle. At the same time an officer's horse slipped and fell, and a crowd pressed round the dismounted rider; instantly a comrade rode to his assistance; the crowd continued to hiss, and one man was ridden over, while two or three horsemen charged along the pavement. This had the effect of scattering the crowd, and from that moment they looked on in profound silence. For an hour and a half, or until half-past three, did this incessant stream of Bavarians continue, with here and there an interval occupied by some General and his staff. Then came the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg, with men at his side who had been with him in the hard-fought fields of Orleans, Beaugency, and Le Mans. There were many familiar faces. Here was Prince Luitpold and Von der Tann. Wearing the cocked hat of an Admiral rides Prince Adalbert of Prussia, and with him Prince Albrecht, of cavalry renown.

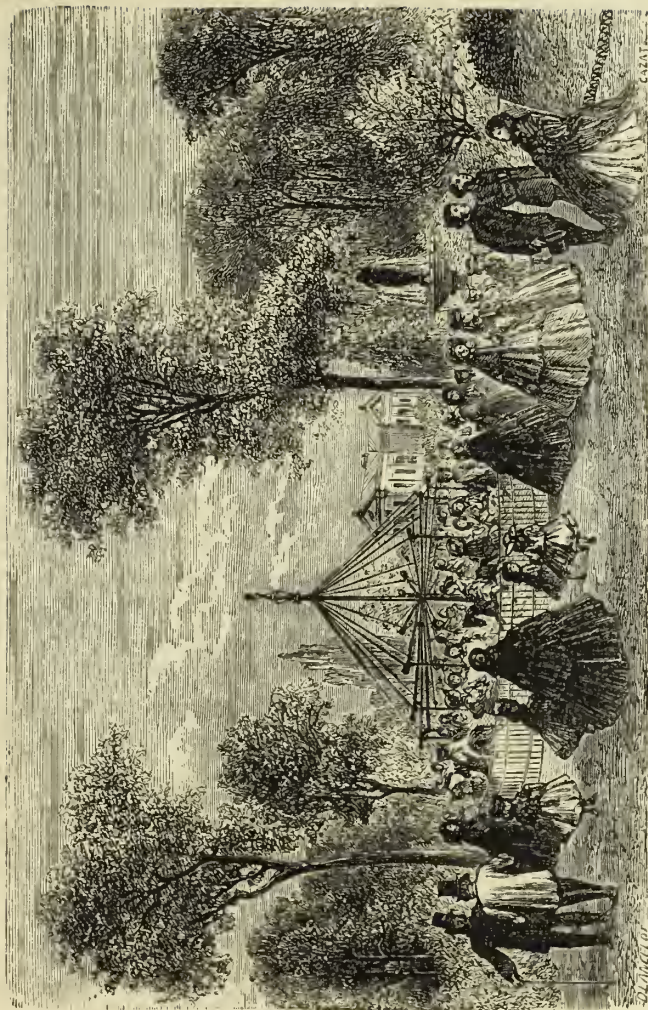
"For a long time the whole space around the Arch was filled with soldiers waiting for their turn to march down the Avenue, which was becoming pretty well packed by this

time from the top to the bottom. Suddenly up rose Bismarck himself, smoking a cigar. He gazed at the scene for a few moments, and turned round and rode slowly away, without going beyond the crest of the hill. When the army at the lower end of the Champs was massed in close order in columns of companies, an amusing scene occurred, as the men went at a double quick to fill up the gap till it became almost a race. Then came several batteries of artillery, foot and horse, clattering along at a gallop, and making a brave show. At last all the Bavarians had passed, and a Prussian regiment marched down the walk on the other side of the drive; then more Prussians came, but instead of going straight down the Champs Elysées they turned down side avenues in search of quarters." * By sunset the entire Army of Occupation was within the gates.

The scenes during the occupation of the city are thus described by the correspondent of *The Illustrated London News*:

"The approaches to the Place de la Concorde, from the streets on its eastern side, which traverse the heart of Paris, as well as that from the southern quarter of Paris, by the bridge which crosses the Seine nearly opposite the Palais du Corps Législatif, and the northern outlets from the Place de la Concorde, beyond the line of the Rue du Faubourg St. Honoré, were closed by barricades and double lines of French and Prussian sentries. The soldiers of the two hostile nations stood on guard, within ten or twelve paces from each other, on the opposite sides of this barricade. The French sentries were posted at intervals of three or four feet. They allowed quiet-looking foot passengers to go through singly, but no throng of numbers; and no horsemen or carriages were allowed to pass. An important barricade was at the entrance to the Rue de Rivoli. . . . The arrangements were similar at the rear end of the Pont de la Concorde, on the Quai des Tuileries, at the entrances to the Rue Royale and other streets leading into the Rue du Faubourg St. Honoré. French

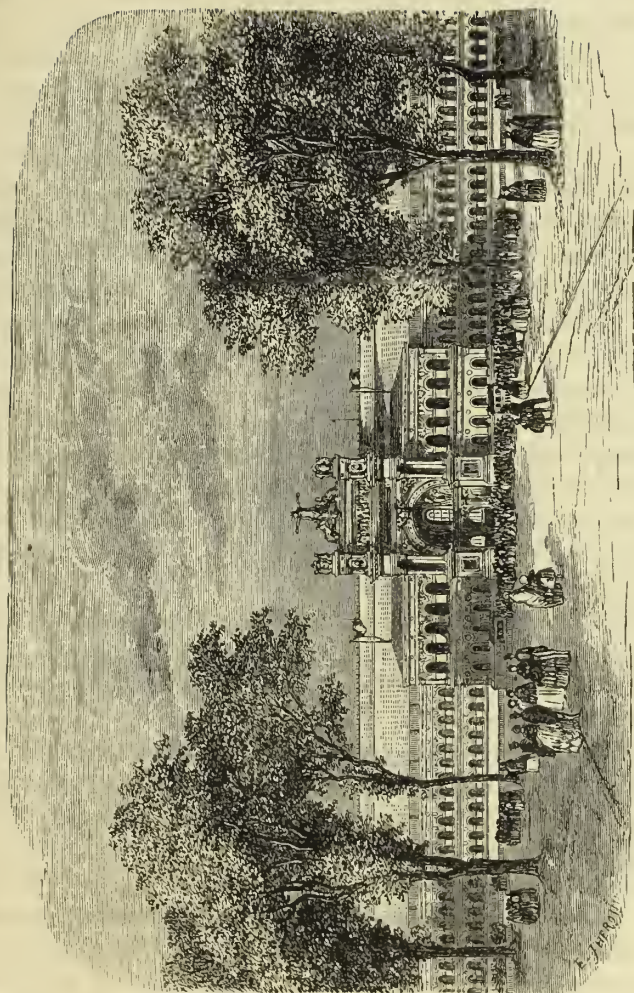
* Correspondence of the London *Times*.



The Champs Elysées : Paris—occupied by the Germans.

soldiers of the Line, backed in some instances by gendarmes or National Guards, occupied these points, and prevented any stray parties of Germans from going farther. The streets, especially the Rue de Rivoli and Rue St. Honoré, were continually patrolled by cavalry during the two days while the Germans remained. The Place de la Concorde, with its obelisks, its veiled statues, and its fountains, which had now ceased to play, was thronged after noon time on the Wednesday, and all the next day, with the Prussian and Bavarian soldiers lounging or strolling about, and sometimes dancing round the statue of Strasbourg; but they did not the slightest damage, and never offered to remove the crape from the faces of the statues. Many civilians, French people as well as foreigners, appeared in this place, but seldom ventured to enter into conversation with the Germans.

"It was the same in the principal avenue of the Champs Elysées. The Bavarians were quartered here in the Palais de l'Industrie and the Prussians in the Cirque Imperiale. The spacious road was filled with wagons loaded with provisions for the Army of Occupation, and with provender for its cavalry. German troopers had picketed their horses in long lines between the trees; battalions of infantry had taken off their knapsacks, piled arms, exchanged their pointed helmets for their caps, and were cooking their dinners amongst the withered remains of exotic shrubs. Here one stumbled up against a battery of frowning artillery, there against an officer going his rounds. Strange vehicles, with wretched horses and harness, were conveying hither and thither strange looking men with blonde beards and porcelain pipes. Now and then one came across a group of officers basking in the sun. At many of the doors of the houses were small, anxious crowds, and up the side streets might be seen soldiers on foot and on horseback, looking for their lodgings with the deliberation peculiar to the German. Others were preparing, when night came, to bivouac in the open air. On the benches by the side of the road were seated some of the invaders, in groups of twos and threes, chatting and smoking their pipes,



Palace of Industry : Paris—occupied by the Germans.

and ready to chaff any Frenchman or woman who might be willing to converse. Soon they became centres of animated crowds; and whenever one saw forty or fifty crammed together in a circle, one might be sure that Hans or Fritz was the centre of it. Meantime, cavalry were scampering to and fro; the main body of the infantry had stacked their arms in front of the Palace of Industry, and were told off in small squads. The windows of the houses on each side of the road were closed, all the cafés were closed, and no person of the upper classes was to be seen. There were several quarrels between the Germans and Parisians; more than one of the former were hustled and assaulted. Englishmen, too, and even French persons, were ill-treated for speaking to the Germans. Some German soldiers asked their way from a young gentleman, who naturally replied with courtesy, and gave the required information. A few blouses were watching, and when the soldiers were at a safe distance, they sprang on the unfortunate individual who had been so good-humored as to answer the German inquiries. He was assailed with blows and knocked down. When he was on the ground a ruffian in a blue blouse deliberately leapt upon his body and trampled on him. It was a miracle that the poor fellow escaped with his life.

"The show departments in the Palace of the Tuileries, and the galleries of the Louvre, were visited, on Thursday, by many thousands of German soldiers, not carrying their arms, agreeably to the clause in the military convention signed at Versailles. These were escorted by armed detachments of the French National Guards. Their admission, however, provoked the anger of the Parisians to a dangerous pitch. The Rue de Rivoli was paraded, during several hours, by an agitated crowd, some pressing against the railings of the Tuileries Gardens and the Louvre, staring at the Germans, hissing, howling, and otherwise insulting them. The gates were closed and strongly guarded. The Germans while by themselves in the gardens behaved soberly enough, only plucking a few laurel leaves to wreath their heads with crowns of victory—or, rather, to stick in their helmets or in their forage-

caps. This might as well have been spared. They replied to the insults of the crowd outside with a calm Teutonic grin. Their seeming indifference worked the people up to a frightful pitch of excitement, and, a woman happening to throw a stone among the Germans, a riot broke out. The street was, however, promptly cleared by the National Guards, the Bavarians were withdrawn under cover, and some heavy green tarpauling was stretched along the railing, so as to hide from the view of the people the odious presence of the enemy's soldiery. The day passed without a conflict; the German military bands played in the Place de la Concorde, where General Blumenthal, and General Kamecke, commanding the army of occupation, with other officers of high rank, rode up and down in the afternoon. The Imperial Crown Prince himself came there for a short time. The second night was also passed in quiet and safety."

The treaty of peace having been ratified by the Bordeaux Assembly, and the ratification having been officially communicated to the Emperor of Germany, his Majesty on the afternoon of the 2d gave orders for the withdrawal of the German troops from Paris. The advance guard of the army of occupation left the city that night. These troops were loudly cheered by their comrades quartered in the buildings along the main avenue, and their way was lighted by torches and candles held in elegant candelabra by the German soldiers still remaining in the city. At half past six on the morning of the 3d, the entire German army was in motion. At half past eight the head of the Bavarian column passed under the Arc de Triomphe, and for an hour and a half the stream of men poured steadily through the magnificent archway. The bands were playing triumphal airs, and the colors of the troops, torn and tattered by the deadly fire of the battles they had passed through, flapped proudly in the morning breeze. By ten o'clock the last man had passed through the arch, and in half an hour more there was not a German within the walls of Paris.

By the terms of the treaty the Germans bound themselves

to evacuate the Departments of Calvados, Orne, Sarthe, Eure-et-Loire, Loiret, Loir-et-Cher, Indre-et-Loire and Yonne, and all the territories held by them on the left bank of the Seine immediately upon the ratification of the treaty, and they now began to comply with this condition. Their stores and other property were dispatched to Germany with all possible haste, and every preparation was made for the return home of the entire army, with the exception of the troops left in the Departments to be held as pledges for the payment of the indemnity. By the terms of the treaty, France was to be gradually evacuated by the Germans in proportion to the payment of this indemnity. Upon the payment of the first 500,000,000 francs, the Departments of Somme, and Oise, and portions of Seine Inférieure, Seine-et-Oise, and Seine-et-Marne were to be evacuated. After the payment of 2,000,000,000 francs, the Germans were to confine their occupation to the Departments of the Marne, Ardennes, Haut Marne, Meuse, and the Vosges. It was arranged that, in case France should be able to offer substantial financial guarantees instead of territorial guarantees for the payment of the indemnity, Germany should accept them.

The Northern and Western Departments were rapidly evacuated by the Germans, and the fortresses were turned over to detachments of the French army. The conquerors retired to the positions assigned them by the treaty. A force sufficient to hold the departments pledged for the payment of the indemnity was placed under the command of Prince Frederick Charles, and the rest of the German army began their homeward march.

The Emperor William left Versailles on the 7th of March, intending to visit each of the German Sovereign Princes on his way to Berlin, which city he expected to reach on the 19th. Upon arriving at Metz, however, he was compelled by a sudden indisposition to proceed direct to Berlin. He was received all along the route after passing the German border, with the most enthusiastic greetings, and on the 17th of March reached Berlin.

The territory won from France by Germany comprised, as has been stated, all of Alsace except Belfort, and the fifth part of Lorraine, including Metz. The new boundary line of the German Empire "commences at the northwest frontier of the Canton of Cattenom in the Department of the Moselle; thence follows towards the southwestern frontiers of the Canton of Cattenom and Thionville; passes by the Canton of Briey, going along the western frontiers of the communes of Montois-la-Montagne and Roncourt, as well as the eastern frontiers of the communes of Marie-aux-Chênes and Habonville; strikes the frontier of the Canton of Gorze, which it traverses along the communal frontiers of Vionville, Busières, and Waville; follows the southwest and southern frontier of the arrondissement of Metz, the western frontier of the arrondissement of Château Salins, as far as the commune of Pettoncourt, until it embraces the western and southern frontiers—to follow the crest of the mountains between the Seille and Moncel as far as the frontier of the arrondissement of Sarrebourg to the south of La Garde. The demarcation afterwards coincides with the frontier of that arrondissement as far as the commune of Tanconville, the front of which it strikes to the north. Thence it follows the crest of the mountains between the sources of the Seille, Blanche, and the Vezouze, as far as the frontiers of the Canton Schermeck; runs along the western frontier of that canton; embraces the communes of Saales, Bourg, Bruche, Colroy-la-Roche, Plaine, Ronrupt, Saulxures, and St. Blaise-la-Roche, in the Canton of Saales, and coincides with the western frontier of the department of the Bas Rhin and of the Haut Rhin, as far as the Canton of Belfort, the southern frontier of which it quits not far from Vourvenans, to traverse the Canton of Delle at the southern bounds of the communes of Bourogne and Froide Fontaine, and to strike the Swiss frontier by passing along the southern borders of the communes of Jonchery and Delle." This territory comprises an area of 6200 square miles, and contains a population of 2,000,000 inhabitants. Among the fortresses thus gained for Germany are Metz, Thionville, Strasbourg,

Schlestadt, Bitsche, Marsal, New Brissach, Phalsbourg and Haguenau. Among the towns not included in those just named, are Colmar, Mulhausen, Guebwiller, Molsheim, Saverne, Château Salins, Sarreguemines and Forbach. The loss of this region was a serious blow to France, as a large portion of the manufacturing interests of the country were located there. Germany was brought one hundred miles nearer to Paris, and was placed in possession of a frontier strongly fortified against invasion, and which would enable her to command the most advantageous positions for any future invasion of France.

The conditions of the peace were all in favor of the victors. France lost every thing. No French Government would ever have accepted such hard terms as had been imposed upon M. Thiers and his colleagues, had there been the least hope of doing better; but it was impossible to resist the demands of the Germans, who enforced their terms with the threat of a renewal of the war. It was said even by the warmest friends of the victors, that the conditions of the peace were hard and ungenerous. The German statesmen admitted this. They had entered upon the war with the avowed intention of crippling France so thoroughly that she would give them no more trouble for many years at least. They succeeded in their object, and they made the peace as onerous to the French as the war had been, and this intentionally, in order that a renewal of the war should be impossible to their enemies for several generations.


The war, in spite of its triumphs, entailed many sacrifices upon Germany. About 150,000 men had fallen in battle, and the industries of Germany had been much injured for the time, by the enormous drafts of men necessary to carry on the struggle. These were small prices to pay for the advantages gained by the conflict. The unity of the nation was now an accomplished fact, additional territory was gained, a position which entirely secured Germany, and seriously menaced France was conquered, and the brilliant triumphs which had marked the struggle, had exalted Germany to the first

place in Europe. The traditional enemy of the German race was dismembered and crushed, and so weakened that she would be compelled for long years to come, to turn her attention entirely to her domestic affairs. The most sanguine German would not have dared to hope for as much at the outset of the struggle. Germany has gained every thing, and it now remains for the future to show the use she will make of her victory.

France lay prostrate in the dust. Her losses had been enormous. But one single victory—that of Baccon—had been won by the French arms. At the close of the struggle, Germany held, including the garrison of Paris, nearly 700,000 prisoners of war, and had captured immense quantities of stores, arms and material of war. After the battle of Sedan 14,500 French troops were driven into Belgium, and more than 81,000 of Bourbaki's soldiers were forced over the Swiss border in February. At least 150,000 men had fallen in battle, and many more had died of sickness. A third part of France had been overrun, ravaged and laid waste, enormous fines had been levied on the cities and towns held by the conquerors, and the destruction of property had been appalling. Apart from the five milliards to be paid to Germany, the nation had incurred a war debt of at least one milliard francs. The strong frontier fortresses were lost, and the rich iron ore districts, the flourishing towns and industrious populations of Alsace and Lorraine, were given up to the conquerors. At home disaffection and open rebellion paralyzed the efforts of the Government to restore prosperity to the country, and the baleful fires of civil war, were reddening the skies from which the glow of a less terrible strife was fading away.

BIOGRAPHIES.

WILLIAM I., EMPEROR OF GERMANY.

 WILLIAM I., Emperor of Germany and King of Prussia, was born on the 22d of March, 1797. He is the son of King Frederick William III. and the Princess Louise of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, "the beautiful Queen of Prussia." He was educated as a soldier, took part in the campaigns of 1813 and 1815 against France, and rode by his father's side when the Allies entered Paris after the overthrow of Napoleon I. In 1840, he was appointed Governor of Pomerania, which post he held until the Revolution of 1848 broke out, when he took refuge in England.

Being elected a member of the Constituent Assembly in May, 1848, he returned to Berlin and took his seat in the Assembly on the 8th of June, 1848. On the breaking out of the rebellion in Baden in June, 1849, he was made Commander-in-chief of the Prussian army, and sent to quell the disturbances. This he did with a firm hand, putting down the rebellion with the sword and at the cost of a considerable loss of life. Says a recent writer, commenting upon his conduct at this period: "The revolutionists of Baden held in bitter hate the stern Prince who was so unscrupulous in his mode of crushing out popular agitation. From Cologne to Königsberg, from Hamburg to Trieste, all Germans had for years had reason only too strong to regard William Prince of Prussia as the most resolute and relentless enemy of popular liberty. When the Pope was inspiring the hearts of freemen and patriots everywhere in Europe with sudden and splendid hopes doomed to speedy disappointment, the Prince of Prussia was execrated with the Hapsburgs, the Bourbons, and the Romanoffs. The one only thing commonly said in his favor was that he was honest and would keep his word."

In 1858, the mind of his brother, Frederick William IV., which for some time had been feeble, gave way entirely, and the Prince was created Regent of the kingdom. This position he held for nearly three years, being absolute ruler of Prussia during that time. His

first act was to dismiss the Kreuz or aristocratic party and to adopt a liberal policy. On the 2d of January, 1861, Frederick William IV. died, leaving no issue, and the Prince Regent became King, under the title of William I. On the 18th of October the coronation ceremonies took place at Königsberg, and were conducted after the old formula of the Prussian monarchy. The King took the crown from the altar and placed it on his head with his own hands, and in a few brief words proclaimed that he held his crown from God and not from the people. He then placed another crown on his wife's head, in token that she derived all her dignities from him.

This blunt avowal of the doctrine of absolute power gave great offence to the mass of the German people, and the King's old unpopularity revived. Outside of his own kingdom he was universally disliked, and this feeling extended to the members of his family. The most exaggerated stories were told of the domestic life of the King and his son—stories which the English press industriously circulated.

"Yet he was saved from utter detestation," says the writer we have quoted,* "by the admitted integrity of his character—a virtue so dear to Germans, that for its sake they will pardon harshness, and sometimes even stupidity. People disliked or dreaded him, but they despised his brother. There was a certain simplicity, too, always seen in William's mode of living, which pleased the country. There was no affectation about him; he was a plain, unpretending soldier. Since he became King, anybody passing along the famous Unter den Linden might see the white-haired, simple old man reading or writing at the window of his palace. . . . In good and evil he kept his word. You might trust him to do as he had said. During the greater part of his life the things he promised to do and did were not such as free men could approve. He set out in life with a genuine detestation of liberal principles and of anything that suggested popular revolution. Horror of revolution was naturally his earliest public sentiment. He was one of the Princes who entered Paris in 1815 with the Allied Sovereigns when they came to stamp out Bonapartism; and he seemed to have gone on to late manhood with the conviction that the mission of honest kings was to prevent popular agitation from threatening the divine right of the throne."

The measures of the King increased his unpopularity. The liberal press was silenced, and liberal orators were threatened and if possible punished. His scheme for the reorganization of the civil and military service of the kingdom met with a fierce opposition from the Parliament, the King endeavoring to force that body into compliance with his wishes. In 1862, Count Von Bismarck was made Prime

* Mr. Justin McCarthy, in *The Galaxy* for October, 1870.

Minister, and King William found him an invaluable assistant in this struggle, which just before the war with Denmark threatened to end in open revolution. The King and his Minister were right in seeking to put into execution the reforms, upon which they insisted, as it has been that system which has enabled Prussia to reach her present exalted position, but their mode of carrying on their contest with the Parliament was an attack upon the civil rights of the nation. The war with Denmark, waged in conjunction with Austria, put an end for the time to the domestic troubles.

The King now, much against his inclination, gave his support to the scheme of which Bismarck was the leading spirit, of driving Austria out of the Germanic Confederation and obtaining the supremacy in Germany for Prussia. The war of 1866 was the result of the measures of Bismarck. A treaty of alliance was concluded with Italy, the smaller States of Germany were required to side with either Prussia or Austria, and the magnificent army of Prussia was gotten in readiness to take the field. War was declared against Austria on the 17th of June, 1866. The King and the royal Princes at once took the field, and in a brilliant campaign of seven weeks' duration Austria was forced to make a humiliating peace.

“With the success of Prussia at Sadowa ended King William's personal unpopularity in Europe. Those who were prepared to take anything like a rational view of the situation began to see that there must be some manner of great cause behind such risks, sacrifices, and success. Those who disliked Prussia more than ever, as many in France did, were disposed to put the King out of their consideration altogether, and to turn their detestation wholly on the King's Minister. In fact, Bismarck so entirely eclipsed or occulted the King, that the latter may be said to have disappeared from the horizon of European politics. His good qualities or bad qualities no longer counted for aught in the estimation of foreigners. Bismarck was everything, the King was nothing. Now I wish my readers not to take this view of the matter. In everything which has been done by Prussia since his accession to the throne, King William has counted for something. His stern uncompromising truthfulness has always counted for much. So too has his narrow-minded dread of anything which he believes to savor of the revolution. So has his thorough and devoted Germanism. I am convinced that it would have been far more easy of late to induce Bismarck to make compromises with seemingly powerful enemies at the expense of German soil, than it would have been to persuade Bismarck's master to consent to such proposals. The King's is far more of a typical German character (except for his lack of intellect) than that of Bismarck, in whom there is so much of French audacity as well as of French humor. . . The enthusiasm now felt

by the Germans for the King is derived from just the same source as the early enthusiasm of Frenchmen for the first Napoleon. In each man his people see the champion who has repelled the aggression of the insolent foreigner, and has been strong enough to pursue the foreigner into his own home, and there chastise him for his aggression. . . . It has been his good fortune to reign during a period when the foreign policy of the State was of infinitely greater importance than its domestic management. It became the business of the King of Prussia to help his country to assert and to maintain a national existence. Nothing better was needed in the Sovereign for this purpose than the qualities of a military dictator, and the King, in this case, was saved all trouble of thinking and planning. He had but to accept and to agree to a certain line of policy—a certain set of national principles—and to put his foot down on these and see that they were carried through. For this object the really manly and sturdy nature of the King proved admirably adapted. He upheld manfully and firmly the standard of the nation. His defective qualities were rendered inactive, and had indeed no occasion or chance to display themselves, while all that was good of him came into full activity and bold relief."

The King lent his cordial aid to the establishment of the North German Confederation, and grew rapidly in favor with the German people. His decisive conduct with regard to the French demands at the outbreak of the war of 1870 made him the popular hero of Germany, and all his old faults and shortcomings were forgiven and forgotten by the Germans. To-day he is, perhaps, the most popular Sovereign in Europe. His acts during the war, and his elevation to the Imperial throne of Germany, have already been related in these pages.


On the 11th of June, 1829, William I. was married to the Princess Augusta, daughter of Charles Frederick, Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar. They have two children, Prince Frederick William, born October 18th, 1831, and the Princess Louise Mary, born December 3d, 1838, and married, September 20th, 1856, to Frederick William, Grand Duke of Baden.

The Emperor is seventy-four years old, but is in the full possession of his health and vigor. He is a man of splendid appearance, and in full uniform, at the head of his army, looks "every inch a king." He shared many of the hardships of the recent campaign with his troops, and was everywhere received by them with enthusiasm. He is simple and courteous in his manners, never failing to return the salute of the humblest of his subjects with studious politeness. Those who know him personally speak with pleasure of his sweet and genial manners in private life. While a strict disciplinarian, he is exceedingly kind-hearted, and is very fond of children, with whom he is very popular.

He is incapable of a mean or cruel action, and will not tolerate them in others. A German journal thus describes his daily life :

“ His Majesty usually rises at seven o’clock, in summer frequently much earlier, in winter sometimes later. He never sleeps but in his own campaign bed, which is carried to all reviews and military manoeuvres which he attends. If there is already a bed in the room where he stays, it is taken out and the campaign bed substituted. The latter consists of an iron frame ; it is only a foot high, and has but little furniture. In raw weather the King wears his cloak. Only a small pocket watch is hung up by the wall near this simple couch, this being a favorite souvenir with which the King was presented in 1814, on accompanying his Royal father in a journey to Neuchâtel and through Switzerland. At a previously fixed, or otherwise at the ordinary time, if the King has not already rung, two attendants enter the room. On days when there is to be a battle this occurs at a very early hour, as at Sadowa, where he was awoke at four A. M., and at Gravelotte, where he was awoke at three, for the King likes to be present at the marching out of the troops. If this is not necessary, dispatches are laid on the table, where he drinks coffee, so that they come immediately into his hands. The King, as soon as he rises, dresses from head to foot, and remains dressed the whole day, merely unbuttoning his overcoat if he is alone in his room or receives only persons on his suite. When other persons are received he always appears with buttoned overcoat, as also when he steps up to a window to watch troops marching by, or if he knows that military persons can see him. On returning from journeys and reviews, or from a battle, he changes his linen, but entirely dresses again. A dressing-gown, slippers, or any other domestic luxury, which almost every independent man allows himself at home, the King has never used, even during indisposition or sickness. The King opens all his letters himself, without exception ; even during serious illness they must be opened in his presence. He sorts them. On a first perusal he makes signs or marginal comments on them. These signs have a fixed signification, and the officials into whose hands they come know how to deal with them. All letters destined for the Berlin Ministry go back thither ; otherwise they are sent to the authorities at headquarters. Everything goes on according to a regular method, and the King has really one habit—that of working.”

FREDERICK WILLIAM, CROWN PRINCE OF PRUSSIA.

REDERICK WILLIAM NICHOLAS CHARLES, Crown Prince of Prussia, and Crown Prince Imperial of Germany, was born on the 18th of October, 1831. He is the only son of the Emperor William I. and the Empress Augusta. His early life, like that of most princes, was uneventful. His education was directed chiefly by his mother, from whom he received a most careful training, not only in those things pertaining naturally to the education of princes, but in all branches of study. Having been a pupil of Goethe, she was a woman of great cultivation, and was well qualified for the task she assumed. Among his instructors were Godet and Max Duncker, the historian. His elementary instruction in boyhood was conducted under Dr. Ernest Curtius. At the age of ten years he received his commission as sub-lieutenant, after which he proceeded to the University of Bonn. After finishing his course at this institution, he began his military studies under General Schreckenstein, completing them under Generals Von Roon and Von Moltke. He was very popular among his troops after taking command in person, but was not supposed to be possessed of any remarkable degree of military genius. He travelled extensively through Europe, and won many friends by his amiable demeanor.

On the 25th of January, 1858, he was married to the Princess Victoria, the eldest daughter of the Queen of England. By this marriage he has had several children. In 1858 he was made Major-General, and in 1860 was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General, and placed in command of the Second (Pomeranian) Corps d'Armée. He took part in the war against Denmark, at the head of his corps, the command of the Prussian forces being given to his cousin, Prince Frederick Charles.

Upon the breaking out of the war with Austria in 1866, Prince Frederick William was placed in command of the Army of the Oder, which so brilliantly opened the war. The general operations of the war were conducted by General Von Moltke in his cabinet, but enough liberty was accorded to the Crown Prince to enable him to display the high qualities of generalship, which were so conspicuous during the war we have just been considering. Pushing through the passes of Riesengebirge, or the Giant's Mountain, near Glatz, he engaged the Austrian troops in a series of brilliant actions, swept them back, and opened the way for the victorious advance of the Prussian Army. General Steinmetz was his second in command, and this able officer, with the advance guard of the Crown Prince's army, defeated

the enemy severely at Nachod and Skalitz. At Trautenau the Prussians were repulsed, but in the battle of Königinhof, which followed, they gained a brilliant victory, and opened the way for the still greater triumph of Sadowa, in which the army of the Crown Prince decided the day. His services during this war gave the Crown Prince an enviable reputation as a commander, and made him the object of the enthusiastic admiration of his troops.

On the breaking out of the war with France, he was placed in command of the 3d army, consisting of the Fifth, Sixth and Eleventh Prussian Corps d'Armée, the Bavarians, Würtembergers, and the troops of Baden and Hesse Darmstadt, making a force of 172,000 infantry, 17,000 cavalry, and 576 guns. The operations of this army are related elsewhere in these pages. It only remains for us to add that it was to this army that the city and garrison of Paris surrendered.

At the battle of Woerth two correspondents of the Paris journals were made prisoners. They were liberated by order of the Crown Prince, and sent back to France. On their return to Paris, one of them published the following account of their interview with him :

“ Prince Frederick William, heir to the crown of Prussia, is a man of tall stature, thin, with a calm, placid countenance; but in the curve of his aquiline nose and his dilating nostrils there are evidences of energy, while the rapidity of his glance convinces you of his decision. A full, fair beard softens the somewhat stern expression of his features. He has great simplicity of manner, and affects rather a kind of bourgeois style of speaking, thinking, and general behavior. He speaks French with great purity, without foreign accent beyond a slight German intonation and occasional hesitation at certain words. ‘ Do you speak German, sir ? ’ he said to me. ‘ No, Prince, not sufficiently. ’ ‘ I am sorry for it, as otherwise you would have heard in what manner our troops speak of yours, and in what esteem they hold them. ’ ‘ I thank you very much for that opinion. ’ ‘ Oh ! it is quite deserved. We have all admired the tenacity and the courage which have been evinced by even the humblest of your soldiers. ’ Then, with much delicate consideration, and almost making excuses for mentioning the facts to us, he told us that they had taken between 3000 and 4000 prisoners, thirty guns, six mitrailleuses, and two eagles. ‘ Among the prisoners, ’ said he, ‘ is General Raoult. I went this morning to see him at Reichshofen, where he lies wounded, his hip and thigh broken; I fear that he is now dying. He is a brave officer, and he has given me some addresses in Paris, to which he wishes letters to be sent. ’ ‘ But, Prince, ’ I observed, ‘ the other prisoners also have families. ’ ‘ I have thought of that. I have had them supplied with writing materials; the letters will be sent unsealed to our Consul at Geneva, who will forward them to France. ’ ‘ Prince, we thank you on behalf

of the mothers whose grief you are about to assauge.' 'I do not like war, gentlemen. If I should reign I would never make it. Now, despite my love of peace, this is the third campaign I have been obliged to make. I went over the battlefield yesterday. It was frightful. If it only depended upon myself, this war would end here. It is your Ministers and the Emperor who would have it; it is not we who wanted it. And yet the Emperor has been very good to me and very kind to my wife. The last time I saw him was at the Tuileries on the 12th of January, when he said to me, 'You know that I have found a new Minister. That was this M. Ollivier who now makes this war against us.'"

The King's bulletin, announcing the first victory, gave to the Crown Prince his most popular name, "Our Fritz," which will probably cling to him. It was eagerly caught up by the soldiers, who were devotedly attached to their gallant commander. The Prince fully merited this devotion, not only by the genius with which he conducted his operations, but by the care and kindness which he bestowed upon his troops. A writer in one of the London journals thus speaks of his care for the wounded :

"I have been the accidental and unseen witness of a little scene just now which is worth recording. A country cart was rumbling down the street with two wounded officers—young men—on their way to the station. An officer on foot beckoned to the driver to stop, and went up to the cart, the occupants of which tried to salute him, but he made a gesture, and, leaning over, entered into conversation with them for ten minutes, evidently asking **after** their wounds. On parting, he shook each by the hand, and continued his way up the street, accompanied by two other officers. He halted at my quarters and inquired if there were any wounded inside—they had been removed, some to their last resting place—then went on, and, meeting a cart full of wounded soldiers, talked to them each in turn, and so went on, visiting the hospitals and the wounded in the most unostentatious manner. It was the Crown Prince. No wonder his men are fond of him. Many did not know him till he had passed on. He told how the soldiers, one and all, seemed to rejoice in their wounds, and make light of them for the sake of the cause; and there was an honest exultation in his tone at the honor of commanding such troops."

PRINCE FREDERICK CHARLES.

NEXT to Von Moltke, the ablest of the Prussian Generals is Princee Frederiek Charles Alexander, the son of Princee Charles, and nephew of the Emperor William I. His mother was a daughter of the late Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar. He was born at Berlin on the 20th of Mareh, 1828. He entered the military service of the kingdom at the age of ten, and was regularly and thoroughly instructed in his profession. The greater part of his military education was eondueted by General Von Roon, after which he passed under the eare of Von Moltke, with whom he was a favorite pupil. He showed great fondness for military studies from the commencement of his eareer, and often during his boyhood was reprimanded for passing entire nights in study, the history of the campaigns of Frederiek the Great being his favorite text book.

He first saw active service on the staff of General Von Wrangel, during the first war with Denmark in 1848, and attracted considerable attention by his gallantry. He accompanied his unele, the present Emperor, during the campaign of 1849 in Baden, and was seriously wounded in Wiesenthal. After the return of peace he resumed his military studies, and prosecuted them with ardor for fourteen years, acquiring a high reputation in the army for professional knowledge and tactical skill. In 1857, he married the Princeess Marie Louise Alexandrine, the daughter of the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, by whom he has several children.

At the outbreak of the Schleswig-Holstein War, in 1864, he was given the command of the Prussian troops sent to coöperate with the Austrians against Denmark. He was defeated before Missunde, where he was wounded, but more than atoned for this reverse by the capture of the great Danish stronghold of Düppel. Here he led the last assault in person, himself bearing the colors of the regiment of the Guards which first entered the Danish works. He defeated the Danes in several other engagements, and brought the war to a successful close in the fall of 1864.

When war was declared against Austria in 1866, Princee Frederiek Charles was placed in eommand of the 1st army. He got his troops in readiness to mareh with remarkable eelerity, and on the 23d of June crossed the border, issuing his famous order of the day to his troops :—"May your hearts beat toward God, and your fists upon the enemy." He marched promptly against the Austrians, defeating them at Liebenau, Turnau, Podol, Münchengrätz, and Gitschin, and drove them back into the interior of Bohemia. The Austrians now

took up a formidable position on the heights beyond Bistritz, and Prince Frederick Charles, having decided to attack them, sent a message to his cousin, the Crown Prince, to hasten to his assistance. Without waiting for the arrival of the 2d army, he attacked the enemy at Sadowa on the morning of the 2d of July. The Austrians were well posted, and though the Prussians fought desperately, they were unable to carry the hostile position until the Crown Prince, with the 2d army, reached the field, turned the Austrian flank, and decided the day. This great victory closed the war.

Although General Von Moltke had directed the general operations of the campaign, Frederick Charles had shown great generalship in the execution of the task assigned him, and he was from this time regarded as one of the first soldiers in Europe.

The experience of the campaign had shown the Prince serious defects in the splendid military system of Prussia, and at the close of the war he endeavored to induce the military authorities of the kingdom to lend their aid to certain reforms which he proposed. He was unsuccessful in this attempt, and thereupon embodied his views in a pamphlet which he published anonymously at Frankfort. This brochure attracted universal attention throughout Europe, and convinced the Prussian Government that the reforms which it advocated were indeed needed. Von Moltke cordially endorsed the views of the writer, and the result was a conference between the great soldier and the Prince. The Prince succeeded in impressing his old master with the importance of his scheme, the King and the Minister of War were won over to its support, and the order was given to commence the execution of the improvements which have made the Prussian Army the finest in the world.

On the breaking out of hostilities with France, the Prince was given the command of the 2d army, the largest of the German forces. It numbered 190,000 infantry, 24,200 cavalry, and 672 guns, and consisted of the Guards, the First, Second, Third, Fourth, and Tenth Prussian Corps, and the Eleventh and Twelfth Saxon Corps.

We have already related the career of the Prince during the war, and have noted his promotion to the rank of Field Marshal after the capture of Metz.

PRINCE VON BISMARCK-SCHÖNHAUSEN

HARL OTTO VON BISMARCK was born at Schönhausen, in the Province of Saxony, on the 1st of April, 1814. He was of an ancient and noble family, the members of which had done the Prussian and the Saxon States much service in their day. He was designed for the legal profession, and was educated at Gottingen, Berlin, and Greifswald. He obtained the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and then entered the army for a while, in accordance with the Prussian law, serving first in the light infantry, and afterward as an officer of the Landwehr.

Many stories are told of his college life, and these represent him as a fair type of the German student. He drank beer by the gallon, smoked tobacco by the pound, fought duels, broke windows and street lamps, beat the citizens, and did all things else considered necessary to a high position in the student world. His exploits are a part of the traditions of Gottingen, and are related by the collegians with great gusto.

Being invited to a ball upon one occasion, he ordered a pair of new boots; but, on the day before the time appointed for the ball, he received notice that the boots would not be ready. Instead of submitting to his fate and going to the ball in old boots, or staying away altogether, Bismarck went down to the cobbler, taking with him two enormous and ferocious dogs, which he assured the frightened Crispin should inevitably tear him in pieces if the boots were not ready by the following morning. Not satisfied with this threat, he hired a man, who paraded the dogs before the cobbler's shop all through the day, and occasionally reminded the luckless man of his perplexing predicament, by saying, "Unfortunate shoemaker, thou art doomed to death by the dogs unless Herr Bismarck's boots be finished." With a sigh, the poor shoemaker told his wife he must work all night; and so Bismarck got his boots in time for the ball.

After the usual term of military service, Bismarck began his diplomatic career, and a characteristic anecdote is told of his first effort to secure patronage for himself. He had been promised a position by a Minister of State, upon whom he waited by appointment, and by whom he was kept waiting for an hour and a half. When the Minister appeared, the young man responded to his inquiry as to what he required, by saying, "One hour and a half ago I wanted an audience; now I decline it." He did not forget the insult thus offered to his dignity; but when, by other channels, he had risen to power, and the Minister who had intentionally or unintentionally wounded his feelings, was

himself in a subordinate position, he readily forgave the old grudge, and took no advantage of their altered circumstances.

On the decease of his father, Bismarck resigned his Government appointment, and retired to his estates. In 1846 he became a member of the Diet of Saxony, and in 1847 a member of the General Diet, in which he made himself a marked man by the boldness of his speeches. On one occasion he argued that all great cities should be swept away from the face of the earth, because they were the centres of democracy and constitutionalism. In 1848 he was a bitter opponent of the popular cause, and a staunch supporter of absolutism in the Government.

In 1851, he entered the diplomatic service of Prussia, and was placed in charge of the Legation at Frankfort. In 1852 he was made Ambassador to Vienna, where, in pursuance of his policy of regarding Austria as the antagonist of Prussia, he proved a constant adversary to Count Rechberg. In 1858 a pamphlet, entitled, "*La Prusse et la Question Italienne*," appeared, the authorship of which was generally attributed to him. In this publication reference was made to the antagonism existing between Austria and Prussia, and a triple alliance between France, Prussia and Russia was advocated. In 1855, when the Crimean war was just opening, Bismarck was called to the Upper Chamber of the Prussian Legislature, and in 1859 he was sent as Ambassador to St. Petersburg, where he remained until 1862, and, having won the favor of the Czar, was decorated with the order of St. Alexander Newski. In May, 1862, he was appointed Ambassador to Paris, where he received from the Emperor Napoleon III. the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor. On the 22d of September of that year he was recalled to Prussia and made Minister of the King's House and of Foreign Affairs, and President of the Council of Ministers.

The budget having been rejected by the Deputies, but adopted by the Upper Chamber, Bismarck, in the name of the King, dissolved the former after an angry contest with them. The newspapers which protested against this arbitrary act were prosecuted with great severity, as were numerous public officials, magistrates, and others, who openly expressed views hostile to the Government. In January, 1863, he protested against an address which the Deputies presented to the King, in which he was accused of having violated the Constitution. A little later, fresh trouble was caused by the affairs of Poland. The Chamber of Deputies, by a majority of five to one, censured the Ministry for having concluded (February 8th) a secret treaty with Russia.

Bismarck was an ardent advocate of the war against Denmark on the question of the Elbe Duchies; and that struggle having been brought to a successful close, he exerted himself to produce a rupture between Prussia and Austria, his avowed object being to drive the

latter power out of Germany and make Prussia the real head of the German race. He was successful in his efforts, and by the brilliant war of 1866 accomplished all that he desired for his country. He accompanied the King through the campaign, and it is said that at Sadowa he was the only man sanguine of success during the critical two hours which preceded the arrival of the Crown Prince.

During his contest with the Prussian liberals, an attempt was made to assassinate him in the principal promenade of Berlin. "He was walking along the Linden when he heard a shot fired near to him, to which he paid no attention. A second shot within a few feet caused him to turn around, and he realized the situation. Nothing but quickness and resolution saved the Count's life at that period. The assassin was only a yard or two off, his finger on the trigger for the third shot; Bismarck sprang upon him, seized him by the shoulders, and, as the pistol exploded for the third time, violently whirled him half round, so that the shot just grazed by, and so for two more shots. Half paralyzing the man by the force of his grasp, he jerked him from side to side, and finally threw him on the pavement. It all happened in three seconds—the police came, the man was carried off, and Bismarck went his way."

In so far as it is the work of any one man, the unity of Germany under Prussian leadership may be said to be the work of Bismarck, who was created a Count on the 16th of September, 1865. For this object he has worked without thought of self, his severe labors so prostrating his powerful physical organization that he has several times been brought to the verge of the grave. Even those who condemn his course are forced to admit that it has been thoroughly disinterested as regards himself, and that he sought nothing but the harmonious consolidation of Germany in a system strong enough to secure prosperity at home, and to exercise a controlling power in European politics. Even his bitter hostility to the Liberals had no other object in view. In summing up his policy after the war of 1866, he said to an American gentleman a few years ago:

"The result of the war is to make it possible that Prussia should be a nation capable of governing herself. She fought for defence, for her own existence, and for Germany. Some people fancied it possible to unite Germany by speeches at Frankfort, but there were only two things which could make a Germany—a war, or a revolution. Had Prussia not been able to lead the movement, she was likely to have been broken in pieces territorially, and Bavaria, or Saxony would have had as much control in German politics as Prussia, while in European politics she might have been no better than another Belgium. The nationality of Prussia lay in her army. With the army as it was in 1859, it would have been impossible to fight. Two-thirds

of her force was comprised in the Landwehr, unavailable for instant necessities, and the ranks were filled with men who had families and wished no war. It was necessary to break that up. I believe that the Liberal party of Prussia now sees that a policy has been pursued during the last four years tending steadily to one end, and that the means employed were, if not the only, at least a sure method of reaching it. They clearly see that it was impossible to make such explanations as might have removed the necessity for the conflict I was obliged to carry on against them. I rejoice at their cordial acquiescence in the results that have been achieved, and that their assurance of good will and support are sincere I heartily believe. On my part the feeling is cordial. The King's speech was sincere, and his desire to be on good terms with the Liberals is a genuine one, and I trust will continue."

The formation of the North German Confederation was the result of the war with Austria, and of this Confederation Count Bismarck was made Chancellor. Two objects claimed his best efforts now, apart from the purely domestic policy of Prussia—to secure the union of the South German States with the North, and to prepare Germany for the war with France, which his sagacious mind knew to be close at hand. We have seen how thoroughly successful he has been in each effort. To an American gentleman who congratulated him at the moment of the surrender at Sedan, on "having contributed so largely to the day's victory," he said:

"I am no strategist, and have nothing to do with the winning of battles. What I am proud of is that the Bavarians, the Saxons, the Würtembergers, have not only been on our side, but have had so large a share—the largest share—in the glory of the day; that they are with us, and not against us. *That is my doing.*"

Upon the outbreak of the war with France, Bismarck took the field with the King, and remained with him during the war. We have already recorded his conduct during the struggle. Upon the formation of the German Empire, he was made its Chancellor, and at the close of the war was created a Prince of the German Empire. His personal appearance is thus described by the correspondent of the New York *Tribune*, who visited him in September, 1866:

"There are a few small photographs of Bismarck, none good, and a big lithograph that is smoothed and softened into a simpering primness as unlike the original as possible. You are at once reminded of Cromwell's fierce demand that he should be painted as he was: 'If you leave out a single wart or wrinkle, I will not give you a shilling.' Cromwell's face certainly was not a beautiful one, and Lely, if Lely it were, might be excused; but Bismarck's face is a far better one than any of the pictures make it. Not regular at all,

scored with deep lines, brows and eyebrows heavy, gray eyes, full, large, and well apart, with cavernous dark circles underneath, mouth much hidden under the moustache, the jaw not square but strong, the head of extreme breadth at the temples, and rising dome-shaped, high in the air. The pictures do not show it fully, because the brow is wide and high, but the head is something like that of Pericles, for whom the wits of Athens were never tired of inventing nicknames to describe its helmet shape. The craniologists will be happy to find herein an illustration of their theories; there is no denying that both Pericles and Bismarck were men in whom revolution was a prominent trait. It is shown in every line of his face, not less than by the great arch of the skull. The countenance is genial as well as resolute; the mouth breaks readily into a smile, and the eyes greet you with honest welcome, and have sunlight in them. Head and face are carried erect, rather more than six feet from the ground, on broad, square shoulders; chest of great depth; rest of the figure muscular and elastic. The diplomatist is a soldier as well; and the military bearing is conspicuous. Over all is the air of good birth and breeding, which is natural to one whose ancestry goes back 500 years. No collection of details suffices to convey any notion of the sense of *power* with which one is impressed at first, and which is never lost."

The following extract from *The Graphic* (London) accompanies an illustration of an incident of the Count's sojourn at Versailles, with which we conclude this sketch:

"After leaving the hospital, I saw a pleasant sight, all the more pleasant that it had nothing bloodthirsty or warlike about it. It was simply a big Prussian Landwehrman, bluff, hearty, broad-shouldered, and with a pleasant face, shaking hands with a little French maid, who seemed to be taken with his frank look, and who was evidently as ignorant of what they were fighting for, or with whom they were fighting with, and all about the war, as Peterkin in the ballad. The Prussian Landwehrman was no other than that great bugbear, Von Bismarck, the ogre of the French nursery, as Bonaparte used to be the ogre of ours; and yet he did not seem at all so disposed to eat this tender morsel of flesh, as to be consistent with his reputation he should have done. I don't know whether the little maid knew the big gentleman's name. Perhaps she will grow up to be a woman in ignorance that she ever clasped hands with the great enemy of her race."

GENERAL COUNT VON MOLTKE.

MELMUTH CHARLES BERNARD COUNT VON MOLTKE, Chief of the Staff to the Prussian Army, was born at Gnewitz, in Mecklenburg, October 26th 1800. Shortly after his birth, his father purchased an estate in the Danish Duchy of Holstein, where he passed his childhood. At the age of twelve, he was sent with an elder brother to the Land Cadet Academy at Copenhagen. When he was twenty-two he entered the Prussian military service after a severe examination. He was the youngest second-lieutenant in the 8th regiment of foot-guards, then stationed at Frankfort-on-the-Oder. The corps was commanded at the time by General Von Marwick, whose wife was by birth a Countess Von Moltke. This circumstance was of considerable benefit to young Von Moltke, whose means were confined to his pay. His father had lost all his property by the war, and was unable to make him any allowance. The young man was very anxious to study the modern languages, and to do this he had to save the means out of his scanty pay as an officer, but he practised the closest economy, and succeeded in accomplishing his object. He is an extraordinarily taciturn man, and it has been wittily said of him that he knows how to hold his tongue in eight languages. He speedily made his mark as an able and energetic officer, and was placed on the staff in 1832, and in 1835 was promoted to the rank of Captain. While still a Lieutenant he was given the direction of the School of Division, the duties of which he discharged so well that he was attached to a commission under General Von Müffling, and assigned to the duty of making surveys of Posen and Silesia.

In 1835 he was sent to Turkey, with four other Captains, to organize the Turkish army on the Prussian model. This work was not attended with success, however, as the Turkish troops would not submit to Prussian discipline. In 1838-39 he made an extensive tour through Asia Minor, traversing that country to the extent of some four or five thousand English miles on horseback. He made a number of sketches, and on his return to Europe contributed much valuable information concerning the geography of that province. The famous geographer Ritter has used these sketches, and has compared them with the accounts of Alexander the Great's campaigns, with the travels of Marco Polo, and with the accounts of the Crusades. He traced the Euphrates from its source to the sea, sailing down that stream like Xenophon upon inflated sheep skins. His residence in Turkey led to the preparation of his historical work on "The Russo-Turkish Expedition—1828-9." He has himself pronounced this work

a failure, but it has received high praise from competent military critics.

He returned from Asia Minor to Europe in 1839. In 1840, he married Fraulein Von Burt from Holstein, and was made a Major in the 4th Corps d'Armée. In 1845 he was appointed Aide-de-camp to Prince Henry of Prussia (uncle to the Emperor William), who had embraced the Roman Catholic faith, and was living in Rome, a helpless invalid. Von Moltke made careful studies of Rome and a number of drawings, some of which have been engraved, during his residence in that city.

Having brought back the dead body of Prince Henry to Prussia, he was ordered to Magdeburg in 1848, as Chief of the General Staff of his corps. In 1850 he was made Lieutenant-Colonel; in 1851, Colonel; in 1856 Major-General; and in 1859 Lieutenant-General. He directed the final studies of the present Crown Prince and Prince Frederick Charles, and in 1859 was appointed Aide-de-camp to the Crown Prince. He accompanied him to England, and was present at his betrothal to the Princess Royal of Great Britain. "He was with the Crown Prince in Breslau for a year, and accompanied him twice to England, first on the occasion of his marriage, and next on the occasion of the funeral of the Princess Consort. He was appointed Chief of the General Staff. In that position it fell to his lot to inspect the whole of the northern coast, to arrange a system of defence which might be applied to all States bordering on the sea. Nothing, however, was done at that time. The German Diet voted against every Prussian proposition, and were especially averse to the idea of a German fleet being put under Prussian direction. In the Danish war he was in command of the general staff, after the storming of Düppel, and he projected the attack on Alsen and the occupation of Jütland. His reputation was now considerably extended; but few men even in Germany knew that in the 'man in spectacles' the country possessed her best General and highest strategist.

"In the Danish war Moltke had been fully satisfied respecting the needle-gun, the new arm that was to be used with terrific effect against the Austrians. It was the first occasion on which the breech-loading weapon was used, which was to be employed with such deadly effect at Sadowa; which the Austrian Government, despite warning admonitions, had treated with contempt. In 1866 the Prussians used the new arm. In that year the Prussians showed that they had not watched unattentively the Italian campaign and the American war. In that year they brought into use the new military organization which M. de Bismarck, in a high-handed unconstitutional way, and against the wishes of the Chambers, had brought to perfection. Von Moltke afterwards, in a speech made in the Chamber of the North

German Union, showed that the grand total of men called to arms was 664,000. Then, as now, Prussia had the preponderance of men, as Austria was obliged to keep large forces south of the Alps. Nearly the whole of the *regular* army, eight and a half of the nine *corps d'armée*, amounting to nearly 300,000 men, were placed at the disposition of Von Moltke. All the lines of railway were simultaneously used for the transport of the great army. What Moltke aimed at was the *distribution* of his forces over the different theatres of the war, and their *union* on the battle-field. The problem was to bring this great army over the mountains, and to unite them before the enemy. The territories were overrun of Hanover, Hesse Cassel, and Nassau, all favoring Austria, and which, being interposed between the Westphalian and Rhenish provinces, might cut off communication between the lower Rhine and Berlin. The commencement of the war was made by advancing the armies of Breslau and Berlin through the enemy's country, and effecting their combination by forcing the enemy back. Moltke's characteristic tactics were seen on the field of Sadowa. His army had a front of four miles—so wide a front that he could not withstand an attack; but he turned this disadvantage to an advantage, by making an aggressive onward movement, by which he was able to concentrate all his divisions on the battle-field and surround the enemy. Only once did Moltke appear in the front at Sadowa. He had fully mastered the lessons afforded the staff by the American war, of combining the most distant field operations by the means of the electric telegraph. Seated at his desk in the rear, he received through the field telegraph a stream of intelligence from all the corps, followed their movements on the map, transmitted his orders through the wires, with such masterly strategic power that not a movement failed, and all the combinations were made at the right moment."

At the close of the war Von Moltke was appointed, together with Count Bismarck, a Minister Plenipotentiary of Prussia, for negotiations with the South German States, and was decorated with the Order of the Black Eagle, the highest honor of the kind within the gift of the King of Prussia. After the war he steadily resisted the efforts of the Liberals to reduce the term of service in the Prussian army from three to two years. He said in the Chambers, in 1867: "During the last year we made some 50,000 prisoners. Our own loss in missing amounted, on the other hand, only to 3000 men, of whom probably but a small proportion were taken prisoners. How are we to account for the enormous difference? I can only ascribe it to the duration of the service. . . . The instinct of hanging together under all circumstances cannot be *drilled* into a man; it must be the habit of his life."

In 1867, believing war with France to be inevitable, he is said to have accompanied the Crown Prince in a tour through the country along the frontier from Strasbourg to Metz, Von Moltke travelling as a Professor of Geology and the Prince as his pupil. Their real object was to acquaint themselves thoroughly with the French frontier, of which they made careful and minute surveys.

When the war actually broke out, the great genius of Von Moltke shone forth conspicuously, and at the first was entirely directed to the task of placing the German army in the field. He is said to have declared that if the French delayed their advance to the Rhine to the 23d of July, they should never see it. We know the result of his efforts. During the latter part of the war he was created a Count for his services, which, it must be confessed, was a very inadequate reward.

He is a man of imposing appearance, and of simple and modest disposition. He is reserved and taciturn in his manners, and fully appreciates the value of silence. When he speaks, however, his language, though brief, is forcible and to the point.

THE CROWN PRINCE OF SAXONY.

DURING the war of 1866 between Prussia and Austria, the forces of the Kingdom of Saxony fought against Prussia at Gitschin and Sadowa. In consequence of the intervention of France at the close of the war, Saxony was spared the fate of complete suppression which befell Hanover, Hesse Cassel, and Nassau, the other allies of Austria in that struggle. This was the second time France had secured the maintenance of the independence of Saxony. By the treaty of Prague, concluded between Prussia and Austria, with the mediation of France, the independence of Saxony is secured; but its strong fortress of Königstein, on the Elbe, was ceded to Prussia; and the Saxon army was included in the forces of the North German Confederation, under the command of the King of Prussia.

At the outbreak of the war with France, in 1870, the Saxon forces took the field under the command of the Crown Prince of Saxony, Frederick Augustus Albert, who was born on the 23d of April, 1828. He is the son of John I., of Saxony, and his mother was a daughter of the late King Maximilian of Bavaria. He is married to a daughter of Prince Gustavus Vassa.

The Saxons formed a part of the 2d army, under Prince Frederick Charles, until after the battle of Gravelotte. When the 4th German

army, consisting of the Prussian Guards, the Fourth Prussian Corps, and the Saxons, was formed to cooperate with Crown Prince Fritz in the movement against Chalons, the command was given to the Saxon Crown Prince, who proved himself a gallant soldier and an able commander. We have related the conduct of this army at Beaumont and Sedan, and before Paris.

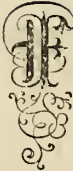
GENERAL VON ROON.

THOUGH not an independent commander, the Prussian Minister of War played too prominent a part in the history of the great conflict we have been considering to be omitted from this list of sketches.

Albrecht Von Roon was born on the 30th of April, 1803, and his boyhood was passed during the invasion and conquest of his country by Napoleon I. He was educated at the Cadet School in Berlin, and in 1821 entered the army. He continued to prosecute his studies with ardor, passed through the general military school, and was made instructor of cadets. In 1832 he was with the army of observation during the siege of Antwerp, and was afterwards promoted to the staff, with the rank of captain. He passed through the various grades, winning credit in each one, and in 1859 was made Lieutenant-General, having in the meantime discharged several important trusts. On the 16th of April, 1861, he was appointed Minister of Marine, and in December of the same year was transferred to the war office as its head. Here he devoted himself to the reorganization of the Prussian army, and rendered good service in that task which engaged so many great minds. He gave to Bismarck a hearty support in his conflict with the Chambers. Their policy being to reorganize the army under the Constitution if possible, in spite of it if necessary. The Austrian campaign of 1866 vindicated the course of Von Roon and those with whom he had acted. No better man could have been placed in the war office, and the manner in which he has discharged its onerous duties during two great wars, never failing in any particular, stamps him as an officer of rare abilities, unequalled in his particular field during the present century.

General Von Roon is also a writer of distinction. He has published several military works which are held in high esteem, particularly those upon military geography. He directed the principal part of the military education of Prince Frederick Charles, and is said to be very proud of the fame of the great soldier who was once his pupil.

GENERAL VON STEINMETZ.


REDERICK VON STEINMETZ, "the Lion of Skalitz," was born in 1796. At the age of ten he was sent to a military school, where he exhibited such marked talent that at the age of sixteen he was ordered to Berlin, and appointed to the corps of General York, which on the advance of Napoleon into Russia had formed part of the Prussian contingent, and had been placed under the command of Macdonald. When the terrible retreat from Moscow determined Prussia upon resistance to Napoleon, General York promptly entered into a convention with the Russian general, Wittgenstein, at Taurogen, and broke off the alliance with the French. The war of liberation followed, in which young Steinmetz had a fair share of the fighting. At Königswarth he had one of his fingers shattered by a ball, and was severely wounded in the thigh; but in spite of these injuries he went through the battle of Bautzen, serving through the fight on horseback, as he was unable to walk. He continued with the army, and was present at Dresden, Leipsic, and every battle in which the Prussian forces were engaged until the occupation of Paris by the allies, in which he participated.

During the peace which followed the downfall of Napoleon, Von Steinmetz devoted himself to the study of his profession, and was promoted to the rank of captain, and finally appointed to the staff. In 1850, differences having arisen between Prussia and Austria, respecting the electorate of Hesse, he was sent to Cassel as commandant of the place. He was very anxious to take the field in the war with Denmark, in 1864, having been promoted to the grade of General, but he was assigned to duty elsewhere.

At the opening of the war with Austria he was given the command of the Fifth Army Corps, and assigned to the army of the Crown Prince, ranking next to the Prince, who was his intimate friend. During this campaign he fought three battles in four days, in each of which he was victorious. During the whole war he was never unsuccessful. At Skalitz he engaged an Austrian force of twice his own strength, and inflicted upon it so signal a defeat that his soldiers named him "the Lion of Skalitz."

When the order was given to take the field against France in 1870, General Von Steinmetz was placed in command of the 1st army, and it was his troops that won the battle of Forbach, and carried the rugged heights of Spicheren. He fought the battle of Courcelles, and took part in the battles of Vionville and Gravelotte. After the investment of Metz he was relieved of the command of the 1st army and made Governor of Silesia.

GENERAL VON MANTEUFFEL.

 EDWIN HANS CHARLES, BARON VON MANTEUFFEL, was born at Magdeburg, on the 24th of February, 1809. At the age of seventeen he entered the dragoons of the guard, was made an officer two years later, and in 1848 became Aide-de-camp to the King of Prussia. In 1854 he was promoted to the rank of Colonel, after which he was assigned several important diplomatic missions, which he discharged with credit. In 1857, he was made chief of the personal staff of the Minister of War, and in 1858 was appointed Grand Chamberlain of the King's household, and Lieutenant-General and Adjutant-General. While holding these positions, he fought a duel with a counsellor of the tribunal of Twisten, in consequence of a pamphlet which the latter had written. This affair caused much excitement at the time.

After the Convention of Gastein, he was made Civil and Military Governor of Schleswig. During the conflict between Austria and Prussia, in 1866, he led the Prussian troops and defeated the Austrian Governor of Holstein. After this he was sent into Hanover as commander of a division in the army of General Vogel von Falckenstein. When that General was called into Bohemia, Manteuffel took command of the Army of the Main, in July, 1866. He was charged with the operations against the South German States, and conducted them with great vigor. He levied a forced loan of thirty millions of florins on the city of Frankfort, which the magistrates refused to pay, preferring to submit themselves to pillage, and on the 23d of July marched to the Tauber. On the 24th, he defeated the Baden troops near Werbach, and the combined troops of Austria, Würtemberg, Nassau, and Hesse, near Bischofsheim. On the 25th, he defeated the whole of the Eighth Corps of the Federal Army at Gerchsheim, and the Bavarians at Helmstadt. On the 27th, he halted before Würzburg and commenced the bombardment of the Marienberg. By these rapid successes he was able with his small force to prevent the South German States from sending assistance to Austria, and to pave the way for the absorption of some of the smaller States by Prussia. He ruled the city of Frankfort, as Governor, with a despotic sway, and was cordially hated by the inhabitants. At the close of the war, he was sent by the King to St. Petersburg to induce the Emperor of Russia to take a favorable view of the reorganization of Germany under the supremacy of Prussia.

At the opening of the war with France, he was placed in command of the First Army Corps. His victorious career in the north and east of France has been already related.

NAPOLEON III., EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH.

CHARLES LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE is the third son of Louis Bonaparte, the youngest brother of the Great Napoleon, and at one time King of Holland, and of Hortense Beauharnais, the only daughter of the Empress Josephine, by her first husband. He was born at Paris on the 20th of April, 1808, and is consequently in his sixty-fourth year. He is the only French sovereign ever born at Paris, and was the first Prince of the Napoleon dynasty born under the Empire; and the announcement of his birth was greeted with salutes of artillery from Paris to the remotest post held by the Grand Army. He was baptized with great pomp by his relative, Cardinal Fesch, at Fontainebleau, in 1810, his sponsors being the Emperor Napoleon I. and the Empress Marie Louise. His early years were passed amidst the falling fortunes of his house, and his boyhood and early manhood in exile. He saw but little of his father in consequence of a separation between his parents, but received the constant and watchful care of one of the best of mothers. He was studious, quiet, and thoughtful beyond his years. He was generous to a fault, and there are several well authenticated stories of the marked degree in which this trait developed itself during his childhood.

Upon one occasion, having been forbidden by his tutor to go beyond the walls of his mother's garden, he was seen making his way to his room without coat, hat, or shoes, although the snow lay on the ground. He was endeavoring to avoid observation when he was discovered by his mother, who at once demanded to know the cause of his strange plight. After considerable urging, he told her that he had seen a poor family go by the garden-gate, in great destitution, and had given his hat to one of the poor children, his coat to another, and his shoes to the third.

Upon reaching manhood, he was the possessor of an excellent education, and excelled in athletic sports. Soon after this he became engaged in the Roman revolt of 1830, and showed such high military talent that he was given an important command. His father, wishing to draw him from the revolt, set to work to neutralize his influence, and succeeded in doing so. The outbreak proved a failure, and those concerned in it were obliged to seek safety in flight. Louis Napoleon lost his elder brother by sickness in the attempt to escape, and was with great difficulty gotten out of Italy by his mother. Being anxious to return to his native country, he asked permission to dwell in France, but was refused by the government of Louis Philippe, which feared to allow the heir of the Great Emperor to

return to the people who loved him so well. Condemned thus to unmerited exile, he went with his mother to Switzerland, where he resided with her for several years, devoting himself to study and athletic pursuits. He was a great favorite with the Swiss, and received from them many proofs of their high regard for him. He achieved an enviable reputation as an author, during his residence here, by the publication of several works of high character. He was offered the hand of the young Queen of Portugal, but declined it.

In his twenty-eighth year he made his first effort to retrieve the fortunes of his family and win back the crown that had been wrested from his uncle by the combined world. He had every reason to believe that he would be successful. Louis Philippe and his ministers constantly exhibited the greatest fear of him, proving by their conduct the popularity of his cause with the nation; and he was given proofs innumerable that the French people not only would sustain him in an effort to drive out the Bourbons, but were anxious for him to make the attempt. In 1836 he made his famous effort at Strasbourg. He was unsuccessful, and was captured, and, without trial, was hurried out of the country to America. He remained here only a short time, and then went back to Europe in time to stand by the death-bed of the mother he loved so tenderly. He remained in Switzerland until the French Government threatened that country with war if it did not expel him. The Swiss would have stood by him to the last, and even went so far as to take up arms in his defence, but he generously removed all cause for hostilities by voluntarily abandoning his home and retiring to England. There he devoted himself to literary pursuits, and in August, 1840, made a second attempt, this time at Boulogne, to get possession of the French throne. He was again unsuccessful, and was made a prisoner. He was tried before a court composed of his enemies, and sentenced to imprisonment. The Government was anxious to condemn him to death, but was too well convinced that the people would not permit such a step to venture upon it. The Prince was, therefore, sent to the Castle of Ham, a gloomy old fortress of the Middle Ages, where he remained a prisoner for nearly six years. In May, 1846, he effected his escape in a marvellous manner, and succeeded in reaching England.

Upon the organization of the Republic of 1848, Louis Napoleon was elected by several departments to a seat in the National Assembly. The extreme Republicans, or Socialists, who were as much his enemies as the Bourbons had been, endeavored to embarrass him, and even to arrest him in order to prevent his taking his seat, but the popular will was too strong to be resisted, and he passed over from England to France, and entered upon his duties. He was soon after elected

President of the French Republic by a majority of more than 3,500,000 of votes over all his rivals. He was duly installed in his office, but harassed and vexed with a factious opposition which crippled France and paralyzed all its resources. As the only means of saving the country from ruin, he inaugurated a series of measures, commencing on the 2d of December, 1851, by which he overthrew the National Assembly and its supporters, and secured all the power to himself. He appealed to the people to pass judgment on his conduct, and they replied by electing him President for ten years, with increased powers; and soon after raised him to the throne of France by the largest popular vote ever polled in the country. The Empire was established on the 1st of December, 1852, and the next day the Emperor made his public entrée into Paris, and took up his residence at the Tuileries. In January, 1853, he married the young and beautiful Countess of Téba, by whom he has had one son, born in March, 1856.

The leading events in the reign of Napoleon III. may be summed up as follows: the reëstablishment of order and industry in France, the elevation of his country to the highest state of material prosperity it has ever known, the maintenance of that condition for twenty years, the exaltation of France to the first place in Europe, which he kept for it for twenty years, the war with Russia, the liberation of Italy, the unsuccessful attempt to conquer Mexico, the war with Germany, in 1870, and the overthrow of the Empire.

The career of the Emperor from the commencement of the difficulties with Prussia has been related. After his arrival at Wilhelmshoe, he lived in great seclusion, yet occasionally receiving visitors. He still regards himself as the rightful Sovereign of France, the people having never revoked the authority which they conferred upon him, and declares that they will ere long summon him to return to his throne. He was a keen observer of the events of the war, and was profoundly afflicted not only by the sufferings of his country, but by the individual misfortunes of his countrymen. His first effort after the close of the war was to endeavor to secure for the soldiers who had fought with him at Sedan the proper reward of their services. Concerning his return to power he thus expressed himself to the correspondent of the *New York Herald* during a visit of the latter to Wilhelmshoe:

“When I consider the uncertainty lurking on the road to such an aim, when I consider the vast impediments to be removed, I really feel but little ambition. I would rather be independent. I would rather be as I now am—a prisoner—and never step again on French soil.”


“But with regard to your Majesty’s interest as a father,” it was said, “you must be naturally desirous of bequeathing your throne to your promising son, and thus upholding the dynasty.”

"No," the Emperor replied, with much manifest emotion, "not even for him could I wish it. I love him too much to desire for him the chances of such dread uncertainty. If these cannot be avoided, he would be far happier in private life, without the overwhelming responsibilities attaching to such a station."

Having experienced both adversity and good fortune, the Emperor is not the man to place an unreal value upon life, or to underestimate its duties. The firmness with which he has supported his misfortunes is equalled by the dignity with which he has borne his honors. No misfortune could crush him, and no success unduly elate him. He has never spared himself, and he is naturally exacting of those who work with him. Yet he is kind and generous to his friends, and merciful to his enemies. He has but two great passions—his country and his little family. He is very feeble in health, but is, perhaps, the most industrious man, the hardest worker in Europe. His disposition is said to be wonderfully cheerful and hopeful, even amidst the severest trials and sufferings.

He has one consolation in the midst of his reverses, that he has striven to do his duty to his country, and when the passions of the day shall have subsided we may be sure the still small voice of history will proclaim this man, so much over-praised by friends and so unjustly denounced by enemies, the best and the wisest ruler that has ever governed France.

EUGÉNIE, EMPRESS OF THE FRENCH.

UGENIE MARIE DE GUZMAN, Countess of Téba, was born at Malaga on the 5th of May, 1826. She was the daughter of the Count de Montijo, a descendant of the royal house of Aragon, and Donna Maria Manuela Kirkpatrick, a descendant of the famous Scotch family of that name. After a few years of married life, the Count de Montijo died, leaving a fortune to his widow and two daughters, one of whom married the Duke of Alba and Berwick, lineally descended from James II. and Miss Churchhill. For Eugénie a still higher destiny was reserved.

"Blending in her person the blood of the English and Spanish races, she is said to blend in her character the best qualities of both nations. Her excellent mother secured for her a finished education. As she matured, she developed extraordinary loveliness of person, brightness of intellect, and all those social charms which can captivate the heart. Speaking English, Spanish, and French with equal

fluency, the distinguished of all countries gathered around her, and were alike fascinated with her beauty, her amiability, and her sparkling intelligence. 'Her beauty was delicate and fair, from her English ancestry; whilst her grace was all Spanish, and her wit all French.'

"One of Eugénie's aunts had married a cousin, an English gentleman, who subsequently became a banker in Paris. Soon after the accession of Louis Napoleon to power, Eugénie, with the title of Countess de Téba, accompanying her mother, the Countess de Montijo, visited the French metropolis.

"Instantly the young Spanish beauty attracted attention and admiration. She was introduced to the court, and at once was recognized as one of its most conspicuous ornaments. She had been religiously educated, scrupulously conforming her conduct to the doctrines and the rites of the Catholic church, in whose communion she had been born, and in whose tenets she had been thoroughly instructed. Her character had ever been that of an earnest and devout Christian. 'There is not one well authenticated adventure which can be told to her disadvantage.'"

The beauty and accomplishments of the young Countess at once attracted the attention of Napoleon, and it was soon rumored that she was to share his throne. This rumor was confirmed on the 22d of January, 1853, by the official announcement by the Emperor to the Senate of his approaching marriage.

The civil marriage of the Emperor and the Countess of Téba was celebrated at the Tuileries on the 29th of January, 1853, and the religious ceremonies took place the next day (Sunday) at Notre Dame, the archbishop of Paris performing the ceremony.

Besides winning one of the most beautiful women in Paris, the Emperor found a good wife. In private life the Empress had set a noble example in all the womanly virtues to the people of her country. She has been a good wife and mother, and has gained a hold upon the affections of the French people which is said to be stronger even than that possessed by the Emperor himself. Her devotion to her family is her strongest feeling. Upon one occasion, when an attempt was made to assassinate the Emperor and herself, she exhibited this feeling in a marked degree. It was night, and the Imperial carriage, which was on its way to the opera, had been terribly injured by the explosion of an infernal machine, which had killed and wounded a number of the attendants. Some one, wishing to make sure of the safety of their Majesties, opened the carriage-door hurriedly, and the Empress, supposing it was an assassin, threw herself before her husband to receive the blow she supposed intended for him. Nor was courage the only virtue which this affair caused her to display. Although the efforts of the assassins had been directed against her own

life and her husband's, she exerted herself to save them from the doom they so richly merited, and even succeeded in averting the death penalty from one of the least prominent.

During the recent prevalence of the cholera in Paris, the Empress was foremost in the efforts to give relief to the sufferers, and did not shrink from the trying ordeal of visiting the plague hospitals, and speaking words of hope and comfort to the sufferers. Several of the ladies of her court desired to accompany her, but she refused to allow them to do so, saying that although her duty required her to incur the risk which would attend her visit, there was no reason why they should subject themselves to the danger of the infection.

Those who have seen her majesty in private describe her as exceedingly pleasant and artless in her manners. Her disposition is naturally tender and impetuous. She is said to find her high rank rather irksome at times, as it frequently compels her to control the impulsive and affectionate outbursts of her nature, and assume the cold and stately manners of the court society. She has been the constant attendant of her husband and son in their frequent illnesses, and seems to find her highest pleasures in their society.

She is a devout Catholic, and, indeed, is said to lean too strongly towards Jesuitism to please the French people. She is very charitable, and has made many friends by the quiet, but liberal manner in which she has sought to relieve distress of all kinds. Upon the occasion of her marriage the city of Paris voted a very large sum for the purchase of diamonds for her, leaving her to select the jewels. She accepted the gift, but with characteristic generosity applied it to the foundation of a charitable institution for the education of young girls belonging to the working classes.

At the outbreak of the Italian war, one of the regiments of the Imperial guard, on its way to Italy, stopped at the Tuileries to receive its colors. The *Cantinière* of the regiment presented herself at the secretary of the Empress with her child, a little girl six or eight years old, and exclaimed: "Gentlemen, I leave you my child. Conduct her to the Empress. I know that she will take good care of her until I return from Austria."

She then departed, leaving the child. The Empress was at once informed of the circumstance, and had the child well cared for at her private expense until the mother came back from the war.

During the absence of the Emperor in Italy the Empress acted as Regent of the Empire; and upon the breaking out of the war with Germany the same powers were confided to her. The story of the mob in Paris, and her flight to England has been related elsewhere. Since then she has continued to reside at Chiselmurst, in Kent, England. Proposals were made to her to resume her place as Regent at

the price of parting with the Rhine provinces, but she has steadily and firmly refused to do anything which, while it might benefit her family, would harm France

MARSHAL MACMAHON.

MARIE EDMÉ PATRICK MAURICE MACMAHON, Duke de Magenta, Marshal and Senator of France, was born at Sully in July, 1808, and is descended from the ancient Irish family of MacMahon, who traced their descent from the Irish Kings. The MacMahons adhered to the cause of James II., and after the final defeat of that monarch passed over to France, where they intermarried with the old nobility of that kingdom.

The subject of this sketch entered the Military School of St. Cyr in 1825, and upon graduating there, was ordered to Algeria in 1830, where he took part in the wars against the native tribes. In 1832, he was present at the siege of Antwerp, acting as Aide to General Achard. He was made Captain in 1833, and, after serving on the Staffs of several Generals in Africa, took part in the storming of Constantine. In 1840 he was promoted to the rank of Major of Chasseurs; in 1842 he was Lieutenant-Colonel of the Foreign Legion; in 1845 he was Colonel of the 41st Regiment of the Line; and in 1848 was General of Brigade. He sided with the Emperor Napoleon III. in the events of December 1851 and the establishment of the Empire.

He was retained in France upon the opening of the war with Russia, but on the return of General Canrobert, MacMahon was sent to the Crimea as General of Division. When the final assault on Sebastopol was decided upon, MacMahon's division was assigned the task of carrying the Malakoff. His grand assault, one of the most famous in history, was successful, but the French were compelled to maintain a desperate struggle for several hours with the Russians who endeavored desperately to re-take the works. Marshal Pellissier, having cause to believe that the Malakoff was mined, sent MacMahon orders to retire, but the brave soldier replied, "I will hold my ground, dead or alive." He did hold it, and the evacuation of Sebastopol followed. For his services in the Crimea, he received the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor, and in 1856 the Queen of Great Britain nominated him an Honorary Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath.

In 1857 he returned to Algeria, subdued the revolted Kabyles, and

was subsequently given the supreme command of the military and naval forces in Algeria. In 1859 he was summoned to take part in the war with Austria in Italy. He was given the command of the Second Corps. He decided the battle of Magenta in favor of the French, and was rewarded with the baton of a Marshal of France and the title of Duke of Magenta. As he rode into Milan at the head of his troops after the battle, a little Italian child begged him to let her ride before him. The Marshal lifted her up to his saddle, and thus led the van of the victorious army in its triumphal entry, amidst the enthusiastic shouts of the Milanese.

He represented France officially at the coronation of the King of Prussia in 1861. He attracted great attention, not only by his brilliant reputation, but by the splendor with which he surrounded himself as the representative of France. In 1862 he was placed in command of the Third Corps d'Armée, and in 1864 was made Governor-General of Algeria. His services during the recent war are familiar to the reader. Notwithstanding his reverses, he retains the unshaken confidence of his countrymen, and his military reputation is undimmed. We have already shown how he was sacrificed by an incompetent Ministry in the face of his protests.

Marshal MacMahon bears the reputation of a skilful strategist, an able commander, and a man of unsullied character and great personal heroism. He is often compared to Marshal Ney, and his troops cherish for him very much the same feelings that the "bravest of the brave" was so successful in eliciting from his veterans.

A Sister of Charity who attended the Marshal during his confinement from his wounds received at Sedan, thus writes of him :

"You behold me a prisoner, and a very happy prisoner, I can assure you. Marshal McMahon is as well as we can expect. What a rich and powerful organization ! I have never before encountered a sick person so patient as the Marshal. Although for the last eight days he has been compelled to keep in the same position, so that it has been impossible to make his bed—which has no hair mattress—yet never a murmur has escaped him. He has been cut and hewn in the most frightful manner in his wound, which traverses the whole of the hip, and in which a child of ten years old could easily insert the finger ; yet never a groan. Whatever one gives him, whatever one does, it is always, 'Very well, dear sister'—never a murmur against the causes or the effects of our misfortunes. He has done what he could, and believes that the others have done the same. As soon as he is sufficiently recovered to support the voyage without danger, he will take his departure for Prussia, to rejoin his unfortunate soldiers. He says the commander ought to set a good example. The Marshal and his wife are goodness itself. I am busily occupied in preparing linen

and 'charpie' for the poor wounded, because the good Marshal wishes all who are near him should be attended to just the same as himself."

MARSHAL BAZAINE.

FRANCOIS ACHILLE BAZAINE, Marshal of France, was born in 1811, of a family which has produced several distinguished military and civil engineers. He failed to pass his examination at the Ecole Polytechnique, and enlisted as a private soldier in the 37th Regiment of the Line. He was sent to Africa in 1831, where he was rapidly promoted. He became a non-commissioned officer in 1832, a sub-lieutenant in 1834, and a lieutenant in 1835, receiving with this last promotion the Cross of the Legion of Honor.

Louis Philippe having lent Queen Christina of Spain a small force to aid her against the Carlists, Bazaine received a captain's commission in it, and was afterwards made Chef de Bataillon, and finally Government Commissioner of France at the Spanish headquarters. For four years he took part in the guerilla wars of that period, winning a high reputation for daring, skill, and decision of character. In 1839 he returned to Algeria as captain in the French army, and in 1840 was given the command of a company of the newly organized Chasseurs d'Orléans. In 1844 he was made Chef de Bataillon, and a little later Director of Arab Offices in the province of Oran. In 1850 he was colonel of the 55th Regiment of the Line, and afterwards of the Foreign Legion. He took part in the expeditions of Milianah, Kabylia, and Morocco.

He went to the Crimea as General of Brigade, and rendered good service in that capacity, being honorably mentioned in the dispatches of General Canrobert and Marshal Pelissier. After the fall of Sebastopol, he was made General of Division, and commanded the troops which reduced Kinburn.

In the Italian war of 1859, General Bazaine commanded a division of the First Corps, and won great distinction by his brilliant services. His division, in spite of its heavy losses, carried the key point of the Austrian position at Solferino.

In 1862 he accepted the command of a division in the Mexican Expedition, winning still greater distinction by his brilliant exploits in that campaign. In 1863 he was appointed to succeed Marshal Forey in the chief command of the French forces in Mexico, and in 1864 he was made a Marshal of France. He was made a Commander of the Legion of Honor in 1856, and in 1863 he was given the Grand Cross of the Legion.

His connection with the Mexican Expedition very seriously affected his popularity at home; but it was felt that he was too good an officer to be set aside, and on his return to France, in 1867, he was given the command of the Third Army Corps, and afterwards of the Imperial Guard. At the opening of the recent war, he took the field in command of the Third Corps.

Marshal Bazaine is regarded in military circles as one of the best soldiers in the French service.

GENERAL TROCHU.

LOUIS JULES TROCHU was born in the Department of the Morbihan, March 12th, 1815. He was educated at St. Cyr, and was appointed lieutenant in 1840, and captain in 1843. He served in Algeria on the staff of Marshal Bugeaud, who complimented him for his gallantry at the battle of Isly. He was promoted to the rank of major in 1846, and was made colonel in 1853. He went to the Crimea as Aide-de-camp to Marshal St. Arnaud, and was greatly distinguished during the siege of Sebastopol, gaining by his services the Commander's Cross of the Legion of Honor. At the close of the war, he was appointed General of Brigade.

In 1859 he accompanied the army in the war against Austria in Italy as General of Division, and won great distinction at Solferino. In 1861 he was promoted to the rank of Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor, having at that time spent twenty-five years in the army, served through eighteen campaigns, and been once wounded. After the close of the Italian war, he was appointed a member of the Consulting Staff Committee of the Ministry of War, and in 1866 was specially appointed to consider and report upon plans for a reorganization of the French army, in consequence of the success of Prussia in the campaign against Austria in that year.

In 1867 he published anonymously a work entitled "The French Army in 1867," in which he severely criticised the organization and defects of the French army, especially those features which tended to render the soldiery a separate and professional caste, severed in interest and feeling from the civilian population of the country. The book attracted great attention not only in France, but throughout Europe, and ran through ten editions in six months. It was unfavorably received by the Government.

General Trochu bears the reputation of an able officer, and a man of reproachless life and character.

LEON GAMBETTA.

LION GAMBETTA was born at Cahors, the chief town in the Department of Lot, in the South of France, in 1838. His family is Genoese, and he has the ardent physical and moral temperament of that passionate Italian race. He did not achieve much reputation at college, where he was regarded by his tutors as rather eccentric than intelligent, though he studied hard after his own way. He was fond of solitude, had a high opinion of his own powers, and was self-possessed and vehement in tone.

Repairing to Paris, he went through his law studies, and was admitted to the bar. He became the secretary of M. Crémieux, who conceived a warm affection for him, called him his "son" upon all occasions, and predicted an unusually brilliant future for him. He was a natural Advocate, and his eloquence and knowledge of his profession soon raised him to a high place at the French bar. His greatest triumph was his defence of the Republicans prosecuted by the Government in 1868, for endeavoring to procure subscriptions for the erection of a monument to Baudin, one of the members of the National Assembly killed in the street fighting after the coup d'état of December, 1851. His course in this affair won him a seat in the Corps Législatif, to which he was chosen by the Paris Republicans at the next election. Here he at once took and maintained the position of a leader of his party. His eloquence was undeniable, his personal courage as great, and he proved a formidable adversary to the Government. A man of great talents, he found his true sphere in his place in the Chamber. His personal appearance is thus described :

"Let us glance at the physique of the man. His complexion is pallid, contrasting strongly with very thick black hair and beard. He has a masculine and intellectual head, solidly embedded in a stalwart pair of shoulders. His bust is superb, and his frame thick-set and muscular. His walk is brisk, yet firm, and his speech rapid and energetic. His voice, which never seems to tire, is sometimes full of cadence, sometimes stunning in its intonations, and somewhat low, but always powerful. His countenance is a very attractive and sympathetic combination of Italian delicacy—for he is of Genoese origin—and of Gascon vigor, full of commingled thoughtfulness and audacity, frankness and haughtiness. His nose is straight and regular, with strongly marked nostrils, broadly dilated. His mouth is neatly cleft, with fair expansion, and is none the worse for a strongly disdainful lip, that is sometimes brightened by a hearty laugh of Rabelaisian mirth. His arms are muscular, and yet lengthened as though to

clasp an adversary ; and his hand is broad, firm, solid, and seems made for energetic grasping and setting free by turns.

“ When Gambetta is in repose, the observer would say that he is just about to leap upward or to take his flight in the air ; in other words, that he is going to speak. His large black eye looks upward and far away into the distance. He then seems to be counting the ‘ black spots ’ on the horizon. Yet this does not prevent his scanning with sufficient accuracy the minor questions that swarm below and on either side. His mind is versatile enough to sweep in at one and the same moment the grandest topics and the most minute details. He can soar aloft or creep below, and is just as much at home amid the intricacies of affairs as on the loftier heights of politics.

“ Gambetta is, above all things, a popular orator and advocate, and it would be impossible to find one more electrical or more vibratory in the shock and tremor of his words.

“ He lives in modest apartments on the fifth floor at No. 45 Rue Bonaparte. A few engravings, a good many books, a bust of Mirabeau, form about all the luxuries of these quiet quarters, which have been occupied by the student, the lawyer, and the deputy in the successive stages of his career. Such is, in brief, a hasty picture of the man whom the grand events of the current year have made a conspicuous figure in French contemporaneous history, and who was called to the front in a decisive hour.”

GABRIEL CLAUDE JULES FAVRE.

GABRIEL CLAUDE JULES FAVRE was born at Lyons on the 31st of March, 1809. His father was a merchant of that city, and gave him a liberal education, after which he began the study of the law. Before his studies were completed, the Revolution of 1830 broke out. He was then in Paris, and took an active part in the events of the conflict. On the 29th of July, he published a letter in the *National* advocating the abolition of monarchy, and the establishment of a Constitutional Republic. The monarchy was maintained however. The Lafitte clique succeeded in placing Louis Philippe on the throne, and young Favre returned to Lyons, and began the practice of his profession. One of his first cases was the defence of working men charged with belonging to unlawful associations. This affair caused a bloody conflict between the workmen of Lyons and the garrison, in which M. Favre came near being killed by a volley of musketry which was directed at him. He appeared in the Courts of Paris as the advocate for the Revolutionists of April, 1835, and began his defence of them with the

bold avowal, "I am a Republican." His eloquence and legal abilities made him a very successful advocate, and his boldness made him one of the recognized leaders of the Republican party.

He was one of the leaders of the Revolution of 1848. He was at once appointed Secretary-General of the Ministry of the Interior, and as such wrote the famous circulars to the commissioners of the Provisional Government, instructing them how to exercise their almost unlimited powers. Soon after he was elected a representative from the Department of the Loire, when he at once resigned his office in the Ministry. During the same year he acted for a brief while as Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and in this capacity supported the prosecution of Louis Blanc and Caussidière for the insurrection of June. Voting with the extreme Left, he refused to vote the national thanks to General Cavaignac. Soon after he became an opponent of Louis Napoleon, and bitterly denounced the expedition to Rome. He was re-elected to the Legislature from the Department of the Rhone, and, after the flight of Ledru-Rollin, became the leader of the "Mountain."

After the *coup d'état*, he was elected to the General Council of Loire-et-Rhone, but refused to take the oath of fidelity to the new Constitution. For six years he remained in private life, devoting himself to his profession. In 1858 he defended Orsini, the would-be assassin of the Emperor Napoleon III., and his speeches created a great sensation by their boldness and eloquence. In the same year he was elected to the Corps Législatif, in which he continued to serve until the events of September, 1870, being the recognized leader of the Moderate Republicans. He greatly distinguished himself by his speeches against the restrictions upon the press, the war with Austria, and the Mexican Expedition. Many of his most famous speeches have been published. He has written a work on "Contemporaneous Biography," (1837). In May, 1867, he was elected a member of the French Academy.

LOUIS ADOLPHE THIERS.

LOUIS ADOLPHE THIERS was born at Marseilles on the 16th of April, 1797. His father was a working locksmith, but obtained for him admission to the Lycée of that town, where he received his preliminary instruction. His friends decided to bring him up to the law, and he was sent to Aix, where he studied under M. Arnaud. In due time he was admitted to the bar, but met with such poor success that he determined to try literature for a profession, having already won two prizes in a local

institution by his essays. Accordingly, in 1821, at the age of twenty-five, he set out for Paris, where by great perseverance he gained a footing in literary society, and was engaged as Art Critic by the *Constitutionnel*. In 1823 he published the first volume of his "History of the French Revolution," completing it in ten volumes, the last being issued in 1832. He joined Armand Carrel, and Mignet, the historian, in editing the *National*, and took part in the struggle with the Polignac Ministry, which ended in the Revolution of 1830. After the accession of Louis Philippe, he held various minor offices, and under Lafitte's Administration held the post of Under Secretary of State in the Finance Department. He was elected to the Chamber from Aix, where he distinguished himself by his oratorical powers and his financial ability. In 1832 he was made Minister of the Interior, but shortly after became Minister of Commerce and Public Works. In 1836 he was made President of the Council of Ministers, and Minister of Foreign Affairs, "and seems to have entered, about this time, upon a line of policy which was destined to occasion serious disputes, both with his colleagues and with the diplomatists of Europe. He had cordially espoused the claim of young Queen Isabella in Spain, and had joined with the British Government in sending a military expedition to her aid. The general rule of non-intervention was not yet recognized in those days; Lord Palmerston would break it upon any occasion, for the sake of thwarting Russia or France; M. Thiers would violate it with equal alacrity for the extension of French influence abroad. Hence arose a rivalry between the French and the English statesman, which more than once threatened to involve the nations in war against each other. King Louis Philippe did not like it, and was rather afraid of the vivacious pugnacity of M. Thiers. The unthinking part of the nation were delighted with it; for the rising generation, which knew and cared little about the miseries of the great war, had been seduced by false literary teachers into a worship of Bonapartist glory, and despised the pacific temper of the Orleans régime. There was a certain personage at that time hovering around the frontiers of France—Prince Louis Napoleon—who shrewdly observed all these symptoms of growing disaffection, and prepared to profit by them. Meantime the Bourgeois King still reigned, but would, unfortunately, govern too much, contrary to the maxim of M. Thiers. The end of the first decade found his popularity somewhat impaired.

"An opportunity for its restoration was now given to M. Thiers, if it had not been for his proclivity to squabbles with foreign Powers. On the fall of Count Molé's Ministry, in 1840, he was authorized to form a new Government, with a very large majority of supporters in the Chamber. He thought fit to flatter the national vanity or to con-

affiliate the Bonapartist faction by at once arranging to fetch the body of Napoleon I. from St. Helena to Paris. The immediate consequence was Louis Napoleon's landing at Boulogne, in August of that year, with an eagle and a proclamation, which had no more success than his similar adventure of 1836 in Strasbourg. But a further natural effect was the excitement in France of an ignorant wish to avenge upon England the fancied wrongs suffered by that mythical hero and demigod of the national idolatry who had been sent to pine and die a captive upon a rock in the ocean. And, Lord Palmerston being still in office here, while M. Thiers had become Prime Minister there, it was probable that the pretext for a war-cry would soon be at hand. This happened in the usurpation of Egypt and Syria by Mohammed Ali Pasha, whom M. Thiers chose to help in his attempt to wrest those dominions from the Sultan. Never had any Minister a better mind to go to war than he, when he found that all the other European Governments were resolved, on Lord Palmerston's invitation, to prevent French interference. M. Thiers talked big and threatened; M. Thiers increased the French army; M. Thiers procured a decree for the fortification of Paris, as though he expected an attack from Austria, Prussia, and Russia combined with one from Great Britain. There was no such danger, nor could the French statesman have sincerely believed it. All that took place was the coöperation of the British and allied squadrons with the Turkish forces in reducing Beyrout and St. Jean d'Acre for the Sultan. King Louis Philippe, who had cherished the *entente cordiale*, knew better than to declare war against England on account of this affair. He, therefore, allowed M. Thiers to resign, as an unsafe and discredited Minister; and M. Thiers has never held office in any Government till the present one. It is, indeed, a singular circumstance that M. Thiers was thought of, in those days, as a possible Minister of Prince Louis Napoleon (not that M. Thiers himself was aware of it), for some papers found on the Prince, at Boulogne, contained the name of M. Thiers as one whose services it would be well to engage, if possible, after the success of the Bonapartist party.

"There is no ground for the supposition that M. Thiers, who has always been strictly faithful to the House of Orleans, would ever have accepted office under those circumstances. But the anecdote shows that Louis Napoleon highly appreciated the value of M. Thiers' public actions, and of his writings, as tending to foster the Bonapartist faith in the hearts of Frenchmen. The imaginative glorification of martial prowess, displayed in the campaigns and battles of Napoleon I., was the literary capital of an author, who had encouraged the war spirit as a party politician. France was henceforth ruled by the more sedate councils of M. Guizot, and peace was tolerably secure

under Louis Philippe, though the scheme of fortifying Paris, which M. Thiers had announced as necessary, could not well be abandoned, and was further developed, in 1841, by a committee with M. Thiers at its head. His loss of office, meanwhile, afforded leisure for him to undertake a grand historical work. It was the famous '*Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire*.' The first volumes appeared in 1845, after several years devoted to the needful researches. That this book is not only readable, but highly attractive and interesting, results from the great abilities of its author, and from the marvellous nature of its subject. But no reader will commend its solid worth, as a true representation of Napoleon, France, and Europe, in the eventful period to which it relates. Thiers neither presents, like Michelet, graphic views of actual life in the past, nor instructive philosophical reflections, like Guizot; his chief merit is a clear narrative arrangement of events, with a faculty of comprehending strategic details and a knowledge of administrative business. Whatever be his qualities as an historian, the moral and political influence of his work has been enormously great; but we cannot say it has been good. For its tendency was to intoxicate the public mind with romantic visions of martial glory and conquest; to disguise the criminal ambition of the First Napoleon as patriotic and heroic virtue; and to account for its ruinous failure by accidents and by adverse fate. This literary transfiguration of the most conspicuous figure in modern French history must have contributed, with the songs of Béranger and others, to the disasters of the Second Empire. But M. Thiers, without anticipating so far, continued from 1840 to 1848 leader of the Centre Left Opposition in the Chamber, advocating a liberal domestic policy, with a restless interference, and defiance of England and Austria, in foreign affairs.


"At the Revolution of February, 1848, he was invited, with Odillon Barrot, to make one attempt at saving the monarchy, but it was too late. He was never a Republican, though he accepted the Republic, and endeavored to give it a Conservative turn, vehemently resisting the fallacious notions and preposterous schemes of the Communists, and the intrigues and agitations of the Red party. Sitting in the National Assembly, for the department of the Seine Inférieure, he supported the advent of Prince Louis Napoleon as President of the Republic, and the French intervention at Rome, fighting a duel with the Italian General Bixio upon that occasion. He has always upheld the temporal sovereignty of the Pope. In 1850, with the Conservative majority of the Assembly, he helped to carry the restriction of universal suffrage, in order to prevent the re-election of the President. Louis Napoleon was by this time obnoxious to that party, who suspected him of a design to usurp absolute power; while he

suspected them, on the other hand, of an intention to restore the Orleans monarchy. M. Thiers had become his chief antagonist; and when the *coup d'état* of December, 1851, struck down the legislative body of the Republic, M. Thiers was arrested, taken out of his bed at five o'clock in the morning, and confined some days in the prison of Mazas. He was released, but expelled from France, and passed some months in Belgium, England, Italy, and Switzerland. Returning to Paris, in August, 1852, he finished his Napoleonic history. It was not till 1863, after the adoption of a more liberal Constitution for the Empire, that he entered the Corps Législatif, in which he has delivered many effective Opposition speeches. He has denounced the financial extravagance of the Imperial Government, its wars in Italy and Mexico, and not less its abstinence from a warlike behavior towards Prussia four years ago. He has incessantly protested against the movement of the Italians and Germans towards the completion of their national unity, and he has taunted the Emperor for not daring to stop them. It cannot, therefore, be denied that M. Thiers is, as much as any Frenchman, responsible for the irritation which has caused the present war, though he disapproved its undertaking, last July, because he thought the opportunity was not well chosen. Notwithstanding the grave political errors which have been pointed out, his conduct, during forty-five years of public life, has not deserved the reproach of tergiversation; he has not belied or forsaken the principles which he formerly professed. Constitutional Monarchy, with a responsible Ministry dependent on Parliamentary and popular support, and with a permanent aristocracy to strengthen the throne, has been the object of his constant faith. It is only to be regretted that he has failed to perceive how the happiness of a nation, like that of an individual, is to be consulted by fairly respecting the claims of its neighbors; and that the golden rule of public policy is identical with that of private morality, 'Whatsoever ye would that others should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.' "


THE END.

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
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